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Indian Famine Commission, 1898.

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APPENDICES, VOL. II.

EVIDENCE OF WITNESSES

FROM THE

MADRAS PRESIDENCY

TAKEN BEFORE THE

INDIAN FAMINE COMMISSION, 1898.

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APPENDICES, VOL. II.

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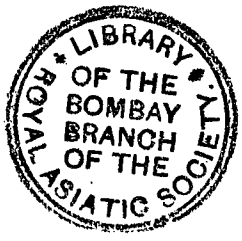

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INDIAN FAMINE COMMISSION, 1898.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE

THE COMMISSION

APPOINTED TO FORMULATE FOR FUTURE GUIDANCE THE LESSONS WHICH THE FAMINE EXPERIENCE OF 1897 HAS TO TEACH.

At the Council Chamber, Fort St. George, Madras.

TWELFTH DAY.

Saturday, 12th February 1898.

LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY BOMBAY BRANCH

PRESENT:

SIR J. B. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. (PRESIDENT).

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MR. T. W. HOLDERNESS, C.S.I.
„ T. HIGHAM, C.I.E.
RAI BAHADUR B. K. BOSE, C.I.E.
MR. W. J. H. LEFANU (*Temporary Member for Madras*).
MR. H. J. MCINTOSH *Secretary*.

MR. R. H. SHIPLEY, Collector of Anantapur, called in and examined.

I put in a written statement of evidence.

Mr. R. H. Shipley.

12th Feb. 1898.

A.—Departures from the Code.—I have not my notes by me, and though I have sent to Anantapur for them, they have not yet come. My recollection is that the chief particulars in which the Code was departed from were as follows:—

Section 96.—Labourers were classed A, B and C only, temporarily during the hot months, the class D being given up.

Section 106.—Fining was temporarily suspended during the hot months.

Section 107.—The tasks were altered by the Public Works Department frequently without any reference to the Collector.

Section 113.—These arrangements were invariably made by the Revenue Department, as the Public Works Department did not move in the matter, and I found it easier to get them done on the revenue side.

Sections 120, 121 and 122.—I cannot remember the details, but my recollection is that these wages and rations were not always adhered to. There was an increase in the amount. I will give details at the time of my examination in Madras.

Appendix VI, Section 23.—It was found necessary to raise the salary of the paying officer to R50 on large works, as we could not get competent men on a lower salary. It was also found, I think, that one paymaster could not pay as many as 3,200 coolies.

Distance allowances were also granted, and these are not provided for in the Code.

B.—The degree of success which attended our relief measures was, as regards its chief objects, the alleviation of distress and the saving of human life, eminently satisfactory. I am morally convinced that no death from starvation occurred in my district. It is also nearly certain that there were comparatively few deaths directly traceable to destitution and ill-nutrition, consequent on the dearness of provisions. I have not any notes or my famine report by me, but I think I am right in saying that the death-rate in the district was either normal or showed very little variation from the normal rate. I have no reason to think that the registration was defective. The health of the workers was fair all through. As regards the relief of distress, it is hard to see what more could have been done than we did. There was work within easy reach of those who wanted it; the wages paid were sufficient for the subsistence of the individual; there were kitchens where the very old and the very young members of the family could get their food; there was "village relief" for such as were precluded by bodily infirmities or caste scruples from using the kitchens or earning wages on the works; there was money amply available on loan to enable the land-owner to tide over the bad season and to fortify himself against future famines. We had a special staff of relief inspectors, whose duty it was to tour in the affected tracts, to supervise the distribution of village relief, and to bring to light cases in which this relief for any reason failed to reach its object.

As regards economy, I do not think that the Revenue establishment was on an extravagant scale. I do not think we could have worked effectively with a smaller staff. As regards the Public Works Department executive staff, I think that, too, was as small as possible, considering the policy we pursued of having a number of small works within easy reach of the people's homes. This policy was, and must be, an expensive one. But as regards the district of Anantapur, I for one fail to see that we could have acted very differently. In that district there are no large projects; there is no railway embankment to build, no huge reservoir or tank to dig. The only possible relief works are "repairs of existing tanks" and "road works." The number of workers on a given length of road must be limited and the number of workers that an overseer can overlook, and a paymaster pay, is also limited, and the moment that limit is exceeded, the excess has to be provided for by the appointment of an increased staff. In appearance on paper it is perhaps one work, but in practice I doubt whether the saving would be appreciable.

As regards the actual cost of the work, I can give no figures. I have not even seen the bill—as I left the district before the statistics were complete. My impression, however, is that the work was about four times as costly as at ordinary times, especially as regards the collection and breaking of metal. As regards tank work, I think the figures might work out lower. I speak from recollection only, but as regards one tank—Ravucheruvu—I believe the ordinary estimate was only slightly exceeded. We had a most capable overseer there, and he did excellent work. What is called "the personal equation" of the overseer is, in my opinion, one of the most important factors in the amount of work

Mr. R. H. Shipley.

12th Feb. 1898.

turned out. It must be borne in mind that we worked with very poor human tools, many of the overseers being temporary hands, picked up anywhere and anyhow.

C.—As regards the measures and methods that seem to me likely to prove most effective in future in respect to (i) relief, (ii) economy, I have not much to say. I have expressed my opinion above that our system of village relief worked satisfactorily, and I do not see in what way it could be improved, as far as the executive is concerned. And as regards relief works, undoubtedly, as a measure of out-door relief, the nearer the work is to the homes of those needing it, the more efficacious it is. The utility of each work depends so much on local conditions that it seems to me futile to discuss the different kinds of works here. I need only remark that tank work seems to me not only the most useful, but also the best adapted to famine relief.

As regards the question of economy, I think that the only saving possible in village relief and kitchens is in the amount of grain allotted to each individual. I am of opinion that the cheapest grain should be given, even though it is not the grain in ordinary use in the district. The human stomach adapts itself very readily to change, and I have no fear that the change, for instance, from cholum to ragi, would prove detrimental to the health of the people, "*Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren*" not only in the quantity, but in the kind also, in time of scarcity.

One suggestion, as regards the works themselves, I would like to make, namely, that a system of test piece-work be tried in the villages of any affected tract previous to the starting of the actual famine relief work for that tract. In every village, nearly, there is something to be done, whether in digging manure pits, drainage, clearance of prickly-pear, repairs to irrigation works, or what not. I would have a list of such works drawn up, and an estimate of their cost at, say, three-quarter of the ordinary rates framed: this estimate would provide for piecemeal work, not only for the integral work. For instance, if the work was a tank or drainage work, the bund or drain, respectively, would be sectioned into lengths. Each length would occupy x people for y days according to local requirements. There would be a periodical measuring up of the work and payment of the amount earned. The village officers would be put in charge of the work to see that it was carried out fairly efficiently. As regards the workers who would be admitted to the work, I would limit them as far as possible to the village and its hamlets. The number of workers willing to labour on the work would be registered before the work was started, and the number of blocks or lengths would be calculated on the basis of that number for, say, one month. It would be found that the numbers at first would be small. There would be a tendency to increase as the distress became more acute, and in order to meet this demand for work I would recruit fresh labour in gangs of not less than ten, who would report themselves to the village head. This functionary would be empowered to tell them off to a fresh block, and would report his action to the Inspector of the circle. I can, of course, see many objections to this scheme, but I think a scheme something on those lines would work well *as a preliminary* to the opening of general relief works. It would have the merit of cheapness as regards establishment, for the measuring officer might also be the paying officer, no money to be disbursed without the completion certificate of the village officers for the block for which it is paid. One officer could easily be in charge of half a dozen villages, and if the rates at which work was offered were fixed as low as would be compatible with subsistence, the test would, I think, be an infallible test.

As regards stone-breaking, I am very strongly of opinion that the $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch ring is too small a gauge. I would have it at least 2 inches. The gauge in use during the last famine worked very unfairly on the breakers. The quantity of dust was out of all proportion to the amount of metal broken. A 2-inch stone is quite good enough for our roads, and would probably look as pretty five years after the famine.

As regards classification, I think our present system worked fairly well. But I am not sure that it would not be a good thing to abolish class A. I maintain that all a worker is entitled to is a subsistence allowance, and I think a good deal of jealousy is aroused by the inclusion of some in the most favoured class, when there are many others who could equally well do the same work, but cannot be admitted because there is only room for a limited number of the higher class.

My classification would then be—

A.—For all able-bodied adult workers.

B.—For the weaker ones and those unaccustomed to manual labour of the kind exacted.

C.—For those from whom only a nominal task can with impunity be exacted.

The *wages* I would leave, *mutatis mutandis*, as they are now for each class.

As regards *tasks*, I will only make one suggestion here, *viz.*, that on stone-breaking and collecting work, the women be given the same task, and therefore the same wages, as men. My experience is that they do just as much work in that department as men.

As regards *children*, I would leave the minimum age as it stands now, *viz.*, 7. From that age to 12, I would pay half B class men's wage. From 12 to 16, I would pay half A class men's wage, boys and girls alike. After 16 the individual may well be classed as adult, and be tasked and paid accordingly.

D.—Among the suggestions that come under this head, I would give a prominent place to the relations between the Revenue and the Public Works Departments.

Mr. LeFanu, in his very able proceedings on this subject has said what appears to me the last word on this subject. If it be granted that the district is the unit of Famine Administration, it must necessarily follow that the head of the district should, within his district, be supreme. In fact—

> Like Alexander I would reign,
> And I would reign alone;
> My heart does evermore disdain
> A rival on the throne.

The other officers entrusted with famine work should be directly subordinate to him, and work as his assistants. The Public Works Department claims to be a highly scientific department, and therefore it objects to what it is pleased to call lay interference. My contention is that there are only a very few points in famine works which can justly be considered so technical that a Collector cannot decide upon them. A Collector, in the ordinary course of business, has to decide—as Revenue officer—upon points connected with minor irrigation tanks and channels, and—as President of the Local Board—upon points connected with road-making and repairing. He has a sufficient working knowledge of these points for famine purposes. His knowledge of the proper tasks is just as extensive as that of a superior officer of the Public Works Department. I have asked several Executive Engineers and one Superintending Engineer whether they have any knowledge of the daily task performed by coolies on their works, and none of them could tell me what the average outturn was, either in digging or stone-breaking. The fact is that their source of information on these points is the same as the Collectors, *viz.*, the experience of subordinates and of contractors.

If the Executive Engineer is regarded as the Collector's Assistant, it seems to be that the administration will work quite smoothly. It will perhaps be galling to the *amour propre* of some Public Works Department officers, but I should think that the majority of them will recognise that there is nothing especially derogatory to their dignity in such a position. The officers of the Police, the Medical and the Forest Departments do not, as far as I am aware, go about their work with bowed heads and a gnawing sense of humiliating dependence upon the Collector's whim at their hearts, and I cannot see why the Public Works Department officer should. The circumstance that one officer has received his education at Cooper's Hill, another at Woolwich, and a third at Wren's, need surely not cause strained official relations between them. "And, after all," I would say to the reluctant Executive Engineer, "what does it matter? 'There is another shore, you know, upon the other side'—and as soon as the famine is over, you spring back automatically in that position of independence which is so dear to your professional heart." The great objection, however, unless I err, which the Public Works Department Executive Engineer has to being placed under the Collector is that the Revenue Divisional officer also will be placed in *quasi*-authority over him. This objection is not based on very strong grounds, however, and a *modus vivendi* can easily be arrived at. I believe the point was fully discussed at the Famine Conference. I need not say anything more therefore about it here. I can only express the trust that if the bright hopes of the Public Works Department Executive Engineer that he will remain independent are shattered, *Inpavidum ferient ruinæ*, and that the cataclysm will not unfavourably affect the *morale* of the department.

Another important question is whether the distance allowance be granted or not, in future. I watched its effect

during the late famine, and, though I started with a prejudice in its favour, I ended by condemning it. The abuses to which it is open are, in my opinion, an insuperable objection to it. And I am now convinced that, with a well-managed system of village relief, we may safely abolish the allowance—provided always that proper hutting or other accommodation is available in the vicinity of the works.

It seems to me, in conclusion, that the system of accounts is far too complicated, and I cordially endorse Mr. Higham's suggestion to refer the matter to a body of experts.

(*President*).—You are Collector of Anantapur?—I was there from the middle of April to the end of October 1897.

When you went there what works had been started?—About a dozen; I don't remember them. They were in Tadpatri and Gooty mostly. If I have a map I shall be able to show.

What works were they?—They were all road works.

What classes of people came on the relief works when you were there?—They were mostly labourers and small puttadars, men up to about 10 or 15 and very few up to 20 rupees revenue. I don't think there were any above them.

And what was the proportion between small puttadars and labourers without land?—It is very hard to say. I don't know that I could give an answer to that.

But small puttadars you think were numerous?—Fairly numerous of course. In Anantapur, puttadars are small and they could not live on their own putta lands. They had to do work besides. I have made calculations in my report that a man can only get from an average putta three months' subsistence.

Does the rupee revenue mean two acres of land or how much?—It means a dry land of about 1½ acres, not counting black cotton soil.

These small puttadars as a rule have no wet land in the district?—Very little indeed. They have some under wells. I cannot give you details.

Among the landless labourers what classes are most numerous?—The malas and madigas who form the panchama class and the boyas. The professional classes don't come in very much. They find work in digging wells. They are the Wudders.

How do these boyas and madigas ordinarily live as they have no land?—Very little land. Some of them have land, but the majority have no land. They live from hand to mouth by daily labour. They help to till fields and the women gather firewood and grass.

Are they attached to particular farmers or ryots?—The malas and madigas are. They have got their wages rated in meals.

And the others?—They get money wages. Chiefly in Anantapur as far as I know they get grain wages.

Has there been any tendency for grain wages to change to cash wages in late years?—I should think there has been a decided tendency as far as I remember in districts in which people are better off than in Anantapur.

That has been caused by a general rise in the price of rice and grain?—I fancy so.

You got there in April 1897. The distress has been caused by the failure of the preceding harvest?—The failure of the preceding winter rains following upon more or less a decided failure of the previous rains of 1896.

The winter rains of 1897 or north-east monsoon as you call it, had failed?—Yes, failed entirely.

They are very liable to failure?—Yes, very poorly off for rain.

There was more or less distress and scarcity in 1892?—In 1892 there was scarcity.

Was there any doubt about the severity of the distress?—No, sir, none at all.

You had to increase the number of relief works?—Yes, very largely, shortly after I went there. In May great cries for labour rose in six out of eight taluks—rather five.

How did the taluks which were declared distressed differ from those which were slightly affected?—Out of the eight taluks, six were affected. One was quite free, *viz.*, Madakasira, in the south-west, and Hindupur was only touched.

(*Mr. LeFanu*).—You say there was a certain demand for labour in the month of May. Was that a genuine demand or a fictitious one?—A genuine one.

Another witness says that the number of relief-workers in the second fortnight of April was 9,220 and in the first fortnight of May 24,290. Was that fictitious or genuine?—I imagine it to be genuine. I do not think that any question rose about it.

Mr. R. H. Shipley.

12th Feb. 1898.

You say that the number of the taluks where you found people were suffering from distress increased?—Yes.

(*President*).—Are you referring to G. O. No. 216 when you referred to the number of workers?—It cannot possibly be. We did not receive it. It was not brought into force till nearly the end of April owing to some delay.

(*Mr. LeFanu*).—It is in the first fortnight in May this witness says there was a rise in the number of distressed in the district. Do you consider that the rise in the number is due to genuine distress or to the order?—I don't think that the order had anything to do with it.

The same witness refers to the second fortnight in May, and says that the numbers had risen from 24,290 to 41,958. Do you attribute that to the omnibus order or genuine distress?—I attribute it to genuine distress coupled with the fact that we had opened works in large numbers. We opened works on account of the distress and not on account of the "omnibus order."

(*President*).—What were the circumstances which prevented these two taluks in the south of Madakasira and Hindupur from being affected?—They are much richer taluks and the people are better off. The rainfall is usually more favourable. I understand there was always a demand for labour in Madakasira; though prices were high the people had food and could get labour. Though the same was the case in Hindupur, yet it was not quite so favourably situated. At any rate one thing was that they had a great many wells in Madakasira, and also, I think, they went across to Mysore from Madakasira as they got work there. I think I should attribute it chiefly to the more favourable conditions of the climate and the soil.

In several of the distressed taluks the demand for agricultural labour ceased?—Ceased entirely.

Do you think that small puttadars generally had stocks of grain in their houses?—They had not when I came to the district, or very little. I think they must have exhausted it all. I know nothing about the previous condition of the district except what I have read about it.

Has it been in former times the custom in Anantapur for the puttadars to keep stocks of grain?—Yes. There were granaries in nearly every house. It was brought to my notice that they were building new houses without granaries and that was significant of the fact that they were not storing grain.

What kind of shaped granaries did they have in old houses?—They had a hole made of hard mud in the verandah.

What do you attribute the change of custom to?—I have no practical knowledge of the district; but theoretically speaking, I suppose it is due to the fact that they can more easily get rid of their grain as they are within the reach of railway. In Madakasira, which is not within easy reach of the railway, people were not distressed. Kalyandrug was not an affected taluk and only one corner of it became affected some time in July. The whole of the taluk was never affected.

Do you suppose that the landless labouring class were not accustomed to storing up any reserve grain?—I don't think they could possibly do that.

Have they ordinarily any reserve in the shape of jewels or cash?—Not in that district as a rule. They wear glass bangles and they hardly have any metal ornaments.

Did you hear whether there was much sale of jewels or cattle during this distress?—I made enquiry about jewels and was told there was not much sale for the simple reason there was no one to buy. I was rather surprised to hear it. I don't know whether native officers found out anything. As to cattle, a good many head of cattle were sold in the Hindupur market; they were brought from the surrounding parts. Elsewhere there was no sale. Cattle at Hindupur were sent to butchers in Bangalore. They were all starvelings.

How did the puttadars generally contrive to keep cattle alive?—They used to dig up roots of grass and shrubs. For working cattle, puttadars and labourers managed to pick up something; but the non-working cattle had to shift for themselves mostly.

Were there any forests within reach?—There were some forests thrown open but too late. The grass had all withered by that time.

Mr. R. H. Shipley.

12th Feb. 1898.

When were these forests thrown open?—I think it was in May.

Are there forests in the Anantapur district?—They were mere shrub jungles, not forests. They were mere reserve lands with trees and shrubs.

It has been asserted in Madras that the people on relief works won't reside on the works or go to the works at distances which preclude their sleeping at their houses. Is that your experience?—That is my experience in Anantapur. I cannot assert that any very serious effort has been made to force them to live on the works. As a matter of choice they would sooner leave the work and come back to it.

Why in the case of landless labourers were they anxious to get home?—They say generally that they have young children or old parents too old to follow them or an old cow or something like that. If they could move themselves to the works with the whole of their possessions, lock, stock and barrel and everything else, I don't think they would have had very much objection to live on the works.

Were they encouraged to bring to the works their dependants, children and old people who are not able to do any work?—No. They were not, because we would not have known what to do with them. These old people will not be able to get back to their villages, and we should have had to erect large camps or huts for them.

Was gratuitous village relief introduced in Anantapur?—Yes, sir.

When?—In the first week in May.

Did this make any difference in the numbers that came to the works?—I do not know. It is very hard to say. I have hardly got an opinion about it. It coincided with the large increase, but whether the increase is due to it or merely to any coincidence, I do not know, because there was a large increase all through May. It no doubt set free a good many people who otherwise had to stay at home to look after children.

Village relief was given in kitchens at centres?—Kitchens were on the works. We only had one or two kitchens apart from the works. Grain doles were distributed two or three times a week in the villages where they lived.

It was all grain dole, not cash dole?—No money dole was given. Grain, tamarind, salt and chillies were given.

Did you scrutinize frequently the recipients of village relief?—Yes, sir, very frequently. They were absolutely incompetent to do any work—either too young or too old or too diseased or in some way incapacitated for work.

I suppose there were a large number of children also on the relief works?—Yes, a great number.

What is the distinction between children on the relief works and children who got gratuitous relief at home?—Those children who were able to work were not given relief at home.

Did this village relief extend all over the district or to some taluks only?—It was not introduced in Penukonda, Hindupur, and Madakasira and Kalyandrug.

I see that there was a much larger number of women than men on gratuitous relief?—Yes. In all kinds of relief it was so.

How is it that people capable of working got relief?—They were all people who could not work. Of course there were some *gosha* women, who had caste scruples and would not work. Their men might have gone to the works.

I see that in the first two weeks in September the number of women on gratuitous relief was very high, at the end of August it was 3,018, on the 4th September 6,374, and on the 11th September 4,950?—I think it was a mistake in the calculation. I think there was great confusion at one time owing to some misapprehension of the Government order. They took the aggregate number of rations in the week instead of the aggregate number of people receiving rations.

(*Mr. LeFanu*).—You think it will be possible to dispense with distance allowances, and you put in a condition if proper housing or other accommodation is available in the vicinity of the works. What is your opinion about the provision of housing in the Anantapur district—Is it a simple matter?—It is not at all a simple matter in Anantapur because high winds tear off all the palmyra roofing, there is no grass for thatching, and we had great difficulty in making the plague camp at Guntakal for that reason.

Can you recollect what was spent upon it?—I know the estimate for thatching for a few sheds was about a thousand rupees. They had to get all the grass from Kurnool.

Do you think housing on a large scale in Anantapur is within the region of practical politics and can be undertaken at any reasonable price?—I don't think it is. I don't know how far the economy caused by hutting would counterbalance the expenditure on hutting itself. The expenditure on hutting would be enormous.

You speak of economy. What you mean is that fewer people will be relieved?—Yes.

Would that be true economy?—No.

Do you consider that it would lead to the withholding of relief to any class of persons?—I don't know.

Do you mean to say all people who need relief will comply with the distance test and go and live in your huts?—I think eventually the majority of them would if you did not start small works at the beginning and insisted on their coming to huts as soon as large quantities of labour were available. I don't know that there will be any insuperable objection on the part of the people to come. I had no experience in the matter. I don't know if my opinion is worth anything.

The housing is very expensive?—Yes.

(*President*).—From taluks which were not declared distressed many people went to the works in the distressed taluks?—I am sure they did not. In fact I know they did not.

What will be the rations for gratuitous relief doles?—It was under section 122 of the Famine Code. I forget the exact quantity. It was then reduced and made equal to the D class.

Mr. LeFanu remarked:—It was as it ought to be under the Code under section 122, and Government for purposes of economy ordered the D wage to be substituted for it. Practically the difference is only a decimal point of a pie and the 122 wage is more nutritious than the D wage.

(*President*).—Did any class object very strongly to kitchens?—Some of them. We had very few kitchens indeed.

Why do you suppose they objected?—They gave all sorts of reasons. They said they would die if they partook of the food in the kitchen; they said it was against their caste scruples.

Who were the cooks?—The cooks were all Brahmins.

Did you suppose they really thought caste would be affected or was there any other motive?—I think the distant hope of village relief was a factor, and they did not come to the kitchens.

On works payment was always made in cash?—Yes, always.

Are there many tanks in Anantapur?—Yes, a great many small ones.

Many cattle drink from them?—They use them for irrigation purposes.

Was the cleansing of them undertaken?—We did very little tank work. I got there at the end of April. The first tank work suggested was the Alanoor tank in Anantapur. It was eventually taken up but did not attract any labour at all. Then it was given up and taken up later when labour was wanted. But others were mostly works that were not taken up on account of the rains which it was thought would stop work.

(*Mr. LeFanu*).—I think the answer you gave to the President conveys the idea that the Anantapur district is very well supplied with tanks. Is that roughly your opinion or is it known to be so as a fact compared with other districts which you know?—It is not like the North Arcot district.

Are you aware that in the single taluk of Wandiwash there are as many tanks as there are in the whole of the affected tracts of the different districts?—I do not know that.

It is on record. The number is 556. So perhaps after I have told you that, would you be inclined to modify what you conveyed as an incorrect impression. As a fact you did not make any statistics?—I have no statistics. I think the answer may be modified. I should prefer to say there are not many as compared to other districts.

(*President*).—Did you see anything of the nature of a "ring" to keep up prices?—It did not come under my

notice. There was no "ring," nor actual combination. There was a general determination on the part of grain dealers to keep up prices.

Do you think it was a reasonable determination based upon the short stocks and the chances of the future, or is there anything beyond that?—It had its basis originally on speculation. Then when they saw that crops failed they became genuinely afraid that their stock might become depleted. At first from what I have heard in November and December and in the early part of the year, it was a mere speculation.

When did prices fall?—They can hardly be said to have fallen at all. They went down very slowly in October, but I think when I left Anantapur, ragi touched something like 18 and 19 and in Hindupur it went down a good deal below that. They certainly did not go down with a jump.

Was the grain trade, you think, active in exporting and importing?—There was a great deal of life on the railway. They were running special grain trains two or three times a day between Hindupur and Guntakul.

Where did the imports come from into Anantapur?—They came at first from Mysore and after that they came from Coimbatore and the southern districts and Nellore and Venkatagiri.

Do you suppose large profits were made?—Very large profits were made. At one time they lost very heavily I have heard. They bought when there was a rise and the rains came and prices went down and they sold out at great loss.

That was in November 1896?—Yes.

I notice on looking over your fortnightly return of prices there was sometimes a very great difference between adjacent taluks?—There was very great difference between Dharmavaram and Penukonda and again there was a difference between Dharmavaram and Hindupur. I cannot account for it at all. I thought at first Dharmavaram grain dealers had a large store of grain, and if Hindupur men had imported large quantities, they would suddenly have brought down the prices. But the fact that prices fell so slowly disproves that point.

Dharmavaram has a railway through it?—Yes, that will be a point in favour of combination. I could not actually find out there was one.

Was there any difficulty of getting grain in small village bazars?—No, sir, I don't think there was at any time any difficulty in getting grain.

At the prices fixed?—Yes.

(*Dr. Richardson*).—You say here in your note, "I think I am right in saying that the death-rate in the district was either normal or showed very little variation from the normal rate." Was there any complaint about the sufficiency of rations or food?—Yes, they complained regularly till the end of June.

Did you see any ill effects, from your own personal supervision, upon the health of the people employed as the result of insufficient food?—I think they kept very fair health.

(*President*).—They were getting the B rations?—Yes.

(*Dr. Richardson*).—Did any children show signs of emaciation?—There were some, very few—so few that they were particularly noticeable. In one of the kitchens it was caused by bad management, *viz.*, at Yadiki. When I first came there, there were some emaciated children and they got well again later. The men in charge of the kitchen turned out to be a bad lot and they had been starving the people. I don't think it had anything to do with insufficiency of rations.

Were there many orphans?—No, very few.

Did not parents take care of their children?—Yes.

You saw no signs of special disease as the result of insufficient food?—No, sir.

Such as dysentery and diarrhœa? Very little bowel complaints at all.

As to scorbutic symptoms, probably you did not see anything?—I looked for it. It is rather a difficult thing to distinguish the scorbutic symptoms from the pigmentation from other causes.

You would rather leave it to a professional man?—Yes.

(*Mr. Holderness*).—I think you say that the process of converting kind wages into cash wages was noticeable and that you connect it with the steady rise in prices?—Yes.

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Were not prices very low before the famine? As a matter of fact up to the failure of the rains were not prices lower than normal?—I did not know. I was not in Anantapur before that.

In the Deccan?—It is the first time I have served in the Deccan. It was not brought to my notice.

Can you give any information about remissions or suspensions of land revenue?—I don't think we collected any land revenue at all in Anantapur or very little indeed. I forget the figures. They are all in the records.

You collected very little revenue?—Very little indeed. The total revenue was only seven lakhs.

Out of the whole district?—Yes, something very small for the size of the district.

You say that very little of it was collected?—Yes.

Has it been converted into suspensions or remissions?—Part of it was out-right remission and part was postponement. I think postponement will eventually become total remission.

Were advances given to cultivators to any extent?—Yes, a great deal of advances for clearing *nut* grass, advances for improving their land and digging wells, and latterly a few advances for fodder, not much, in fact they were stopped.

Were the advances made under ordinary rules?—Under ordinary and under special well rules.

Will they be recovered?—Yes, all of them.

Were they used for the purpose for which they were given?—To a very large extent. They were mostly used for the purposes for which they were taken. They were also used for subsistence.

In the majority of cases they were used for the purpose for which they were taken?—For sinking wells certainly.

Do these wells last for any time?—They are built to last a long time. I cannot say whether they will. It is only about six years ago that they started well-digging on State loans in Anantapur.

Mr. LeFanu remarked:—There was a great impulse given to digging wells in 1891-92 on account of the famine that was then prevalent. Well cultivation is a very old thing in Madras. It had its head quarters mostly in Coimbatore where a Collector, called Thomas, about sixty years ago, gave great encouragement to it, and wells had been sunk in large numbers in nearly all the red districts.

(*Mr. Higham.*)—Advances were given in 1891-92 for wells and advances were given this year and they have been taken in other years. How is it then that the irrigation area shown here (in the map) is so very small against the district?—Irrigation area does not include wells. It is tank and river irrigation.

Do you think there is considerable area shown in the revenue returns under dry cultivation? (*Witness*), You mean a fairly large acreage of wet lands purely under wells? Yes.—Not very large, I should think.

Has it been increased this year on account of the advances?—It has been extended a good deal this year. I must say it was small in most districts. It was noticeable that when you went into a taluk where there was a large quantity of wells people were well off and you saw stocks of grass and a little grain. In Tadpatri you cannot have wells on account of black cotton soil.

Had you any weavers on relief?—A good many; I forget the number now. 2,000 I think or something like that.

Do you think that a special form of relief is necessary for them?—No. I don't think it is. We found at a place called Uravakonda weavers were going to ordinary works. If they do it in one place I don't see why they should not go in another. I should like to modify what I said a little. Special relief is necessary in one way, for if you don't give relief to Mussulman women and *gosha* women who do a lot of weaving in their houses, they would have no work at all, and as they won't come out to work on the relief works it is a good form of relief to them. I don't see why the men should not go to the works.

Was this special relief to weavers very expensive?—I think it will prove very expensive on account of the difficulty of getting rid of the cloth.

Approximately what is the value of the cloth you have got in store from weavers?—I cannot say. I don't

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think it had at all been valued, when I left the district. My Deputy Collector, Mr. Narayana Iyer, will know.

Do you think there will be difficulty in disposing of them ?—I think there will be.

So that special relief to weavers is likely to be expensive ?—I should think so.

(*President*).—Why did weavers come suddenly for relief in Anantapur and Bellary ?—One reason is that people who usually gave them work did not give them work, as there was no demand for cloth. Cloths were sold to puttadars and the ryot population, and when there was distress there was no demand. They did not like to spend money.

But you found weavers coming to works in some cases ?—Yes. In fact they asked for relief works, and as there was delay in opening the works at Uravakonda, they came on the works.

Is the weaving of common quality or of good kind ?—No, it is very ordinary, common, coarse.

Are these people injured in their special trade by coming on relief works ?—I don't think they could be.

So that in your opinion it is doubtful whether special relief ought to be given to weavers ?—I think so.

With regard to the omnibus order of the 30th March there were deductions given in tasks for weakness and distances. Did the deductions have the combined effect of reducing the tasks to an excessive amount ?—On some works it had.

What sort of works ?—On road works, one or two. It was chiefly due to the overseer when such excessive deductions were given. I don't think as a rule the deductions were excessive, not after the middle of June ; but during hot weather we did deal very gently with them, but as soon as the cold weather came in, I increased the tasks before I got the Government order on the subject on the 16th July.

The task is laid down in the Code—is it not ?—There is the standard task given in the Code. I doubt if it was ever adopted. It was only a typical task.

You work on that ?—I believe it forms the basis of the district table. Every district has a separate task table. We have had one of our own, but the Engineer preferred to work on the Bellary task table which was more fully drawn up. For instance, the Anantapur task table has only got task for stone-breaking as such and none for collecting and none for the two combined.

You ultimately had a task book for the district ?— Yes, the district table task book.

Who reduced the task on the ground that it was excessive for gangs ?—The overseer.

Did the overseer class the gangs ?—Yes.

On what basis did he go on classing the gangs as A and B ?—They all had different ideas. I do not know there was any uniformity about it. The idea was they looked at the men to see if they are fairly able-bodied ; and if they were, they were put into higher class.

Ordinarily they were in B class ?—Yes, the bulk of them were in B class.

And there was B district task ?—Yes.

On what ground did the overseer reduce that task for the B gang, on account of its being excessive ?—The easiest way to reduce it is this. The task was for stone-breaking and collection up to a lead of so and so. The task was fixed according to the quality of the stone, and the lead. The lead in black cotton soil tracts was usually long, there was special difficulty in finding stones : they had to pick up stones one by one : so that besides the length of the lead, which might be only one hundred yards, the amount of walking about in search of stones entailed much labour. So the overseers reduced the task by increasing the lead on paper. In the same way with regard to stone-breaking. Sometimes the stone is hard to break and sometimes it is not, and the overseer generally used his own discretion in classing it as hard or soft.

What is the maximum deduction he generally grants for excessive task ? Will it be 20 per cent. or 10 per cent. ?—On one work the deduction came to 50 per cent.

Due to excessive task ?—It was the distance allowance.

I am going to take that afterwards.—If you want the deduction from the task itself under the ordinary district rates, I could not give it.

(*Mr. Higham*).—There was a deduction for weakness ?—I did not come across an example in Anantapur.

If there was weakness in a gang, will you alter the classification ?—Not the class, but the task will be reduced.

That is to say the outturn will be reduced under the gang. It will still remain B gang although it was found to be weak ?—Yes.

There was deduction provided on the ground of weakness ?—Yes. The heads of deduction were put down as distance and weakness. I don't remember seeing any deduction made on account of weakness. If we found a gang not turning out the amount of work as it was excessive, we reduced the task.

Was there a further deduction for distance or not ?—Yes.

Was it always given ?—It was always given since I joined the district.

Was it given in every case in which workers came from 2½ miles or more ?—Three miles, I think, is the distance.

It was laid down originally as 2½ miles, possibly you may have altered that ?—Three miles was the latter order.

How do you deal with respect to a certain gang when it comes from a certain distance ?—No gang ever came from the same distance. Various members had to be asked. It had to be ascertained what villages they came from and how far these villages were from relief works. The gangs were made up of labourers from different villages.

The combined effect of all this deduction was to reduce the task. How much is the maximum ?—50 per cent. That was only in respect to one work. It was a particularly bad work.

You say in your note that you are not in favour of the distance allowance ?—Yes.

And you mention certain abuses : what are those abuses chiefly ?—The chief abuse was that at this very work workpeople came from places 10 miles away in order to get large distance allowance, but I stopped that by refusing to give them distance allowance. They had works available nearer, some 2½ miles from the villages, but they preferred to walk the extra 8 miles to get greater allowances. Undoubtedly there was a lot of humbug in the answers given by the coolies as to what villages they came from.

On the whole you are not in favour of having it ?—Yes, granted that a proper system of village relief is introduced at the same time as the relief works. I would not have distance allowances altogether abolished unless there is also something for the labourers' dependants at home.

How many works had you opened at the time of maximum pressure ?—41 or 42 in the whole district.

Were these works under the civil authorities ?—They were all under the D. P. W. at the time of the greatest pressure, sometime in July.

Before that time were they under the Civil Department ?—Some of them were. We could not get the Public Works Department to open works. We had to open them for ourselves

Ultimately these were taken over by the Public Works Department in July ?—Yes, they were taken over.

Who was in charge of it—Civil officer or Department Public Works officer ?—The Department Public Works Executive Engineer was in charge.

Who was the paymaster ?—A civil man.

Had he anything to do except to pay money ?—No.

Had he any voice in the classification ?—No.

Who regulated the classification and reduction of tasks ?—The head overseer.

Had he to take orders from the Revenue officer ?—He took orders from the Collector or Divisional officers who could order him to change the classification.

And reduce the task ?—No, they did not reduce the task. In Anantapur there was a question about it.

Had the medical officers any power in the matter of reducing tasks ?—They never interfered at all.

In your district the power was restricted to the Collector and Sub-divisional officers ?—Yes.

Was there any difficulty in making regular payments on the works ?—There was very great difficulty. In fact it lasted all through.

What is the explanation about it ?—The explanation is first the incompetency of the paymaster, then there was also delay on the overseer's part in giving pay rolls, also the delay of the Tahsildar in supplying money and

there was the delay of the Treasury officer in supplying the Tahsildar with the money.

In future famines could these be got over by making better arrangements?—They ought to be got over. I don't know why there should be any difficulty. I think the whole question of accounts should be settled by a committee of experts as Mr. Higham suggested. I think the check they exercise before payment is rather too complicated and leads to unnecessary delay.

Was there any friction between paymaster and Public Works Department subordinates?—Not usually. There was friction sometimes, when the Collector wanted to know why payments were delayed. The Department Public Works officer said that it was the fault of the Civil officer and the Civil officer said it was the fault of the Department Public Works. As a rule there was no friction.

Do you think it necessary to maintain civil paymasters?—I think it is very advisable.

On what grounds?—Because it is a check upon fraud. If the overseer were allowed to pay his own men, there is no check upon the payment and the number receiving payment will be very slight.

Do you think your works were unnecessarily small? Would you prefer larger works?—I should prefer large works undoubtedly because they would give much less trouble. Two large works give much less trouble than three small ones.

Is there any difficulty in a district like Anantapur of getting such large works?—I think it is impossible. There is only one work or two in the district which can be said to be large.

What is that?—One is a scheme for bringing water from the Pennar into the Anantapur taluk. The canal is 6 or 7 miles long and the subject has been under investigation; I cannot say how long. Then there is a big tank in the corner of Tadpatri that is sanctioned.

Were your works mostly repairs to roads or the making of new roads?—Mostly repairing and the collection of stones for repairs.

When you make a new road, would you make that a large work?—Yes, you can have a long road of 7 miles as one work, but that is really not much less trouble than the same amount of small works.

If you have that instead of half a dozen small ones, will it necessitate hutting?—Yes.

And hutting is your difficulty?—Yes, great difficulty.

Is there any difficulty as to drinking water on large works?—I don't think so. We did not suffer from any difficulty in the matter of drinking water on any of our works. I don't think there will be any difficulty. It will be only a matter of going deep.

I saw in some of the papers that you had a fodder depôt?—We had several.

Was it purchased with Government money?—No, with the Mansion House Fund.

Where did the fodder come from?—It came from Chingleput and from Kistna.

Was this assistance valuable?—Yes.

Did people buy fodder?—Yes, whenever it was brought to them. In Tadpatri there was a continuous demand but some depôts failed because they were opened too late. They wanted to have fodder depôts opened off the line of railway, but that could not be done.

As regards the B wage, that is the wage ordinarily paid?—That is the ordinary wage.

Do you think it is sufficient?—I think so.

Had you any experience in the lower class wages C and D?—We had C wages for the weaker people, and practically I had no experience in D wages at all. I think B wage is sufficient in itself for an individual.

I suppose you saw gangs at works for some time?—Yes.

Did they improve in their condition or the reverse?—I think they kept their condition very fairly all through. I did not see any deterioration in their condition.

Had you complaints from private employers that they cannot get labour?—I had one from a cotton man and another from the railway, but the railway complaint was frivolous. The man who made the complaint did not make any inquiries. He was told by some of the railway employés there was some difficulty in getting coolies owing to famine works. When I pressed him for further information I could not get any answer.

With regard to the other complaint?—I don't think there was very much in that.

Did people show any reluctance to come to the works?—Not after I came to the district. They are said to have shown some reluctance at first. In my time they came very freely.

Did they come before they were hard pressed?—No, they did not come before hard pressure. From the time I came there was steady pressure on them.

How do you know they required steady pressure before they came?—It is what I heard at first.

I mean when you joined the district, did it require them to be considerably distressed to come to the works, or did they come at once?—No, they waited as shown by the way the works were opened. We opened works whenever the demand for labour rose in the locality. If they had come on the works at once we would have had to open many more works in March, April, and May. I don't think they came on a day before it was necessary to do so. There were of course exceptional individuals who ought not to have been there.

They would not have got on without works?—I don't think they would have lived.

How do you account for the fact that there are more women and so few men?—Well, on some of the works, Guntakal works for instance, men were engaged in clearing *nut* grass from the black cotton soil, and there were a great many of them on that work, but generally they were able to get some form of work such as chopping wood and cutting grass; and they sent their women to the works.

Did the women bring many children?—Yes. There were always many children.

(*President*).—Do you know what wages men got when employed in removing *nut* grass or chopping wood?—They got the equivalent of 2 seers of grain. It varied slightly. In wood chopping they got one anna a day.

(*Mr. Higham*).—With regard to children how do you class the working children?—Between 7 and 12.

What wage did children between 7 and 12 get?—They got half a man's wages ordinarily and then they each got half the sex wage.

According to the gang I suppose?—Yes, half the B class wage.

Do you consider that a sufficient wage for children?—I think so.

In the case of ordinary families with a man, woman and several children, did the joint wages of a family strike you as excessive?—I cannot say it was excessive, but it was quite ample.

You were not in favour of increasing it?—No, I would not increase it.

Do you think it might be reduced?—It could be reduced for a family but not for an individual. It could be reduced for a family of man, wife and three or four children who might earn a greater wage than they eat. I don't see how it can be differentiated. For a man, wife and one or two children it would not be large.

All children above 12 were classed as adults, was that a considerable assistance to the family?—Yes. Very great assistance.

Was that the case from the first?—I think so, before I came.

Is that laid down in the omnibus order?—I don't think it is alluded to in the omnibus order.

Were fines ever inflicted for short work?—Very few were inflicted. Latterly they became more frequent towards the end. Up to the middle of June they were not inflicted, and even after that not extensively.

A gang could do very little work and still get its pay?—Yes, it comes to that.

As a matter of fact that was the case?—In some works it was the case. I don't know that it was the case in the majority of them. I don't think they did less work than their allotted tasks as a rule.

When a task was fixed, you think they did that?—Yes.

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What is the net result of this relief to the district?—I could not tell you that. I am not in the district now.

I understand that labourers in class C in your district were not tasked at all. Is that so?—No, I think that labourers in class C had to do the C task.

During hot months you had no D class?—All through we had. Whether they were classed as A, B, C or D, they had to do the task allotted to the particular class.

They had C task?—I do not quite understand you.

Do you mean those that had no special task were simply 'brought' on the works?—I understand from you that these labourers who were in D class with no task or only a nominal task were placed in class C during several months.

Was there any task exacted from them?—They had a fixed task, that is breaking stones.

You speak of nominal task?—Yes. I refer to nursing mothers.

Were they employed on miscellaneous work?—Yes, in breaking stones, and clods.

Were there any people doing task on C and B wages?—Yes.

Task was given to C labourers?—Yes, they had task.

The proportion of men in your district appears to have been almost steadily under 25 per cent. of the whole. Is that so?—Yes, as far as I remember.

These men included all boys over 12 years?—Yes.

There are also to be a certain number of men in the C class?—Very few. These are old men.

Did it include children?—Yes, I think children get half B class wages whether they were weak or able-bodied.

There were a certain number of feeble men in your C class?—Yes.

So that the actual number of able-bodied male adults would have been considerably under 25 per cent.?—Yes, what we should call men.

That is to say, you had one digger and four C workers?—Yes. That would be about it.

What would be the character of the work in your district?—Road work.

Earth-work?—No, stone work.

Do you find women as good at breaking metal as men?—I should think that, as a rule, women are as good as men at breaking stones.

The disproportion of men was not convenient?—No, not on earth-work. That is why there was so much more breaking work than digging.

If you tried to start piece-work in a village in regard to tank digging, do you think a large proportion of men would have come on the works?—Yes, men would come.

You think that men would come, if paid by the piece?—Yes.

Why did they not come for the task-work?—I do not know. I never got at the bottom of it. There was always a large preponderance of women.

Where were the men?—When you went round the villages you did not see many men on the relief works, but they were working on odd jobs.

A good many people migrated elsewhere?—Not very many, but some undoubtedly did go to Mysore, but they all came back in August.

During the hot months did you have temporary suspension?—Yes.

What is the effect of that on the task. Was the task not performed?—No. It was performed.

Was it the result that the task became less and less or was it fully performed?—It became less. You cannot say it became less and less. It was not so fully performed as it was otherwise when we insisted upon it. It never sank to a mere nominal task.

There is no penalty for not doing the task?—Exactly, save their self-respect perhaps. As a matter of fact even in hot weather, there was always the task performed, and that task was not an absolutely low one. It might have been 50 per cent.

If you found that the full task was not performed, you did not fine the workers. Did you lower your task?—The task was reduced in the hot weather a little. I do not think that any notice was taken of the task. It was simply a matter of minus and plus or mere plus put in the last column. I do not think that task was ever interfered with. There was no necessity to interfere with it when there was no fining.

Why did not the Public Works Department alter it?—They altered it when we began to press them.

When was it?—From the middle of June onwards.

When was the fining in abeyance?—From the end of April to the middle of June, about 2 months.

Did the Revenue officers have the power to alter the task if they found it too heavy?—I did not know if they had the power. I thought it better that they should not do it, but that they should report it to me.

At any rate it was your order that they should not?—Yes.

Was the Public Works Department authorised to reduce the task without reference to you?—They were not authorized under the Code, but they did it.

Then they had no authority to do it?—I never gave them the authority.

To what extent did they alter it?—I could not say to what extent, but in regard to every work they altered it.

Did they raise or lower it?—In some cases they increased and in others lowered it.

Who was the Public Works officer?—Mr. Romilly was the Executive Engineer.

Was it raised by his order or by his subordinates?—He raised some, but I do not think he raised very many.

Did he ever consult you before altering a task?—Not to my recollection. He used to report that he had come to the works and found the task insufficient and therefore increased it. He reported it once or twice, but not very often as far as I can remember.

Sometimes increased it without making a report?—It was increased without report.

At what intervals were your coolies paid on the works?—Every three days as far as possible.

Is that the absolute rule?—It was the order. There was a good deal of delay frequently, though it was the order that they were to be paid once in three days.

Were they ever paid once a week?—Yes, on several works.

Had the Public Works Department anything to do with payment?—Yes, the Public Works Department paid the watering coolies, the maistries, and the head coolies, who are called the staff.

Were they relief labourers?—Head coolies were special ones.

Were they returned as relief labourers?—No, they were returned as establishment and paid by the Public Works Department.

Then payments were not made by the Public Works Department?—Yes, except payments to watering coolies, etc.

Not to relief labourers?—Yes, not to these.

It was entirely made by your paymaster?—Yes.

On the muster roll I suppose?—Yes, on the muster roll supplied by the overseer.

Do you think that system of payment is better than having the men paid by their own men on the works?—I think so. I have no reason to suppose that the delay would be less if the Department of Public Works paid the coolies. Head coolies and maistries ought to have been first paid, but they were never paid for 5 weeks, and in some cases payment was in arrears for 2 months.

That was by the Public Works Department?—Yes, that was entirely due to the Public Works Department. If that delay had occurred in the payment for a small staff by the Public Works Department, I do not think that there will be less delay when they had thousands of coolies to be paid.

It is not a question of delay, but it is a mere question of payment by means of your agency, payment by the headman of the gang. Do you think it better to have the coolies paid once a day by the head of the gang or once a week by your paymaster?—I think it is better to pay them twice a week by the paymaster. Once a week was an irregularity and was not sanctioned at all.

With regard to your remarks here under "D," I understand that you consider that, in future famines, the Executive Engineer should be placed as an assistant to the Collector?—Yes.

He would be his professional assistant in the management of all works in the district?—Yes.

Are Executive Engineers co-terminous with the civil districts?—Yes.

Each district has an Executive Engineer?—Yes.

If the Executive Engineer were placed under your orders in the management of relief works, in what relation would he stand with respect to Assistant Collectors?—I would not allow Revenue Divisional officers to give him any orders. He will take his orders directly from the Collector.

In such a system, there will be no place at all for the Superintending Engineer?—There would be, because he would have to see that the Executive Engineer is doing his professional work properly.

What is professional work?—Various officers have various ideas as to the professional part of the work. The chief professional work is the arrangement and the proportion between diggers and carriers. That is a purely professional work, as far as my knowledge goes.

He would simply go round as an advising officer?—Yes, as an advising and criticising officer. With regard to any alterations he wanted to be made he would write to the Collector and suggest them. My point is that a Collector knows whether a work is being done well or not, whether it is ordinary earth-work or road-making or metal-breaking, as well as a professional man.

In the matter of management of the works, things like measurements, etc. require an immense amount of attention which the Collector cannot possibly give?—He cannot be expected to.

Then how do you divorce the Executive Engineer from the Superintending Engineer whose duty would be to introduce uniformity in all the districts under his charge?—I would not have him divorced in that respect. What we want to see put a stop to is, that the Superintending Engineer should go round and pass orders, making alterations without reference to the head of the district.

Can you say what alterations of that sort were ordered by the Superintending Engineer?—The task was altered. It was raised 11 per cent. I think it was in August when Mr. DeWinton came to Dharmavaram and issued a circular. I got the circular a fortnight after the alteration had been introduced, for approval.

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About the task?—Yes. I refer to road-making. He changed entirely the length of the work that should be performed by each gang.

Without making reference to you?—Without making any previous reference to me.

Was there any objectionable order issued by him?—Not by him, not to my knowledge at any rate.

(*Mr. LeFanu*).—Were not your relations with the Public Works officers friendly and cordial?—Yes, friendly all the time.

I think Mr. Higham elicited from you one point that was not quite clear when Mr. Holderness was examining you, and I wish to make it clear. The omnibus order was not issued until April or May. Was it not?—Towards the middle of April.

Or in the beginning of May?—I think it was about the 20th April.

I do not think that could possibly have been before the 20th April, because it did not leave the Board's office till the 19th, so that you may take it that it did not come into full effect before the beginning of May. Now the omnibus order had full force in your district about a month and a half?—Yes, under two months certainly.

Some of these gentlemen have not had the pleasure of sharing our hot weather in Madras. Now looking back upon the months of April and May, do you consider that the concessions given to coolies were, taken all round, unreasonable?—No, I do not think they were unreasonable.

Do you think that, considering the awful climate, wind and exposure and the hard times they had to bear they generally did what may be called a fair day's work?—I think it would have been dangerous to their health if you had driven them more in the hot weather.

You said that you would dispense with all distance allowance, but insist upon hutting being provided; and owing to the difficulties in doing them, you say that gratuitous relief should be introduced synchronously with the establishment of works?—Yes.

At the same time and not six months afterwards?—Yes.

You say that gratuitous relief was started in the first week of May while the distress commenced in November?—Yes.

Then in fact for six months people had been suffering from distress without any form of gratuitous relief?—Yes.

MR. W. B. DEWINTON, Acting Chief Engineer, and Secretary to Government, Public Works Department, Madras, called in and examined.

Mr. W. B. DeWinton.

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I put in a written statement of evidence and written answers to the Commission's questions.

DEPARTURES FROM THE PRESCRIPTIONS OF THE FAMINE CODE.

1. Except in the matter of tasks and the classification of relief workers, there has been practically no departure from the prescriptions of the Madras Famine Code during the recent famine. It is my firm belief that this strict adherence to the Code, especially in the matter of the relations between the Revenue and the Public Works Departments, has been the chief cause of the fact that the cost of relief per unit of outturn has been so comparatively high in Madras.

Other provinces have had the courage to throw their Code in this important matter, overboard, with the happiest results. Madras, as represented by the Board of Revenue, has stood practically alone in a rigid adherence to her Code, and in condemning proposed innovations and improvements for the sole reason that they were "contrary to the Code" and I believe most thoroughly that the attitude has cost her many lakhs of rupees.

2. The departures above enumerated were as follows:—

(*a*) *Tasks.*—The task-table published in form F, Appendix III of the Code, was found in the early days of famine in Bellary (*i.e.*, in December 1896) to err, generally on the side of undue severity. I do not know on what principle the table was drawn up, nor have I ever been able to discover the names of those who compiled it. Metal breaking for road repairs being the chief form of relief work, it was in the prescribed task for metal breaking that the need for revision was most apparent. I believe this need was chiefly due to the fact that, in the distress of 1891-92, metal was broken to pass through a 2″ or 2½″ ring, while I, as Superintending Engineer, III Circle, ordered it to be broken in the recent famine to pass through a 1½″ ring The tables were probably founded on the experience gained in the distress of 1891-92, and hence the difference in task prescribed. Be that as it may, revised task tables were speedily issued in the Bellary district, drawn up by the Executive Engineer, and based, I think, more on what his own views of a relief worker's capabilities were than on any well-defined principle. These tables were followed by others in the adjacent affected districts of Anantapur, Cuddapah, and Kurnool, all drawn up in somewhat similar fashion, and bearing a close resemblance to each other. It is due to these officers to say that these tables proved generally suitable, and if they had been allowed to carry them out in their integrity, without deduction by all sorts of people for all sorts of causes, the results would have been sufficiently satisfactory. At a subsequent date, I, as Superintending Engineer, III Circle, drew up tables for metal breaking which were based on the principle that a woman can break 7 cubic feet *per diem* of soft stone, working in ordinary times for a contractor, and that a relief woman could therefore break approximately ⅔ of this amount, or 4·5 cubic feet of soft stone, ⅓ of it or 3·5 cubic feet of medium stone, and 2·5 cubic feet of hard stone *per diem*. I believe this principle is sufficiently accurate for relief purposes. I also endeavoured to obtain a change in the method of tasking for earth-work, and I solicit a perusal of my letter on the subject as Superintending Engineer, III Circle, No. 2340W., dated 13th July 1897, herewith attached.

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This proposal was negatived by the Board of Revenue on the ground that it added to the complexity of existing rules but was subsequently sanctioned by Government.

3. (*b*) *Classification.*—For the first four months of the famine, the four classes A, B, C, and D prescribed in the Famine Code were generally adhered to. Early in April this was changed by order of Government, and all relief-workers were ordered to be placed in class A or B, with those given a nominal task in class C. As a matter of fact, classes C and D were practically abolished, and nearly all the workers were placed in class B.

4. (*b*) *Degree of success which attended the measures adopted.*—With reference to the relief of distress and the saving of life, there is no doubt that the departures from the Code above described were in the highest degree successful. There was practically no mortality from starvation in the Deccan districts, and comparatively little suffering as far as I could judge. As I frequently remarked and heard remarked during the famine, the people were very much in their ordinary state of health. As regards economy, however, it was a very different matter.

If the tasks set by the officers of this department had been rigorously enforced without material deduction of any kind, both the new tasks and classification would have worked economically, as far as this system of task-work ever can do so. But the tasks were interfered with by all sorts of officers of the Revenue and Medical Departments; deductions were made for distance, weakness, etc., until the required task was often whittled down to a very nominal one, and sometimes to a minus quantity, and the result was extreme demoralization, large additions to the numbers of relief-workers, short outturn, great expenditure. The effect of the greater leniency ordered by Government early in April, and of the numerous deductions from tasks above described, may be seen by the figures here given :—

District.	Number of relief-workers.		
	April, second fortnight.	May, first fortnight.	May, second fortnight.
Bellary . .	59,681	82,641	103,583
Anantapur .	*9,220	24,290	41,958
Cuddapah . .	21,778	40,760	60,096
Kurnool . .	35,584	...	81,005

* These are for first fortnight in April.

No doubt some of this increase was due to the greater stringency of distress, but I am quite sure that some of it and of the increase of later months, was due to the great leniency with which works were administered, and this leniency was primarily due to the fact that revenue and medical officers could interfere as they pleased with works, and that many such officers in their anxiety to carry out what they believed to be the wishes of Government interfered to an unnecessary extent. The outturn of work was thus largely influenced by the personal character of the superior and subordinate revenue officials, this department was practically powerless to enforce discipline, and great demoralization ensued.

As evidence of the effect of the personal equation on the numbers of relief-workers, I give below statistics of population and maximum numbers on relief in the four districts comprising my circle :—

District.	Population Census, 1891.	Maximum number of relief workers.	Percentage of population.
Bellary .	9'0,126	155,854	17·31
Anantapur .	727,725	62,027	8·52
Cuddapah . .	1,272,072	98,184	7·72
Kurnool . .	817,811	162,095	19·82

I toured through all these districts, and saw most of the works in progress when I was in the neighbourhood, and I could see little difference in the condition of the people. The Collector of Cuddapah was the senior of all the Collectors and his judgment sounder, and I believe the small proportion of the population relieved was directly due to his personal influence, and that if he had taken a needlessly lenient view of the situation, the numbers of relief-workers would have been quite as great in proportion to the population as in the other districts. Yet I believe I am right in saying that his conduct of the famine was looked upon with less approval than that of any other Collector in the Deccan districts. The large proportion in Kurnool was greatly due to the fact that the medical officers were allowed a freer hand there in reducing tasks on account of weakness. I firmly believe that if the Public Works Department had been allowed full control of relief works, and full power to exact tasks rigorously, the proportion of population relieved would have in no case exceeded 10 per cent. and the people would have been in just as good condition at the present moment as they are now.

With regard to the relations between the Public Works Department and the Revenue Departments I can add nothing to the admirable remarks made thereon by Mr. Higham in paragraphs 25 to 31 of his notes of inspection of the relief works in the Madras Presidency, for which the officers of the department in this Presidency are most deeply grateful to him. I, however, append an extract on the subject from a letter I wrote as Superintending Engineer, III Circle, for the information of Government, in May last :—

Organization of relief works.—The great blot on the system of relief works, under the present Famine Code, is the subordination of this Department to the Revenue Department in matters other than professional. I presume that the principle of placing all relief works in charge of the Public Works Department was borrowed from the North-Western Provinces; but, if that is so, I think, in fairness to the department, the whole system should have been adopted and not only a part. In those provinces, I believe, I am correct in saying that relief works are entirely in the hands of the Public Works Department. The Famine Commissioner is a Superintending Engineer, and the staff of the department has to look for orders to no one but its own officers. And this, I most respectfully submit, is as it should be. It would be intolerable, as I think every one will admit, if the Revenue Department could interfere with the ordinary operations of this Department, and I can see no difference, nor reason why any should be made, between ordinary and relief works. They both involve the organization of large numbers of workers, in which we are experts, and the Revenue Department amateurs. They both involve the setting of tasks, in which we are experts and the Revenue Department amateurs. They both involve questions of sanitation, tools and plant, shelter, payments and accounts in which we have daily training and the Revenue Department no training at all. Why, therefore, should we be placed under their orders in such matters? If the answer be that the Collector is the officer responsible to Government for the saving of life in his district, I reply that he has already fulfilled this duty when he has selected the proper time and place to open a relief work. As explained in paragraph 3 above, I believe the whole secret of saving life in times of distress to lie in the commencement of relief works before the people become too weak to work. This duty should, of course, be left to the Revenue Department, and if it is properly performed, the welfare of the people who come to the work may safely be left in the hands of this department, and once a work is started I would place it, and all connected with it, in our hands and allow no interference from any one else. Organization, tasks, work, water, shelter, sanitation, tools, even kitchens and payments, should be placed in our hands, though with regard to the two latter only so far as to make the kitchen superintendent and the paymaster subordinate to the overseer in charge of the work—the food for the one and the money * for the other should continue to be supplied by the Tahsildar and neither should pass through the overseer's hands.

* I have since altered this opinion.

I ask permission to enumerate some of the evil results which attend this dual control of relief works.

(1) *Endless friction.*—With the best intentions in the world to do their duty and obey orders, it is excessively galling to my officers to have to take orders from officers of another department, whom they feel to be incompetent to give them, because such officers have had no previous experience of the questions they are called upon to decide. There would be nothing more incongruous in my being asked to decide a magisterial case than in a Collector being asked to say whether a task-table is correct or not.

Wherever I go, I hear the same tale from my officers, that they receive little or no assistance from the Revenue Department, but only a considerable amount of interference and somewhat captious complaint and criticism. It is, I believe, absolutely certain that a relief work runs smoothly in

inverse ratio to the amount of interference it receives from the Revenue Department.

(2) *Destruction of discipline.*—My subordinates have now to serve half a dozen masters, and receive orders from Collectors, Head Assistant Collectors, Deputy Collectors, and Tahsildars, as well as from their own officers. And though I have endeavoured to prevent orders being issued to them except through their own superior officers, Collectors claim that they have a right, under the Code, to issue orders to them direct. This is a privilege I do not claim for myself as I never issue orders concerning ordinary works to subordinates direct, except in case of emergency, and then I invariably send a copy of the orders to their divisional officer. Yet this privilege is claimed by the Revenue Department now and our subordinates sometimes receive conflicting orders and do not know whom to obey.

(3) *Want of uniformity.*—Under the present system, all sorts of matters connected with relief works depend on the character of the Collector. One thinks that shelter is unnecessary and the workers in his district have to toil in the sun. Another thinks that nursing mothers should be classed as 1½ units or that adult boys should be classed as 2 units in one district, and 3 in another, and they are classed accordingly. One thinks that the reduction for distance of villages from the work should be calculated as two miles per hour, another at 2½, a third at 3 miles per hour. All such differences, for which there is no reason whatever, would vanish if all relief works, once they are started, were placed under the Superintending Engineer of the Circle, in respect of *all* matters connected with them.

(4) *Neglect of the proper work of the Revenue Department.*—The proper duties of the Revenue Department in connection with famine relief, which no other Department can possibly fulfill, are enormous and sufficient to employ all its energies. I take them to be—

(1) the careful observation of the condition of the people and the selection of time and place for opening relief works;

(2) relief to weavers and other special classes;

(3) gratuitous relief, for which there is much larger scope, I believe, than the present operations in that direction admit of;

(4) *providing paymasters on relief works and seeing that they are kept in funds.

*I now consider that this should be done by the Public Works Department.

But the department is so engaged in interfering needlessly with our work, that there appears to be some danger of their neglecting their own, and this is especially true with regard to the fourth item above given, and possibly the third also.

With a punctual and normal monsoon, I trust that our troubles will soon be over, and I do not wish for any alteration to be now made in the organization of the famine-relief works, except that it would greatly facilitate harmonious working, if Collectors were directed to interfere with relief works as little as might be. In the very unfortunate event of another failure of the monsoon, I beg that you will be good enough to urge Government to place relief works entirely under the control of this department. We bear practically the whole of the very onerous burden connected with them, and we ought to be allowed to be our own masters.

5. (*c*) *Advice as to the measures and methods of working which seem likely to prove most effective in future in these two respects.*—On this subject, I solicit the perusal of a memorandum † I have lately written, for the information of Government, on the subject of the recommendations made by Mr. Higham in paragraph 41 of his general report. It will thus be seen that I am a strong advocate for piece-work pure and simple on large concentrated works, supplemented, if necessary, by gratuitous relief to dependants in their villages. On this subject, I append an extract from Madras G. O., No. 267W., dated 18th June 1877, which shows how successful piece-work was on the Buckingham Canal in the big famine of 1876-78. The extract is from a report by Lieutenant Henderson, R.E., the Executive Officer in charge of the Isakapalli division:—

† No. 166C., dated 11th January 1898.

"The system of working I have introduced has answered well. The rates for earth-work are below the estimate and compare favourably with what would be given to a contractor in ordinary years. Each family has a separate task marked out, the size of the task depending on the number of diggers in the family, and it is arranged to occupy them from 16 to 24 working hours. As soon as the task is excavated to one yard in depth, it is measured and paid for. The Nellore coolies are well satisfied, and on moonlight nights they may be found hard at work.

"When the number of coolies in a sub-division increases beyond the powers of the staff, contractors are appointed; they take up a few chains' length of the canal at a time and they are obliged to treat their coolies fairly to prevent them from deserting to the adjacent piece-work. A good overseer can manage from 2,500 to 3,000 coolies on piece-work; unfortunately but a few of the overseers can level or know any native language.

"The sappers have been very useful in setting out work and in petty superintendence. They are perhaps too careful and anxious to make the slopes look neat.

"Cooly camps have been established along the line at intervals of four or five miles. When cholera was about, the camps were not popular; they are now fully occupied.

"At the south end of the line supplies failed, and grain payments were made; elsewhere the local markets have been sufficient and only cash has been paid.

"The Cuddapah coolies sent to the canal have not proved of much use. They are most difficult to manage, and as soon as they get paid, they run away. Few of them belong to the labouring classes, and they have an invincible dislike to working in water. Bellary coolies do better, but they are very quarrelsome. The Cuddapah coolies seldom earn the value of the subsistence allowance issued to them. Some of the immigrants have taken to piece-work and have earned good wages. The majority do as little as they possibly can."

There are two points in this report specially worthy of notice:—

(1) The coolies worked on moonlight nights, which is what they always do in ordinary times, and it would save much hardship and exposure to sun if the system adopted allowed them to do so in famine times. The only system under which night work is possible is piece-work.

(2) The coolies imported from other districts gave much trouble and were very idle and discontented.

This is proof of my contention that work should be found for them, in their own district, and if possible, in their own taluk. It is only professional diggers who will work well far away from home.

I understand that the coolies on this Buckingham Canal piece-work were fed on first arrival and given an advance of pay. This is what they always receive from contractors, and I think the practice might well be adopted on all famine piece-works.

6. I have written these notes very hurriedly, at short notice, and in the midst of a press of work and with the impressions of the famine rapidly fading from my mind in the presence of other duties. But if I wrote for a year, I could say no more than I have done.

It is my most sincere conviction that the principle of famine relief works lies in a nutshell.

The more nearly it approaches to the ordinary operations of the Public Works Department, the more likely is it to effect the saving of life at least cost to the State, and to the *morale* of the people.

(1) Concentrate relief works;

(2) Put the Public Works Department in sole charge of them;

(3) Let the Revenue Department send all able-bodied coolies to the works and see to the welfare of the dependants in their homes; and the result will be effective and economical relief.

Enclosures.

Letter from W. B. DeWinton, Esq., Superintending Engineer, III Circle, to the Chief Engineer, Public Works Department, dated 18th July 1897, No. 2340-W:—

I have the honour to forward, for your information, a copy of Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, No. 415A., dated 3rd June 1897, which has been forwarded to me by the Collector of Cuddapah. Otherwise I should not have seen a document of vital importance to the proper organization of the professional part of famine-relief work,

2. The Resolution of the Board is an instructive instance of the manner in which my endeavours to do my duty thoroughly, and introduce improved methods of employing

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famine labour in this Presidency are rendered absolutely null and void by the necessity of submitting my proposals to a Board of amateurs on engineering questions.

3. The position is this—

(1) I read the account printed with G. O. No. 515 W., of 22nd February 1897, of the method of carrying out earth-work by famine labour in force in the North-Western Provinces, where they have had far more experience of such work than we have.

(2) I am greatly impressed with the merits of the system and decide that it would vastly improve matters in this Presidency to introduce it here.

(3) I therefore take the first opportunity of doing so.

(4) My efforts are rendered entirely futile by the action of the Board of Revenue in refusing to stir a foot outside the covers of the Madras Famine Code.

4. I must, in the first place, absolutely deny that my instructions to the Executive Engineer contained anything of a non-professional nature. If the methods of laying out and executing earth-work are not "professional", I do not know the meaning of the word. The Executive Engineer was wrong in submitting my instructions to the Collector on those grounds.

5. Secondly, I must record once more a most emphatic protest against the Board of Revenue and the officers of the Revenue Department having anything whatever to say to the setting of tasks on relief works.

6. I have no authority to speak on Mr. Higham's behalf, but I think, I may say, without fear of my words being proved untrue, that he will show in his report how that—

(1) In the Punjab, North-Western Provinces and Bengal relief works have been left entirely in the hands of the Public Works Department.

(2) That, as a result, they work with admirable smoothness and cost the State far less than in Madras.

(3) That those Provinces have arrived at this desirable state of things by throwing their Codes (which contained practically the same provisions as the Madras Codes) overboard, and placing implicit confidence in the only department which is competent by experience and training to organize and execute famine relief works.

7. But Mr. Higham's report will take months to appear, and I know not what, if any, action will be taken on it. I, therefore, most earnestly beg that the system which is working so admirably in the North may be introduced in this Presidency, and the *whole* organization of relief works placed in our hands. What have we done in Madras that we should be placed in the false position we now occupy, unable to do justice to ourselves or to Government?

8. I have no objection whatever to the Collector and his divisional officers inspecting a relief work and writing notes in the order book on any matters connected with the health and comfort of the relief workers. But the carrying out of their suggestions should be left entirely to this department and they should have nothing to say to tasks, fining or payments.

9. With regard to this latter point, you are aware that complaints are numerous of delays in payments. The overseer blames the paymaster, and the paymaster blames the overseer, and the workers suffer. In Northern India all this is avoided by the following system :—

(1) There is a pay office on each work with an accounts clerk in charge under the "officer in charge of the work" (generally up there a Deputy Tahsildar).

(2) There are "jamadars" in charge of ten gangs, somewhat corresponding to our sub-maistries.

(3) There are "mates" (our head coolies) in charge of each gang.

(4) Payments are made daily. The muster rolls for the day are sent to the pay office by 4 P. M.

They are there abstracted for each gang, and the amount for each gang put (all in small coin) into a bag.

(5) At noon next day (the commencement of the rest hours) every jamadar comes to the pay office and receives ten bags, one for each of his gangs, counts their contents (amounting to between R4 and R5 each), gives a receipt for them in a book, and takes them to his ten gangs; gives a bag to each head cooly and superintends the payment, which takes about ten minutes for each gang, and, as all the payments proceed simultaneously, any number of gangs can be paid.

(6) When the payment is finished, if any money is over, owing to absence of coolies or errors, it is put back in the bag and returned with the payment sheets to the pay office.

(7) These arrears are kept in a separate account and paid to coolies at the pay office whenever they present themselves.

This system works, I understand, with admirable smoothness, and if any peculation is attempted, it is easily detected. Coolies get their pay daily in small coin. There is no dual control, consequently no friction, and, above all, *no delay*.

Is it too much to hope that this system also may be given a trial in this Presidency?

No. 166 C.

MEMORANDUM.

It will be convenient to take Mr. Higham's recommendations in the order given in paragraph 41, page 25 of his general report on the management of famine relief works.

(*a*) I quite agree with this. The famine-relief programmes of this Presidency need immediate revision in the direction proposed. The Public Works Department should be directed to select at once not less than three works in each taluk likely in the future to be affected by famine, each work being sufficiently large to employ 10,000 people for twelve months. These works should be either—

(1) Irrigation | (2) New road | (3) New railway

the above being the probable order of their relative importance and utility. No. (3) will perhaps not often be possible, but it certainly is so in the Kurnool and Cuddapah districts. It may be difficult to find such works in every taluk, but I am convinced that, with careful investigation, this difficulty may be overcome, and this investigation should commence at once. I would exclude all other works from the relief programme, as tending only to hamper and confuse it with a number of small works which are generally useless for famine relief purposes.

(*b*) I also agree with this. At the commencement of distress I would open one or more of the above-mentioned selected works and force all able-bodied people in the taluk needing relief to go to them. There has been no difficulty in making them do this in Bombay, Punjab, North-West Provinces and Central Provinces, and I can see no reason why there should be any difficulty in Madras. Hutting, of course, would be needed, but it should only be put up as required. It cost 8 annas per head in Bombay.

(*c*) I agree. The most remunerative of the selected works in the taluk should be opened first irrespective of its distance from the most affected villages. If it is, as I propose, within the taluk, the people will not need help in going there either in food or money, provided that the work is opened in good time.

(*d*) I fully agree. I would place the above-selected works *entirely* under the control of the Public Works Department. The Collector of the district, his Divisional officers and Tahsildars should have free access to the work and be empowered to write in the inspection note-book such remarks on the health and comfort of the workers as they deem necessary. It would be the duty of the officer in charge of the work to pay prompt attention to these remarks, or, if he considers them unsuitable or impracticable, to obtain immediate orders upon them from his superior officer. A copy of the remarks could, of course, be sent at once by the officer making them to either the Sub-Divisional officer, Executive Engineer or Superintending Engineer or to all of them. I am quite sure that this system would work with absolute smoothness, and is the one best calculated to ensure the attainment of the object of all famine relief, *viz.*, to effectively relieve from distress the largest number of the people at the smallest cost to the State.

(*e*) I fully agree. I would have piece-work on all the works above described, and I would prohibit any other form of work on these works without the express sanction of Government. My reason for this is that I am convinced that, if the distress is taken in time, piece-work is the proper form of work for famine relief, because—

(1) it raises the standard of morality of the people instead of demoralising them;

(2) it keeps useless people off the works ;

(3) it needs far less supervision, and therefore gives room for far less dishonesty.

I would prohibit any other form of work on the large relief works, because piece-work might never otherwise have a fair trial, and it is absolutely essential that it should have. I would undertake, with the utmost confidence, to run every large relief work in a district on piece-work lines with the best results both to the workers and the State.

(*f*) As stated above, I would force only the *able-bodied* people to attend the large relief works under the charge of the Public Works Department, *i.e.*, adult men and women, and children over 12 or perhaps 10. All their dependants, *i.e.*, old, young and infirm, all nursing mothers and women in an advanced stage of pregnancy, should remain in their villages to look after houses and cattle. I would either pay the able-bodied people a rate for work as much in excess of normal rates as the rise in prices demanded and allow them to support their dependants, or I would pay them the normal rates and feed all their dependants in kitchens in their respective villages. If the latter was the case I would make all who could work, do light work about the village, such as clearing prickly-pear, filling holes, cleaning up and sweeping in return for the food given them. In any case this village relief and all dependants should be entirely under the Revenue Department ; the village authorities being responsible for those needing relief in their village and also for sending those who are able to work to the relief work. I quite agree with what Mr. Higham says about the duties of Civil officers in supervising village relief. This system would prevent all that weary walking to and fro of old and young, infirm and sickly, to a work on which they were useless when they got there, which was often such a distressing sight during last hot weather, and the distance of the relief work from their homes would keep those who do not need relief off the work. The greatest difficulty would be the fixing of the " able-bodied " standard, but the village authorities know every man and woman in the village, and their ordinary avocations, and should be able to select those capable of a good day's work without difficulty. The Revenue Department should see to this drafting, and to the care of the dependants at their homes : the Public Works Department should be solely responsible for the people on relief works. I would give the latter four successive days in every month, wherein to return to their homes, and see their families if they so desired, otherwise their work should be continuous.

(*g*) As will be seen above, I deprecate any other form of work except piece-work for able-bodied people, but as Government may not approve of this, and as it may, in any case, be necessary to adopt task-work instead in certain cases, I give below my views on the subject :—

I am not, of course, competent to decide on the sufficiency of the D wage for the large majority of relief workers, but I do not think it necessarily follows that because it has apparently sufficed in North-West Provinces and Bengal, it would also suffice in Madras. The habits of the people and their staple food introduce large elements of uncertainty into this question, and I am not at all disposed to agree with Mr. Higham in this matter unless the local medical authorities consider that the D wage may be given a trial. I also object to his classifying all carriers and metal-breakers in the D class, because except in the case of earth-work for roads and for small irrigation channels, it is always possible to give both carriers and metal-breakers a sufficiently hard task to entitle them to the same wage as diggers. I would therefore abolish C and D classes altogether, and retain only A and B—A class to include head coolies, quarrymen and rammers and such other persons with specially hard or important work as may be decided ; B class to include everyone else on the relief work. I would set the task for average earth-work and average metal-breaking, *i.e.*, moderately hard earth and moderately hard stone, at half the amount usually turned out by able-bodied people accustomed to such work, and I would fine rigorously for any deficiency from this standard as soon as the work had been fairly started, because the original task given is a light one, and any reduction of it would mean that the work was only a veiled form of gratuitous relief. Thus, supposing the man's wage for 110 cubic feet of medium earth-work was 1 anna 9 pies, I would reduce this to 1 anna 6 pies if he did no more than 100 cubic feet, to 1 anna 3 pies if he did only 90 cubic feet, to 1 anna if he did only 75 cubic feet and to 9 pies if he did only 60 cubic feet, and the women and children in proportion. But for the first week I would give him full wage for 100 cubic feet or over. Thus, short work would be punished by reduction of wage, and not by reduction of class, which latter system demoralises the people and vastly increases the cost of the work. If the work was a remunerative one, and it was desired to complete it during the period of distress, an additional incentive to work might be given by offering one pice more for 20 per cent. additional work, but this should only be done under special sanction

I do not think that any elaborate tables of reduced leads are necessary. The old custom of allowing 10 yards additional lead for every yard of lift is simple, adequate and " understanded of the people " and should continue.

I have drawn up tables on the above principles, which are nearly complete, and will be sent if necessary, showing the tasks for metal breaking in various descriptions of stone and the number of diggers and carriers required for various leads and various earths, which would give every officer in charge of a work all he wants to know in a simple and intelligible form. In the above-mentioned exceptions, *i.e.*, earth-work for roads and small irrigation channels, where the carriers' task must always be unavoidably light, I would reduce their wage for full task by one pice.

If only A and B classes are provided as above proposed, I would abolish the Sunday wage altogether. The above is only an outline of my views on the matter. If desired I will draw them up in greater detail.

It may be said that this system of putting all people virtually into one class and fining rigorously will bear very hardly on the weakly ones. My reply is that the original task is light and if works are opened, as they always should be (this being the most important point of all in famine relief) before people become weak, it should be within the powers of all and the great loss of *morale* which ensues when people are given a nominal task would be avoided. It should be an axiom of famine relief that a nominal task should never be paid for in money.

(*h*) I agree. Whenever distress is anticipated Public Works officers should be called upon to report what expansion of ordinary operations is possible, and they should be given funds for the more rapid prosecution of all remunerative work. I do not see why these funds should be debited to famine relief.

(*i*) I fully agree. It ought not to be necessary to open such works at all except for the employment of those who are being fed gratuitously in kitchens.

(*j*) I agree, but the necessity for such works should be rare.

(*k*) (i) I agree.

(ii) and (iii) I agree. The piece-work should be unlimited, and on the pit-gang system if by that is meant a number of small bodies of people under a ganger or piece-worker chosen by themselves. No dependants should be allowed on the work. They should be fed in their villages if the piece-workers get only normal rates ; if the piece-workers receive enhanced rates, no relief should be given to dependants.

(iv) I do not think this combination is workable—it would lead to great confusion. Simplicity should be studied before everything on relief works.

(v) and (vi) If task-work is necessary it should be given to all who are capable of doing any work at all, those who are not being fed in kitchens. All, except special people, should be placed in B class, fined heavily for short task, and only allowed to do more than full task by special sanction. No Sunday wage should, under the above circumstances, be given.

(*l*) Relief of dependants should always be given in the form of cooked rations. It should be always under the charge of the Revenue Department, except when kitchens are opened on works carried out by task-work under the Public Works Department, when it should be under that department.

(*m*) On works carried out by piece-work I do not think any Civil officer is needed. On work carried out by task-work under the Public Works Department, I think it would be well to place them in charge of a Civil officer, lent by the Revenue Department, but entirely under the control of the Public Works Department. He should have a sub-overseer to assist him in all technical details.

(*n*) Payment for piece-work should be made as often as the piece-workers demand it.

Payment for task-work should be made daily in full pice, on the system adopted in the North-Western Provinces. In

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either case payments should be entirely under the Public Works Department in all works conducted by that department.

(*o*) On piece-works the Collector should be furnished with a weekly report of the number of men, women and adult children on the work, with such other information regarding their health and comfort as may be deemed necessary.

On task-works the same information should be supplied daily.

All working statistics should be rendered in the Public Works Department only, by whom abstracts should be forwarded to the Collector or the Board of Revenue, at such intervals as may be deemed necessary. Once a month should be ample. The present number of forms to be filled daily is inimical to all effective supervision on the part of "officers in charge of works."

(*p*) I agree. Funds should be provided and accounts rendered in an exactly similar manner to the ordinary practice in the Public Works Department. If the affected area is extensive a special examiner with adequate staff should be appointed for supplying funds and auditing famine relief accounts only.

2. I have confined my remarks to Mr. Higham's recommendations because that is all I have been asked to give my views upon, and I do not know whether Government desires any further information from me on any other points connected with famine relief.

3. I would, in conclusion, earnestly urge that piece-work may be given a genuine trial during the next famine. It will be difficult, no doubt, to popularise at first because the people have been greatly demoralised by the huge system hitherto in vogue of what is virtually to a large extent, gratuitous relief, and they will be loth, without compulsion, to turn to sterner work, even with the prospect of higher gains; but I am convinced that if persevered with it will succeed, and be the means of not only saving life at least cost to the State, but of improving instead of lowering the *morale* of the people, and of adding a number of permanently useful works to the Presidency, so that famine, if unfortunately inevitable periodically, may at least be turned to good account, and be almost a blessing in disguise instead of the curse it now is.

Answers to the Commission's questions.

*8. Much slighter.

9. I think the degree of distress was over-estimated in the Ceded Districts and the relief given, both in character and amount, was often unsuitable and excessive.

10. I think 15 per cent. should be the maximum for all relieved. The proportion varied in Ceded Districts from 7½ to 20 per cent. as a maximum, but in individual taluks, *e.g.*, Alur in Bellary District, it was sometimes much greater. I believe with proper management of relief works the proportion might be kept down to 10 per cent.

11. In Kurnool District the medical officer's action in classing all workers as in 'fair' or 'low' condition, and reducing their task accordingly, certainly accounted for some of the increase over Famine Commission's estimate.

12. Yes, I think so, both in Bellary and Kurnool. I am sure that many persons were relieved who were not really in need of it. This was due to works being always within five miles of villages and to leniency in tasking.

15. Yes.

16. C and D classes abolished in April 1897. Fining practically stopped. Distance deductions increased. These changes certainly had the effect described in the concluding words of this question.

18. I do not think a test-work is any real criterion of distress unless it is a considerable distance from the villages affected. The test being fallacious, the answer to the question is "No." I believe the price of the staple grain can always be taken as a true test of distress, and that none other is needed.

19. Yes, but the task was often a nominal one.

20. Yes.

21. Small in Madras because works were close to villages and everyone was taken on them.

22. The original task given was a good, I would not say stringent, test of necessity; but it was so often whittled down to a mere nothing by various deductions that it became no test at all. The wages earned in Ceded Districts were a full subsistence wage.

23. The relief works in Ceded Districts have been much too numerous, and workers have seldom resided at them I think residence *is* disliked, except by such wandering tribes as Lambardies, and constitutes an effective and fair test of necessity.

39. Only the task-work system supplemented by kitchens came under my notice.

40. As Superintending Engineer of 3rd Circle, which comprised all four affected districts in the Deccan, I toured round constantly from November 1896 to September 1897 inspecting relief works.

43 to 45. *Vide* my notes.

46. The particular combination I favour is piece-work pure and simple on large concentrated works, for all able-bodied people, and nominal task-work round the villages for all dependants, in return for food.

48. No doubt the classes relieved prefer task-work. Intelligent natives were, I think, very much of the opinion that relief was excessive.

49. *Vide* my notes. My chief objection is to the prescribed relations in Madras between Public Works Department and Revenue Department, which, I believe, increase the cost of relief enormously.

52. We did no unmetalled roads.

(*ii*) 1,500 day units for metal collection and 1,700 day units for spreading and consolidation will complete a mile of metalled road, with metal 15 feet wide and 6 inches deep and gravelled in a month of 24 working days.

53. I think most of the new roads will be of permanent service. It depends on District Boards to properly maintain them.

54. There is room for new roads still in Ceded Districts. I cannot give length.

55. It is very well adapted for famine task-work, or piece-work, being simple and easily learnt.

56. I believe that most of the metal collected has been laid. With this object I ordered collection to cease long before the close of the famine.

57. Except in so far as dependants can be employed on them, I think village tanks are unsuitable for the early stages of distress, and should only be resorted to when it becomes very acute. Their value is certainly greater than road-mending.

61. A few small tanks have been restored in Ceded Districts, and one or two new tanks made by famine labour.

62. I have not the least shadow of doubt that the impounding of water is far and away the best form of famine relief, as being most certain to benefit the people and assist, at any rate, in preventing future famines.

63. There is great difficulty in finding suitable sites for impounding reservoirs in the Ceded Districts because of the scanty rainfall, but I am sure, on the assumption contained in the question, that there are several places still where such reservoirs can be made. I know of some myself.

67. Yes, and more can be found by patient investigation.

69. (*a*), (*b*), (*c*). Yes, to all three.

70. They will be found in paragraphs 3 to 9 of Chapter I of Madras Code. The programmes contained a large number of small works very unsuited for famine relief. Many estimates were not ready because Public Works Department officers have so much to do in ordinary times that they postpone the preparation of estimates for a famine in the future as long as possible.

71. (*a*) I consider 5 miles should be the maximum, but I have known them come 7 or 8 and return daily.

(*b*) 40 to 50 miles.

72. I do.

73. If a large and useful public work can be found anywhere in a district I would force all able-bodied people in the district to go to it in preference to employing them near their homes. I do not think they ought to be *forced* to go outside their district. If they go willingly I would certainly take them. If a suitable work can be found it is best to employ people either in their own taluk or in an adjacent one.

74. The exception.

76. (1) Indirectly induce it by concentrating works.

(2) I was frequently told so on works in the last famine, and have seen workers evidently well-to-do. A high

* The numbers refer to the questions drawn up by the Commission.

task and low rate of wage are sufficient tests if rigorously enforced.

77. I have had no experience.

78. No. The Public Works Department establishment with famine in only 6 of the 21 districts in Madras Presidency was strained to the uttermost in 1896-97.

79. In the early days of the famine no distance reductions were allowed. As the weather became hotter ¼ deduction of task was allowed in Bellary District for villages between 3 and 5 miles distant and ½ task for villages over 5 miles, while in Cuddapah ¼ deduction was allowed for every mile in excess of the first. Finally, in April 1897, orders were issued by Government to make a deduction of $\frac{1}{10}$ task per mile. There was no uniformity anywhere, different deductions being made in different districts according to the will of the Collector.

No reductions were allowed to those living in huts on the work. The only precaution possible is the knowledge of "the officer in charge" of the distance of a village from the work, and the statements of head coolies as to the villages people come from. I have no doubt there was a good deal of fraud in the matter.

80. Very little hutting was constructed. No statistics available.

81, 82. No.

83. Yes, because everyone was admitted on the small and numerous works, and families were earning 7, 8 and 10 annas per day.

84. Practically no piece-work was done in my Circle. I tried to introduce it in one work in Nandikotkur Taluk of Kurnool, where distress was not supposed to be acute, but task-works were too close and people would not come to it.

85, 86. I am, if distress is taken in time; *vide* my notes.

87. I do, if piece-work is carried out on the principle I propose, *i.e.*, all able-bodied people forced to concentrate on such works before they become weakened, and their dependants fed at home if necessary, I believe it to be much the best form of relief, and the objections to it stated by the Famine Commission vanish. The objections are most certainly less, in my opinion, than can be urged against task-work.

88. If labourers are drafted to a work at all, I would make them all work at piece-work. There are almost certain to be some strong members of a gang who make up for the weak ones. A kitchen should be on the work to assist labourers in cases of sickness. There are, however, always odd jobs to be done in earth-work, such as breaking clods, carrying water, ramming, etc., which must always be paid for by daily wages, and the weaker people might be put on the first two of these.

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89. No. I would place no limit at first. If it was found that professional diggers working in gangs were making too much money, I would split them up among weaker men.

90. In Madras the typical gang is supposed to be 100 on task-work, and the average number of diggers in it would be 15. I think for task-work a better unit for payment would be a gang of 50 with 7 or 8 diggers. On piece-work the people should be allowed to form their own gangs, with such assistance as was needed, but to prevent the multiplication of measurements I would impose a minimum limit of 12, which would generally mean 3 diggers and 9 carriers.

91. If payment was made to the head of a piece-work gang formed as above, I think it would be distributed fairly, the members of the gang being of the same village and as far as possible of the same caste. Complaints on this score are rare in ordinary times.

92. I will take the case of two taluks in the Ceded Districts—(1) the Adoni Taluk in Bellary District which had nine relief works and 56,423 workers as a maximum, and (2) Anantapur Taluk of Anantapur District which had eight relief works and 10,956 workers as a maximum, these being about the two extremes. The attached table compares the probable number and cost of special establishment required for piece-work and task-work. The table shows that the saving amounts to the same in each case. It also shows how wasteful in establishment is the system of numerous small task-works as in Anantapur. It will be noted that at piece-work I give a Sub-Overseer charge of 5,000 workers, and this may seem excessive, but taking the average number of a gang at 20, his charge amounts to 250 gangs, so that if he measures each gang's work once a week he must do 42 gangs per day working six days a week. This means five gangs per hour, or a gang in 12 minutes. If he keeps his pits regular he should only have three measurements to take per each gang.

Comparative statement shewing the numbers and cost of special establishment required for Task-work and Piece-work in Adoni Taluq of Bellary District and Anantapur Taluq of Anantapur District.

Taluq.	Task-Work.									Piece-Work.										Possible Reduction.								Remarks.
	Number of workers.	Number of works.	Establishment.										Establishment.															
			Officers.	Pay.	Upper Subordinates.	Pay.	Lower Subordinates.	Pay.	Total number.	Total monthly pay.	Number of workers.	Number of works.	Number of workers in each work.	Officers.	Pay.	Upper Subordinates.	Pay.	Lower Subordinates.	Pay.	Total number.	Total pay.	Officers.	Pay.	Upper Subordinates.	Pay.	Lower Subordinates.	Pay.	Total.	Pay.	
				R		R		R		R	*				R		R		R		R				R		R		R	
Adoni.	56,423	9	1	500	9	100	13	50	23	2,050	40,000	2	20,000	1	500	¾	100	8	50	13	1,300	...	...	5	100	5	50	10	750	* If piece-work is adopted, I calculate that the numbers on relief works would be reduced by at least ⅓, and that on a work with 20,000 workers the staff should be— One Assistant Engineer or selected Sub-Engineer. Two Upper Subordinates, each to have charge of 10,000 workers. Four Lower Subordinates, each to have charge under the Upper Subordinates of 5,000 men.
Anantapur.	10,956	3	1	500	3	100	7	50	11	1,150	7,400	1	7,400	...	...	1	300	2	50	3	400	1	500	2	...	5	50	8	750	In charge of a work with less than 10,000 workers I would put an experienced Upper Subordinate, say, Sub-Engineer, 2nd grade, and give him a Lower Subordinate for 5,000 workers, and an extra one for any excess over 5,000.

I have only taken the regular Public Works Department establishment in making the above comparison, and omitted maistries, clerks and paymasters, as such men are generally obtainable, and my object is to show the relief that piece-work would afford to the Public Works Department establishment.

93. I think there will be great difficulty at first in the Ceded Districts because the people there have become so demoralised by successive famines, in which task-work has been the prevailing form of work. They will probably have to be forced to go to works. I think it is quite time the people learned the truth of the saying that "Heaven helps those who help themselves", which should be equally true of Governments.

94. Into two classes, A and B; *vide* my notes.

95, 96. A question for the medical authorities.

96 A. The task should be in the proportion of

Child	1,
Woman	2,
Man	3,

the wage for men and women may be as in Code: a man always earns more than a woman in ordinary life, and it would upset 'mamul'; a serious thing in this country if their wages were equal.

97. From 12 to 16 as two units earning woman's wage.

Below 12 as one unit earning child's wage.

98. On piece-work 10.

On task-work 7.

99. Reduction of wage always after the first week enforced rigorously.

100. I would fine without minimum, having first set a task within the reach of all except malingerers.

101. D wage not sufficiently prevalent in Madras to enable me to answer.

102. No. I am not. At task-work the maximum task should not be exceeded except for very special reasons such as a desire to complete a useful work.

103. If only A and B classes are adopted I would pay no Sunday wage. To all workers classed as D, who had been at work for four days of the previous week, I would give the Sunday wage—D class wages.

104. My own opinion from much observation of carrying earth and stone by famine workers is that the standard task adopted in Madras of 2 cubic feet per unit carried 5 miles and returning with the empty basket is a very fair one, erring slightly towards severity. I think, in fact, that it is too severe during the hot weather, and would reduce the distance to 4 miles from March 15 to June 15.

105.* Mr. Higham's formula is, I believe, pretty correct theoretically, but I think its adoption is unnecessary. No allowance for 'initial effort' has ever been made in Madras, and I do not think there is any need to improve on the people's own methods in this respect. For 'lift' the allowance in Madras is, for first yard nothing, and for every additional yard an extra 10 yards of lead or 1 in 10. This is understood everywhere, and easily applied. It must be remembered that although the initial effort has to be applied much more frequently for short leads than for long, a carrier walks much more slowly on a long lead than a short, and the net result is much the same. Simplicity is of the first necessity on relief works, and I think the formula proposed would puzzle many of our sub-overseers. I do not therefore recommend its adoption. I would ignore initial effort, and make whatever allowance for lift as is usual in each province.

106. The duty of an ordinary famine woman carrier (2 units) in Madras is $5{,}280 \times 5 \times \cdot 4 = 10{,}560$. As said above I consider this somewhat too severe, and I think Mr. Higham's duty of 10,000 might be generally adopted.

107. Yes. I have drawn up tables with this object.

108. The unit in Madras has been 100. I think half this or 50 would be more manageable.

112. The men were very generally conspicuous by their absence. I have no figures by me to show this. They increased in numbers as the distress deepened, and I think it is a safe test of distress when men flock to the work in large numbers.

113. I believe the absence of men was accounted for as follows:—

(1) They were still employed in add jobs about the fields.

(2) A man being classed as 4 units had to work so much harder than the women to do his task and earn his wage that he preferred to stay at home and mind the house and cattle, and send the whole of the rest of the family to the work.

This would be prevented if works were concentrated and given out on piece-work.

113A. I think so. I would develop the ordinary operations of the Public Works Department and Land Revenue Departments in every possible way, in the hope of staving off distress by these means alone, *i.e.*, I would give full grants for all works in progress, and additional grants for any suitable sanctioned works.

113B. I think not. With good crops and a fall in price the people may be left to take care of themselves.

113C. A question for the Examiner. I should say the former.

113D. My views on this subject have been expressed in my note on Mr. Higham's proposals.

114. All relief works of an engineering nature, except petty repairs to village tanks, should be carried out by Public Works Department. The above mentioned petty repairs, when carried out by dependants in return for food, gratuitous relief, and relief to special classes, such as weavers, should be carried out by Revenue Department.

115. The Collector should have no control. He should be at liberty to inspect a work, and to make any suggestion he likes about the health and comfort of the coolies.

116. The Collector should be held responsible for—

(1) sending people to the work before they become too weak for ordinary work;

(2) keeping the bazaar supplied with food;

(3) keeping the Treasury supplied with money.

The Executive Engineer should be responsible for everything else.

117. The Collector may delegate his authority in the above items to his assistants.

118. On piece-work Public Works officers and upper subordinates only. On task-works a Civil officer would probably be best to relieve the strain on Public Works Department establishment with a Public Works Department sub-overseer for professional assistance.

119. Yes.

120. Yes, except that the Revenue Department, having more authority over grain-dealers, should arrange for supplies to the bazaar.

121. This would be a good thing where Public Works Department officers already have magisterial powers; but that is not the case in Madras, and I do not think it is necessary to give them such power in times of famine. A police guard should be given to every large concentrated work, for escorting money, maintaining order, etc.

122. Several works were opened by Civil Agency, and taken over by Public Works Department as soon as a subordinate was available. The most awful confusion generally reigned before this was done. In Madras the Civil Agency has seldom sufficient knowledge of the proper manner to conduct a relief work.

123. Many of the works in Anantapur District were so small, that they might have been managed by Civil officers, if the latter had the requisite knowledge; but they had not. The best course is to place all works under Public Works Department, and give that Department full powers.

124. (*i*) Daily.

(*ii*) Advances should be given to start with, and food and payments should thereafter be made once a week.

125. Pice: because it would so greatly increase the labour of daily payments, if they were made to nearest pie.

*Note.—Since writing this I have had the advantage of discussing the matter with Mr. Higham, and he has convinced me that for short leads the formula, including initial effort, is absolutely necessary, if carriers are not to be overtasked. I therefore accept his formula and recommend its adoption, provided that it is embodied in tables, and not left to a sub-overseer to unravel.

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126. Gang muharrirs, *i.e.*, in Madras, head coolies, on the system in force in North-Western Provinces.

127. No.

129. On piece-work I think 20,000 could be managed. On task-work anything over 5,000 is unwieldy, but I would nevertheless concentrate up to 10,000. It is impossible to fix a minimum. If my proposal to concentrate works is adopted there should never be less than 5,000 on a work at the maximum period of distress.

130. Yes, wherever needed. Cash doles are, in my opinion, the most fatal method of demoralising the people.

131. I ordered diaries to be kept on all works in 3rd Circle which would give these figures, but I have not seen them since the famine closed. The actual cost was three to six times normal cost in Madras, owing to the excessive leniency of tasking. I consider a fair ratio to be the following:—

Task work (i) 2 to 1.

(ii) 2½ to 3 to 1.

Piece work (i) 1½ to 1.

(ii) 2 to 1.

With careful management it could certainly be done cheaper, but I much doubt if in Madras, where the people have been so demoralised, it will be possible to work for less than the above ratios in the next famine.

132. I have not elaborated this very important question, but the principle should be as few and simple returns as possible; the time of officers in charge of works is now far too much taken up with returns. When forms are decided on, they should be printed in large numbers, so as to be in readiness. The district presses could not cope with the demand for forms in the last famine.

133, etc. I received none personally. but heard that they were made by the Madras Railway between Adoni and Gooty, and by the cotton mills at Guntakal and Adoni.

134. Yes, the best way to prevent this is to concentrate people on works away from their homes.

135. I believe employers were only offering normal rates, and in some cases were trying to get coolies at famine wage. Also they never employed whole families, but only the able-bodied men and women, so that the people naturally preferred relief works.

137. See answer to 134.

139. I doubt it, except that in cases of severe distress where more useful works could not be found, I would put the people to dig the fields.

155. No: they should stay at home.

157. I think so, but it would not be if it was only given in the shape of cooked food.

162. Probably.

194. If the State determines to relieve the dependants of those away on large concentrated works, there should be a kitchen in every village.

198. Cooked food.

(*President*).—You are now acting as Chief Engineer?—Yes.

For the whole province?—Yes.

How many years' service have you had in India?—23.

All in Madras—Yes.

Have you served in many districts?—In five or six altogether. In Godavari, Nilgiris, Coimbatore, Ceded Districts, Periyar, and Kistna.

You say that early in April the classification was changed by the order of Government—by the omnibus order or some other order?—Yes, by the omnibus order.

Do you know when that order reached the districts?—I think about the middle of April—if I recollect rightly. Certainly not later than that.

It is said to have left the Board's office on the 19th of April?—I thought it was earlier.

At that rate effect could not have been given to it much before the end of April?—Certainly. Possibly it did not reach the districts till the end of April or the beginning of May.

It has been argued before us that in the hot weather reduction of task by distance allowance and weakly allowance was after all not inadvisable, considering the condition of the people. What is your opinion on that?—I think you ought to make some difference in the hot weather certainly, when it is far more difficult for them to do work than in any part of the year. But I think the amount of reductions given was far too great. The rate of reduction of one-eighth task for villages over 3 miles and one-fourth task for villages over 5 miles is certainly not too high in the hot weather.

You remark on the effect of the personal equation on the numbers of relief workers, is that shown in Bellary?—The Bellary Collector was very anxious to carry out all his instructions to the full. I think they were carried out to a greater extent in the Bellary district than they were in any other place. That was merely due to his anxiety to do his duty to the best of his ability. I certainly think that these lenient rules were carried out here to a greater extent than elsewhere, excepting Kurnool.

Do you think that people who went on relief works in Bellary and Anantapur were really under severe distress?—I think there was undoubted distress most certainly everywhere. That was proved by high prices. There must be distress when prices have reached a high level. But the condition of the people there has been very little different from what it was in ordinary times except in a few cases. The majority of the people seemed to be in the same condition as in ordinary times. That is due to the fact that relief works were opened in good time and before they became weak.

Had you any experience of previous famine?—No, sir, none.

You would make the Collector responsible only for selecting proper time and place for opening a relief work?—Yes.

But suppose that, owing to severity of the task or stringency in exacting fines, people do not go to the works?—I do not think there is any necessity for that supposition. We know well what people will do, and we may safely be trusted to fix the task.

You know what an ordinary coolie who works on the works will do?—Yes.

During famine different classes go on the works?—Yes, on task-work. My principle is that they should be put on half the task that able-bodied people could do. We should insist upon it in the most rigorous manner. Otherwise the whole thing becomes nominal and the task becomes a farce.

You would make the Superintending Engineer and Executive Engineer responsible for the works?—Yes, for everything. I say an Engineer has more knowledge of the people than any other man. He can be implicitly trusted not to exact a task too highly or to be too hard-hearted. I never could understand the argument that we are more hard-hearted than others.

Surely the Collector of a district through his Revenue establishment and from the nature of his ordinary district work is in a better position to know what danger there is of loss of life, and how far the people are maintaining their health than any other officer?—He is certainly more able to know the state of the health of the people. That is why I say, "give him the power to select works and send the people there." But the people and the works may be entrusted to us with implicit confidence.

Suppose they do not go on the works?—I would make able-bodied people go on the works.

You mean by legislation?—Yes, I would make them go by the Police. If you give people certain means of helping themselves to tide over distress, and if they do not avail themselves of those means, it is our duty to make them do it as far as we possibly can.

Do you not think that if it were known that the Police were dragging people, as it were, to the works, it would increase the people's prejudice against the works?—If it was known that work was going to be given at certain centres, and that no relief would be given anywhere except at those centres, people would be induced to go there themselves without any pressure. But the only difficulty would be that they might not go till they become too weak to do any work. That is why I say they should be forced to go. "Heaven helps those who help themselves." It should be the same with Government.

You have heard that poor-houses started in famines are generally unpopular institutions?—A certain amount of stigma attaches to them in all countries.

If you force people to go on works by the Police, would not a relief work become a sort of prison in public opinion?—I think they would soon get accustomed to it. You do not demoralise them in any way by making them go on the works. By giving them piece-work you increase

their morals and you help them without enormous cost to the State. In the late famine people were almost forced to go on the works up in the North-West.

Was piece-work tried in Ganjam and Vizagapatam?—I do not know. I was not there, and so I have no personal knowledge of it. It was tried on the Buckingham Canal in the famine of 1877-78, and it met with very great success. I have mentioned it in my letter, page 4, paragraph 5. I came across it quite accidentally. The beauty of it is, if you give them piece-work they can work at all hours; they can work on moonlight nights and rest during the heat of the day which in itself is an immense blessing in the hot weather.

(*Mr. Higham.*)—With reference to your answer to question 19, do you consider that the test works are of any service in showing the number of people that require relief. What is your opinion of the value of test works as showing the necessity for relief—I do not think that the test work is any good, unless it is at a considerable distance from the village affected.

How would you open works for test purposes?—I would increase the ordinary works of the Public Works Department and the Local Fund Department as much as possible, and see if people came to them. If they did, I should consider that it is a test of distress.

How would you employ them on the works?—By piece-work.

Under contract or family piece arrangement?—By ordinary family gang.

You would give all those who come a certain amount of piece to do?—If there is any irrigation going on or repair of tanks, for which I have a certain grant, I would increase the grant to the full extent of the estimate and take on as many people as could come.

Suppose you have no grant?—I would ask for a fresh one. But the real test of distress are the prices. If prices rise to a certain limit you may be certain there is distress.

Your test then is the expansion of ordinary public works conducted on piece-work system?—Yes, conducted on ordinary principles.

That is to say under special contractors?—I would not say that. Give each gang its headman in the same way as ordinary small gangs do ordinary work.

Do you recommend that the only people who should be admitted on relief works should be those who are able-bodied and capable of earning their living by piece-work?—I should say that piece-work should be adopted and should be given a fair trial.

To those who are not able-bodied and who could not come to piece-work, how would you give relief?—I would either give the representatives of the family a wage in excess of the ordinary piece-work rate such as would enable them to support their dependants, or support their dependants myself in their homes in the villages.

By gratuitous relief?—Yes.

In what form?—Cooked food.

You would tell all those who would not come to piece-work that they would have to get cooked food if they wanted relief?—I would not give cooked food to the able-bodied men. I would let them do what they please, and I would not gratuitously relieve them. It is only the young, the old, the weakly and the sickly that should be relieved.

The method by which you would force the able-bodied to go to the relief work is by refusing relief to them in any other form?—If they seem to be deteriorating in condition, I would force them to go to the relief works rather than allow them to suffer. I think a special period of distress requires special means to combat with it. I do not see why we should not force them to go to relief works.

What is your opinion as regards the possibility of opening large works in each district?—Our investigation has been conducted in that direction, I consider, in a wrong spirit so far. We always estimate the prospects of a work by ordinary principles, whether it will yield 4 per cent. or 4½ per cent. or 5 per cent.; whereas the proper thing should be to have irrigation work, however unremunerative it may be. It is better than road works because we can get something out of it.

Do you think that certain projects could have been started during the late famine?—No, because they were not ready.

You say there were none ready?—There were some ready and one or two started; but as only labouring people from the neighbourhood could be put on them, they were not finished. There was a project, for instance, in Cuddapah which would have taken the whole of the coolies in Cuddapah and half the coolies in Kurnool before it was finished.

Why then were not those coolies utilised?—Because they were given work near at hand according to the system prevailing.

What is the project you are referring to?—The Chepad project in the Cuddapah district. It is a channel 26 miles long, costing 3 lakhs of rupees. We have done only 2 miles of it.

Were there relief works in the neighbourhood?—Yes, there was relief work all round—in Prodattore, Jammalamadugu, and also in Kurnool.

Do you then attribute the fact of the coolies not coming to this work to there being relief works in the neighbourhood?—Yes. No attempt was ever made to take the coolies more than 5 miles away from their homes.

How many coolies could you employ on the 25 miles?—I could not tell you that without calculation. Certainly the whole of the relief workers in the adjacent taluks can be easily employed.

Were there any other works on the Cuddapah Canal proposed or carried out as relief works?—A small number of relief labourers were employed in connection with tanks.

Are there not a number of distributaries required on this canal in dry lands?—There are, but they are not suitable for relief works as they require very little work, being only 18 inches wide and 2 feet deep. You can have a gang of 500 on a mile, but they are not wanted much now. A great number of these lands are now ploughed or cultivated. They are not wanted except in times of distress when you want to get water to these lands. Then they breach the canal bank and take water by their own channel. There was no difficulty in getting water for their crops.

Were there any other works of irrigation in any of these districts that might have been opened?—Velgode project which would have taken the whole of the Nundikotkur people; but there was no distress there so severe as to necessitate the opening of relief works.

Would you then draw labourers from affected tracts?—Yes. There is a big project in the Adoni taluk which would take half the relief workers in the taluk for a year; and there is another big project in connection with the Tungabadra to which the people should be forced to go, because it is in a part of the district which is not affected. I would make the people from Alur and Bellary—affected tracts—go to Hospet and carry out that project.

What distance?—40 or 50 miles.

(*Mr. LeFanu*).—Was the Velgode project ever sanctioned?—No, it was submitted for sanction, but it was stated that there was no distress.

Has it ever been sanctioned or approved for future execution?—I think it was sanctioned if required for famine relief, because I laid out the first 3 miles of it.

(*Mr. Higham*).—Do you think that irrigation works could have been started in each taluk?—That I cannot say without more investigation. But I am sure if we investigate matters thoroughly on the principle that any irrigation work is better than road mending, we can find a big work in almost every taluk in the Presidency.

(*President*).—Would they be mostly tank works?—Storage of water in some shape or form.

(*Mr. Higham*).—What is your view about the proper way of classifying labour?—I think we ought to have it in two classes, call them what you like, A and B, or B and C, or C and D.

Those classes would provide for the strong and the weak?—No. In A class, which is a special class, I will put people for special work which is hard; and in B class I will put everybody else and they will be paid according to the task turned out.

Suppose there is a task work and each man is to receive a certain daily wage, you will only have one daily wage for all?—I will have one daily wage for one particular task, and if they do not do that task I will give less daily wage.

You will have fines?—Yes.

To what limit?—No limit. I would have no minimum at all. I would have the initial task the highest task to be performed, *i.e.*, half the task of an able-bodied labourer in ordinary times, and nothing less.

There is no minimum wage?—No.

Then would you give the same wage to all people, either diggers or carriers?—Yes.

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Do you find any difficulty in getting a sufficient number of diggers?—Oh! yes, decidedly.

Don't you think that that difficulty renders it necessary to distinguish between diggers and carriers in the matter of wage?—I think, excepting short leads, the carrier has quite as hard work as the digger.

He may have quite as hard work; it is not a question of hardness of work, but it is a question of quality of work?—I think it is a question of the hardness of work.

Is it not necessary to give a higher wage to people who dig than to those who carry baskets, even supposing they do the same amount of work?—In an ordinary piece-work a digger does more work than a carrier, and probably takes a larger share of the profit; but I do not think there is any necessity for introducing that into task-work.

How would you expect strong diggers to come to task-work if you only pay them the same wage as you pay all the carriers?—We do not find much difficulty in getting a sufficient number of diggers, provided our lead is a decent one. In regard to road earth-work we have great difficulty in giving the carriers sufficient work.

In most Provinces the main work is road work?—It is not so much in gravelling but in the earth-work of new roads where the difficulty comes in. In small irrigation channels also the lead and the lift are very small.

You employ women on road metalling?—Yes. Road metalling is an excellent form of work for women.

In some provinces they cannot find road metal?—There is always that difficulty.

Then you say that in Madras there is no necessity to make any distinction between diggers and carriers?—Yes, I think it would introduce an unnecessary complication. You ought to be as simple as possible in regard to relief works.

What is your opinion of the best size of the task-work party?—Our unit in Madras is supposed to be 100. I think it is too big. I would sooner have 50. That I think is the best unit. That means 7 or 8 diggers and the rest are carriers.

Your opinion is that task-work and piece-work cannot be run together in the same work?—Yes. I do not think you can run task-work and piece-work together. If you run task-work, you cannot get men to take piece-work.

Suppose you put the able-bodied men on piece-work and give task-work to weaker ones?—You can do it in this way with piece-workers. In connection with piece-work there are always a great many jobs, such as breaking clods, ramming and sectioning, and all that can be done by daily wage—that is by task. You can make that combination and no other.

Did you receive any complaints or hear of any complaints that relief works were affecting the supply of labour?—I heard them, but I had no complaints made to me. I heard that the Railway people at Gooty complained that they could not get sufficient labourers, and that the cotton mills at Adoni and Guntakal could not get labourers. That is only a report after all and I do not know if there is anything serious in it. No complaint was ever made to me personally.

Have you taken out figures to show the value of work done in task-work in proportion to the men employed?—I had a diary kept on every work showing that, with the intention of giving the whole account at the end of the famine. Whether those diaries have been kept up and the results tabulated or not, I do not know as I have come away.

That question, as far as you know, has not been worked out?—I do not know whether it has been or not. That will be known to the Superintending Engineer of the circle.

Who succeeded you?—Mr. Larminie; I started these diaries in the early days of the famine.

Did any work come to conclusion by the time you left?—No. Therefore it is I have not seen the diaries. They were to be kept on the works and were not to be submitted until after the close of each work.

(*Mr. Holderness*).—Your proposals, I understand, contemplate a large concentration of works?—Yes.

In that case many workers will have to come long distances?—I would not bring them from adjacent taluks unless it is absolutely necessary, and unless I could not find them work nearer at hand. I would certainly not take them out of their district.

Still a good many people will have to come a considerable distance and live on the works?—Yes, certainly.

Is there any great disinclination on the part of the people to leave their homes and live on the works?—That is hardly within my personal knowledge. Professional diggers come any distance. In the Ceded districts where people have become demoralised by task-work in previous famines, you would have the greatest difficulty in making them leave their homes. They would have to be compelled to leave their homes. They had during the past several famines become accustomed to have the work given to them almost at their very doors or at least within four and five miles of their homes. Therefore any innovation in that direction will meet with the greatest difficulty, and you should exercise the greatest strictness.

During the late famine did you find it difficult to have a sufficient staff?—Yes. Although there were only six districts in the Presidency that were affected, our Public Works Department staff was almost exhausted, in spite of the fact that we took a great many temporary men.

In anticipation of a second failure of the monsoon, did the Government make any enquiry as to labour arrangement or relief arrangement in other districts?—Yes. They sent two gentlemen to enquire into the progress of these districts and arrange the programme.

Was the conclusion to which this commission came, to the effect that they would be driven to large works in consequence of not having a large establishment?—I do not know whether that was to that effect. But that is the only conclusion that they could come to.

If you had an extensive famine you would be driven to it?—Yes. There are other sources like the Sappers in Bangalore and the Army generally, on which we did not draw but from which we ought to be able to get a considerable number of men to supervise. In fact the Sappers were of great assistance in 1877. The Public Works Department staff were exhausted, I may say, even in this limited distress.

We were told that in regard to hutting it is particularly difficult to get material?—Very, in the Ceded districts.

Could that be got over?—On a large work I should make the workers do their own huts with mud and roof them with whatever they can get, such as branches of trees and grass. Bamboos and grass are very difficult to obtain in the Ceded districts, except in Kurnool.

Then under your system you would place a great number of people in villages on gratuitous relief?—That will depend on how far it is necessary to do so. My system contemplates giving the piece-workers either a sufficiently good wage to support their dependants as being the better form of relief, or the ordinary piece-work rate, in which case their dependants will have to be supported by Government on gratuitous relief. I prefer the former. Given a liberal rate, the workers should be able to maintain their dependants.

(*Mr. Higham*).—Before you give gratuitous relief to the dependants of a worker, would you consider what the worker earns by piece-work; would you take into consideration the earnings of a piece-worker before you admit his family to gratuitous relief?—If the piece-worker is only to get the ordinary rates, I should take it more or less for granted that he could not support his dependants by his earnings. I think myself that by far the best thing to do is to increase our rate and let them support their own dependants.

Then the work would cost you a good deal more?—Yes, but it would never be like task-work.

I suppose that the duty of relieving the people gratuitously in villages would fall on the Revenue Department?—Yes, on the village authority.

It would be left to the village authority to say with respect to a particular person whether he has somebody on the works to support him or not?—Yes.

Will there not be some difficulty in that?—No. The village authorities know every child in the village.

Do you know anything of the piece-work system introduced in the Nellore district?—The Collector was talking to me about it. I do not think that his test was sufficiently extensive to judge either the one way or the other. He wanted very much to go on the task-work system; but if he once goes to task-work he can never come to piece-work.

Then his experiments have not gone far enough to enable one to judge?—Yes. He took great interest in it. I could not get definite information from the figures he has shown me. If he had continued his experiments we should have had definite results.

Has the matter been put in the hands of the Superintending Engineer; has he been told to stop these works?—The Chief Engineer for Irrigation has been asked to prepare two projects for immediate execution. I think he has been told to arrange for the commencement of these projects, but not as relief works. I have no orders to render help in any way.

Has not the Public Works Department in the Madras Presidency issued any orders or circulars in regard to the management of relief works by its own officers—I mean for the guidance of Public Works officers?—No. I used to issue circulars as Superintending Engineer of the III Circle, and I was generally told that I had nothing to do with the matter.

There has been no pronouncement in the Public Works Department on the part of the Madras Government as to the way in which relief work should be carried on?—None.

If piece-work is started now in any district, are there any instructions as to the principles that should be followed?—No.

It is left entirely, to whom?—To the Revenue Department.

To the Collector?—Yes. He has practically the sole control and the Executive Engineer is his professional adviser and is more or less a subordinate of the Collector.

(*Mr. Bose*).—In the piece-work system should there be one rate for all classes of workers or a special rate for weakly gangs?—One rate for everybody, because the strong and the weak are mixed together and the strong help the weak to work together.

Then you have no special weakly gangs with special rates?—No, because no one who is not fit to work should be admitted to works.

Is there a maximum fixed in piece-work?—No.

Then would not some people do excessive work?—No, I do not think so. If you have a sufficiently big and useful work I do not think it makes any difference. If you find a lot of professional diggers on the work and they work too quickly, you mix them with weaker men and non-professional men so as to reduce their outturn.

Then you will settle the gang yourself?—Yes, I would allow them to settle it as far as possible; but if the result of that settlement should prove that they do too much work and that the professional workers make a large amount of money I would mix them.

Then you would put weakly persons in that gang?—Yes.

(*Mr. LeFanu*).—In page 2 of your note you show the percentage of population on relief-works in four districts, and you attribute the larger percentage in Bellary and Kurnool to the personal equation of the Collector. Do you not think that the greater extent of the affected area in Bellary and Kurnool and the higher rate of prices in those districts as compared with Cuddapah, accounts for a part of the difference?—I was not aware that prices were dearer in Bellary and Kurnool; and if they were, that would account for a part of the difference. As to the point of area, my view is that the Collector of Cuddapah kept the area treated as distressed in his district down, and if he had not done so, and if relief works had been opened in parts of the districts which were not treated as distressed, there would have been the same number of relief workers on them as there were on the relief works in tracts treated as distressed. *Mr. W. B. De Winton.* *12th Feb. 1898.*

It is admitted in your former answers that the omnibus circular could not have come into effect before the 1st of May, and perhaps not till sometime later. Are you right therefore in ascribing the increased number of relief workers to that circular?—I never attributed more than a certain proportion of the increase to that circular.

Can you say that the omnibus G.O. was given effect to before the 1st of June?—I cannot say. A great effect in that direction has been produced by the reduction given by the medical officers on account of weakness.

As a matter of fact the Code gives the Superintending Engineer no position?—Practically none.

As a fact you did not stick to the Code?—I objected to being ignored.

As a fact you did not accept the position of the Code?—I considered I was only doing my duty in helping my officers as I do in ordinary times. The Code certainly restricted my powers in professional matters.

As a fact the Code gives you no position at all?—If you stick to the absolute letter of the Code and if you confine the word "professional" to a very limited meaning, it gives me no position whatever.

(*Mr. Higham*).—What would you include in the word "professional?—All methods of labour, specially task. All task tables should be under the control of the professional men.

(*Mr. LeFanu*).—The Code puts all operations under the control of the Famine Commissioner. Did you accept that position and act on it as a fact?—I had absolutely no relation with the Famine Commissioner. I do not know that I had any official relation with him.

That is very unfortunate. Do you think that under these circumstances the Code has had a chance?—I think the Code had every chance, and it had a great deal too big a chance.

You did not act up to it?—I think I did.

MR. T. RANGA RAO, Deputy Collector, Cuddapah district, called in and examined. *Mr. T. Ranga Rao.* *12th Feb. 1898.*

I put in a written statement of evidence.

I. Departures from the provisions of the Madras Famine Code—

(*a*) The Famine Code provision (section 96) of C and D classes of persons on relief works was done away with. (*Vide* G.O. No. 216, dated 30th March 1897.)

(*b*) Males between 12 and 16 years of age were given three-fourths task of an adult, but granted full wage of an adult. Similarly, females of the same age were given three-fourths of a woman's task, but granted full wage of a woman.

(*c*) Nursing mothers and women in advanced pregnancy were treated as equivalent to 1½ units, *i.e.*, 1½ children according to the standard task for typical gangs in famine relief works, but full wages were given.

(*d*) Children under 12 and above 7 years of age were given not less than half wage as against quarter minimum wage as per Famine Code.

(*e*) Divisional officers were also empowered to modify tasks to suit physical condition.

(*f*) Section 106 of the Famine Code relating to fines was amended twice.

Rule 8 of Appendix VI was modified, and half a day's wage was allowed for half a day's work. For late attendance, a special rate of fine not exceeding quarter day's wage was prescribed, instead of the Code provision by which no concession was permissible, except proportionate reduction of wages for the whole gang for short work.

(*g*) The price of grain adopted for the calculation of wages was that prevailing at the cusbah of the taluk, but it was since modified to that prevailing in the nearest village.

(*h*) In regard to weavers' relief operations, Appendix VII of the Famine Code was completely altered. Instead of buying cloths from weavers, and paying for cloths partly in materials and partly in money, materials were advanced, and when the cloths were woven and returned, wages were paid according to a task-table prescribed with reference to results of actual experiments.

(*i*) Under section 135 of the Famine Code, gosha women relieved by grain doles were required in return to perform some suitable work, such as grinding grain for kitchens, spinning cotton, winding silk. Such work not being practicable

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in most cases relief was granted without exacting any work.

II. Degree of success attending the measures adopted for relief of distress and saving of human life, and next with regard to economy—

(1) The famine relief works provided work to every person who was able and willing to work, and thus enabled him to earn for the support of himself. Inasmuch as each of the members of a family who could work earned a wage, the aggregate wage so earned went far to relieve distress.

There was no death by starvation, and the fact that distress was relieved in a variety of ways saved human life. The food given in kitchens was partaken of by the needy without objection, and was sufficient as far as I saw. Grain doles were satisfactorily distributed in villages. Simultaneously with the opening of relief works gratuitous relief should have been started, which, however, was not done in the Jammalamadugu Division, which must have unnecessarily caused some avoidable distress.

With regard to economy, I have my doubts whether it could not have been more so by adopting measures for supplying cheap grain without interfering with the market.

III. Advice as to the measures and methods of working likely to be effective in—

(1) relieving distress and saving human life, and

(2) with regard to economy.

(*a*) I would suggest that one person, male or female, as the case may be, above 12 and under 16 years of age for every house where there are incapables, and whose other inmates might have gone to labour on the relief works, be given grain dole so that the comfort and convenience of the incapables may be looked after.

(*b*) I would suggest that some arrangements be made for the incapables relieved at central kitchens, and also those relieved by grain doles, being medically treated. This seems all the more necessary, as the capable inmates absent themselves a long time at the relief works, and in travelling to the same and back home, and have to leave home before sunrise, and the time spent at home, after cooking and performing household avocations, being therefore so little and this little time being night time.

(*c*) As regards economy, I would recommend that a list of persons with particulars for identification receiving grain doles be sent to the officers in charge of relief works, and Kitchen Superintendents with instructions to see that recipients of grain doles are not admitted into central kitchens and into kitchens attached to relief works.

IV. Other recommendations or opinions useful in future famines—

In famine relief operations of all kinds the most important factor is the supply of cheapest possible staple food-grain. Though the wages allowed were calculated with reference to marked prices, no attempt, I know of, has been made to provide staple food-grain at the cheapest possible rates. It is well known that competition in the trade results in the fall of prices, so that I would recommend that tenders be called for for the supply of staple food-grain to relief workers, and the same supplied to them under the supervision of responsible officers. I have searched famine reports to find whether there are any statistics of relief workers having been swindled by grain dealers, though the relief workers were paid at the market rate of the staple food-grain, but without success. In fact this important point does not seem to have attracted the attention it deserves. For want of such help I have no doubt that relief workers have been put to some avoidable difficulty notwithstanding the anxiety of Government to adequately help them. I suspect also that, in the absence of fixed reasonable prices of staple food-grains obtained by inviting and accepting tenders, there has been some room afforded for unscrupulous persons to instigate the grain dealers to raise prices, on the assurance that such high prices will be realized on the hypothesis that Government pays relief wages in relation to market prices obtaining in the nearest village. Such restriction of prices without definition obtaining in the nearest village affords all the greater scope for foul play as above indicated, the grain dealers in a village being ordinarily few and easily manipulated.

From experience, I am of opinion that, in the course of weavers' relief operations, Indian made yarn should be used, but not English made yarn. The former is far cheaper and more durable than the latter. The cloths woven being intended for consumption in India by the lower orders, who prefer durable cloths, which can stand rough usage, to fine but flimsy cloths, it seems out of place to use English yarn for the purpose. It has come within my personal knowledge that, for want of appreciation of this, thousands of rupees have been spent extra which might well have been saved.

Kitchens for weavers' dependants also should be opened simultaneously with the starting of weavers' relief operations.

During the recent famine the only experts in the weavers' relief scheme were the appraisers, who were for the most part the employés of local cloth dealers; and there were hardly means of detecting ingenious frauds, if any, as the other officers in the scheme had only just learnt the subject of weaving. I would therefore recommend that a responsible expert in the full sense of the term be appointed in future to supervise the weavers' relief operations, seeing that lakhs of rupees have to be spent in the undertaking.

In the weavers' relief operations in the Jammalamadugu Division, very large quantities of the same kind of cloths were turned out. It must be difficult to obtain a sale for them. If cloths of different kinds including dyed cloths in a variety of suitable colours be manufactured, it will catch the popular taste. No cloths for the use of females were made. Such may also be advantageously woven.

(*President*).—May I ask what is your appointment?—I am now Deputy Collector.

In what district?—Cuddapah district.

Were you in that district during the famine?—I was in that district when famine commenced for 2½ months.

After that?—I was transferred to the sub-divisional charge.

In the same district?—Yes.

What sub-division?—The Sub-Collector's sub-division which is called the Madanapalle sub-division.

Have you had any former experience of scarcity or famine?—No.

In your note of evidence you describe the departures from the provisions of the Code. Do you think that it is right to do away with the C and D classes?—Yes, I think so.

Do you think that the D class rate is sufficient?—It is too low. That is the general feeling.

Is that not a mere theory as it has not had any chance of being proved by experience?—It is the complaint of the workers that it is not sufficient.

Do you think that children between 12 and 16 require big rations like adults?—Yes, I should think so, and I think they require full nutrition—at least as much as the ration which an adult gets, if not more.

Children between 7 and 12 would, according to the Code, get quarter wage—is that the case?—I do not remember.

You will give them not less than one-half?—Yes.

You are a divisional officer?—Yes.

Did you modify the task?— No, I did not do it. Mr. Narayanasawmy Pillay was in charge and was doing famine work. After two months I relieved him of his ordinary duties and he was doing famine work.

You were not in charge of famine works?—I was in charge only for two months.

You say with regard to point G in your statement that the prices of grain at the cusbah of a taluk often differed very much from those in villages?—Yes. At the cusbah it was comparatively cheaper than in villages. Because at the cusbah there was competition between several traders, whereas in villages the competition was comparatively less.

Did not the grain dealers in villages feel themselves bound by cusbah rates?—No.

Who fixed the prices in villages—did every shop-keeper fix it himself?—Generally every shop-keeper fixed it himself. When they came to the cusbah they regulated the prices according to those ruling in the market. Altogether there was a sort of compromise among grain dealers and they fixed the prices.

What sort of difference was there between the cusbah and village rates so far as you have observed?—The difference is about half a seer.

Did you live at the cusbah yourself?—Yes.

Did you watch how the prices varied from day to day?—I did not specially note it. It was all reported to the Collector by the famine relief officer.

Can you tell me how in your opinion grain dealers do fix prices at a cusbah—do they actually talk to each other or consult each other?—They consult each other and get letters from various stations, and if they find that there is scarcity and that prices are running high elsewhere, they raise the prices accordingly and fix them.

You think they fix the price according to the price elsewhere rather than on the stock in hand at a cusbah itself?—Yes.

I notice in the fortnightly returns that sometimes in adjoining taluks there is a difference of perhaps 3 seers in prices occasionally. Have you noticed any difference of that kind?—I have noticed it, though the price is the same on the market days. This is more or less attributable to want of communication. If there was railway communication between two stations, the difference should be nominal, but where the communication is rather difficult and where it takes time for grain to come, merchants speculate and try to make the best of the occasion. It may be also due to different kinds of the same grain classed under one denomination.

Do you think that such a thing as a "ring" among grain dealers to keep the prices up is possible in India now-a-days?—I think it is possible not amongst all grain dealers, but among certain grain dealers who have a large stock. There are some grain dealers who act as a sort of intermediary between consumers and large stock-holders; and when the season is bad and when there are large stocks of grain in the hands of a few merchants they always consult each other and fix the prices.

Do you think that the majority of grain dealers could not bring any sort of compulsion to bear on the minority or could not boycot them?—No.

Practically the bazar rate fixed in a cusbah varies from day to day?—Not so much in outlying places, but it more or less varies according to the market days. There are weekly markets and bi-weekly markets in some places. It depends upon the rate on market days.

Between the market days, do all consider themselves bound to sell at the last market rate?—The buyers insist upon the delivery of grain according to the last market rate.

Do they think that they have a right to do so?—Yes, they do insist upon it.

There is no law that gives them the right to insist—it is only a custom?—Yes.

Were weavers in distress in your parts?—Yes, weavers were in distress; and relief operations were commenced by Government.

In what months did weavers come for relief?—At the end of November or beginning of December 1896.

Then weavers showed distress very soon?—Yes, because those people who used to advance yarn to them to get cloths manufactured stopped doing so.

Who were those people?—Marwaris and local Komati merchants.

Do country people advance yarn to get cloths made?—Yes. In outlying villages in the Cuddapah district there are weavers by profession who make their own cloths and also export cloths to Bombay.

Why did the Marwaris stop advancing money, I wonder?—I believe cloths were manufactured for sale in the Bombay Presidency; and when they found that there was no market there for them, they consequently stopped advancing this side.

I suppose weavers make a very small profit in ordinary times in dealing with Marwaris?—Just enough profit to support themselves.

If the rates were not altered in times of high prices, they would not be able to make a subsistence at all?—Yes.

Do you know whether the rates of wages for private employment for coolies or other people were altered during the time of scarcity?—At first it was not. When private employers of labour found that Government was getting a large number of workers at very short wages, they thought that they might also do the same and tried to get more work for small wages from the people. I was told that some people who postponed building houses for a long time got them completed.

They got them for smaller wages than usual?—Yes.

It is a disputed point whether the labour coolie class of villages and small puttadars of villages would go to relief works at a distance from their homes, so far distant that they would have to live on the works. What is your opinion on that—would they go?—If they had any resources left to them they would choose not to go, but when they were hard pressed they did go during the late famine.

Then the works were not distant?—They were 10 miles distant, and the people did not mind undergoing that exertion.

What works do you refer to as being 10 miles distant?—I refer to the test works started in the Pulivendla taluk.

Did they go that distance freely?—At first they felt a reluctance, and then persuaded by example they went in large numbers.

What is their objection to going distances?—In the first place they have got cattle to be looked after, then the sick members of the family, and there is anxiety to secure what little property they have got from being stolen. So they always left some person behind to look after these things. They found it safer to send the women to the works and for the males to stay behind.

How did the males who stayed behind support themselves?—They had some work left in the village. The village was not completely bereft of all work.

Do you know whether in the cusbah you lived in there were areas classed as affected and other areas classed as not affected?—Yes.

Was there a great difference in the condition of the labourer classes in the areas that were affected and in the areas that were not affected, or was there much distress in both?—The cusbah where I was, was surrounded on all sides by affected area, namely, Jummalamadugu.

I suppose that all over the Presidency when high prices prevail there must be a certain amount of distress?—Yes.

Were you concerned at all in looking after kitchens?—No, sir. As an officer relieving the divisional officer of his ordinary duties I simply went to look at them.

What classes of people were they who mostly got meals?—Malas and Mathigas and the lowest classes of people.

Did others like Boyas object?—No, they did not object. But the higher castes did not go.

(*Dr. Richardson*).—Did you observe any falling off in the condition of relief workers or their dependants which would have been due to insufficient wages?—No, I did not observe any falling off.

Was their food sufficient in quantity and suitable for the maintenance of the health of the workers so far as you could judge?—Yes, it was sufficient.

Did people suffer from any disease which you would attribute to insufficient or unsuitable dietary?—No. Not that I am aware of.

You say in your note, "I would suggest that some arrangements be made for the incapables relieved in central kitchens, and also those relieved by grain doles being medically treated". If they are not subject to diseases, why should they be medically treated?—Their relations and friends who used to tend them were absent, being on the relief works.

You don't want medicines unless they are ill. Do you mean by attendance, nursing and looking after them?

Mr. T. Ranga Rao.

12th Feb. 1898.

—Yes, I have explained it subsequently in the same paragraph.

(*Mr. Bose*).—Have you no headman among the weavers?—No.

Do they all deal directly with the money-lenders—not through headman?—Yes.

(*Mr. Holderness*).—In ordinary years are agricultural labourers in the district paid in grain at all?—Yes, for the most part and a very small fraction in cash. In addition they are fed *gratis*.

What is the ordinary wage in grain—how much is it?—I believe it is about 3 local seers per day for a thoroughly able-bodied individual doing a full day's work.

Does a woman also get that?—I do not know. Women do not go to work except in their fields. It is only when the season is bad they seek work far beyond their villages.

In ordinary years men will earn 3 seers?—Yes.

And the women don't go out?—Yes. Not far beyond their villages.

Do the children go out?—Not generally.

Then a man earning 3 seers supports his family?—Yes. Perhaps he has miscellaneous resources also.

Of how many units does an average family consist?—In the Ceded districts I would take it at about five.

What is a local seer?—It is larger than the Government seer, but I cannot say how much.

Do you consider $4\frac{1}{2}$ Government seers a liberal allowance for a family of 5?—I do not think it is a very liberal allowance.

You suggest that measures might have been taken for the cheap supply of grains without interfering with the market. How could it have been done?—Inasmuch as the price of grain was fluctuating frequently, it was necessary to ensure that a stock of grain in the country was constantly maintained.

What measures ought the Government to have taken?—I should have called for tenders for the supply of staple food-grain to each relief work or to more than one relief work.

As it was, relief workers were paid in money and they had to make their own arrangements?—Officers made the arrangement for the sale of grain, but I doubt whether they had the full quantity of grain.

You would not have the Government buying grain, but you would merely appoint a contractor for each relief work?—Yes, by inviting tenders and stimulating competition.

Did you form any ideas as to the amount of stocks in the districts—were they large or small?—They were normal at the outset of famine, but as the season grew worse they were being exhausted.

Does the ordinary cultivator keep a considerable stock?—He keeps not a very considerable stock.

Are there any large dealers who keep a considerable stock in the district?—Yes.

Was the district generally well supplied during the famine—was the stock of grain sufficient in the district?—I think it was below the average.

Do you think there were many people who had stocks and who did not sell because they thought there would be a long period of famine?—Yes.

Was that feeling general?—Yes.

Did the more substantial cultivators refuse to sell?—Yes, they did.

Was there ever any panic in the bazars—were the bazars shut up and did people refuse to sell?—Yes, there was a panic.

At what time was it?—In the middle of November.

Then did the rain come after?—Yes, it was previous to the rain.

After rain what happened?—Inasmuch as the prices did not go down, people were apprehensive that they would not be safe with their grain.

Was that the only occasion when there was a panic?—At that time one or two bazars were looted, but after that there was a fear.

With regard to relief to weavers did you supervise it at all?—I had general supervision.

You say in your note that on account of English made yarn being used, thousands of rupees were needlessly spent. Why was that done?—It was all done under orders.

Do you think that special relief is really required for weavers in their own trade?—Yes, when the season asserts itself unfavourable.

If they were not helped in this way, could they have gone on relief works?—Those that were strong could have gone on relief works, but those that were weak would have suffered.

Did some of them go?—Yes.

Have the goods that the Government procured been sold yet?—Not all, they are being sold.

Does the fact of Government selling ready made goods have a depressing effect on the weavers' market?—It must.

One of the ill results of special relief to weavers is that it prevents the recovery of the earnings of that class, it prevents the recovery of trade in that class. The point is, as the Government has already laid up a large quantity of stock, whether the fact of its putting it on an already depressed market prevents the weavers' market from recovering as quickly as it otherwise would?—Inasmuch as the Government put its stock on the market, private competition is neutralised.

Was the gratuitous dole that was given always given in grain?—Yes.

Was it sufficient?—Yes.

What was the poor-house ration?—No poor-houses at all.

Who went to the kitchens—anybody, or had they to get tickets?—They had to get tickets.

Who gave the tickets?—The Circle Inspector and Kitchen Superintendent.

MR. K. NARAYANA AIYAR, Deputy Collector, Gooty division, called in and examined.

Mr. K. Narayana Aiyar.

12th Feb. 1898.

I put in a written statement of evidence.

(*a*) The main departures from the prescriptions of the Madras Famine Code, which have occurred in the division during the recent famine, are—

1. That weakly persons should be placed in Class 'C' instead of Class 'D';

2. That the task of boys between 12 and 16 years of age should be taken as equivalent to two or three child units for work;

3. That when the tasks prescribed appear to be excessive, the case should be met by a reduction of the task under section 107, and not by reducing the class of the gang under section 97, Famine Code;

4. That the case of weekly gangs should also be met by a reduction of the task, and not of the class or wage;

5. That in cases where no shelter has been provided for the labourers at or near the works, the distance, which the workers have to walk both to and from the work, should be allowed for on a suitable time scale and thus form a portion of the day's task; *

6. That Rule 8 in Appendix VI of the Famine Codes should be modified so as to allow of half the wage being given for half a day's work as under the old Code;

7. That late attendance, not justified by the coolie having to come from a distance, should be met by a small fine not exceeding a quarter of a day's wage;

8. That the submission of the daily reports by the overseers in charge of the works to the Paying officers as required by Rule 21 of Appendix VI of the famine be discontinued;

9. That the pay of the Paying officers on large works be raised to R50;

(*N-B.* *This concession was only in force for some time; it was then abolished altogether.)

10. That assistant paying officers on ₹20 be appointed for works where the number exceeded 2,500 ;

11. That paying officers be allowed an imprest, which would suffice to pay the gangs for seven days instead of three days as allowed in Rule 24 of Appendix VI of the Famine Code ;

12. That Tahsildars should not check measurements or disturb coolies from their work for mustering on works under the control of the Public Works Department.

(*b*) I think that the measures adopted, in the recent famine, considered primarily with regard to the relief of distress, and the saving of human life were eminently successful. I feel diffident to express an opinion on the degree of success of the measures, considered with regard to economy. If they were not entirely successful, it was due, perhaps, to some extent to the fact that the work once done was ordered to be done again by the superior officers of the Public Works Department at the time of their inspection. A common instance of this is the breaking of metal. In most works, metal was at first broken of the size of 1½ or 2 inch cubes. It was ordered to be rebroken at not bigger than 1 inch cube. Portions of roads made were ordered to be remade *de novo*, because it was not made of proper shape at first.

(*c*) Advice as to the measures and methods of working which seem likely to prove most effective in future in these two respects—*Nil*.

(*d*) Other recommendations or opinions thought likely to be useful in future famine.

1. I think that, at the beginning of the distress works should be opened nearer the homes of the labourers, say, not more than 5 miles. If the distance is greater, they are more likely to stay at their own villages and stint themselves in their food, for they cannot easily tear themselves away from their families and houses so soon. The family generally consists of a certain proportion of very young and aged members. These could be neither left at home nor taken conveniently to a distance. Further, there will still be left one or two head of cattle and a few poultry. These could neither be sold advantageously nor carried along with the family. It is well known that, at the commencement of distress, the price of cattle is very low owing to the anxiety of every one to dispose of his cattle. In some cases, the cattle would not absolutely belong to the labourer, but would only be under him under certain conditions. He could not, therefore, sell it, and if he returned it to the owner, he would lose all his lien on it. As an instance of the unwillingness of the labourers to leave their homes and go to a distance, I may state that we had a relief work open at a place called Putlur in the Tadpatri taluk since the middle of November 1896, but the people in the other parts of the taluk preferred to stay at home for about four months and stint themselves in their food, than go a distance of 10 or 12 miles. The result was that the Sanitary Commissioner, who examined them in the beginning of March 1897, was of opinion that their physical condition was such as to indicate that the time had long passed when Government aid should have been offered. The coolies may be employed nearer their homes at the commencement of distress, in improving drinking-water supply which usually fails then, and also irrigation works, the repair of which is calculated to increase the irrigable area under them at the ensuing season. There will be no objection, however, to collecting the coolies at certain central works some time after the famine has established itself. They will then be more willing and readier to go to a distance than at the commencement of the famine. One or two cattle, they had, would either have been lost or otherwise disposed of by that time.

2. I think the departures mentioned under (*a*) *supra* are all necessary, and ought to be allowed to remain in force except 5, 8, and 12 under (*a*).

5. As regards allowance for distance, I think none need be granted, when the distance is less than three (3) miles.

8. The rule prescribing the submission of daily reports by overseers to paying officers is a salutary one, and ought not, I think, be rescinded. It will enable the paying officers to effectually check the nominal rolls sent to them for payment by overseers.

12. I think it is very essential that Tahsildars should have power to check measurements and to muster coolies on works under the control of the Public Works Department, to prevent fraud, especially when the works are in charge of overseers or sub-overseers. I may state that most of the works in my division in the recent famine were in charge of overseers, and that the mustering of coolies by Tahsildars brought to light several frauds.

I may state that children of 12 to 16 years of age are generally not capable of turning out adult tasks, but their growing frames require as much food as adults.

Objection has been taken in some quarters to the principle enunciated in paragraph 23 of Appendix VI that paymasters should be independent of the Public Works Department. I beg to enter my strong protest to making them subordinate to the Public Works Department. In the recent famine, the Paying officers were independent of the Public Works Department, and acted as a great check on the overseers in charge of the works and their staff. If the two are placed under one and the same department, which would practically place the paymasters under the overseers, there will be room for fraud. In the recent famine one acted as a check against the other.

Mr. K. Narayana Aiyar.

12th Feb. 1898.

(*President*).—You are a Deputy Collector?—Yes.

Were you in charge of the Gooty Division throughout the whole time?—Yes.

What relief works were there in your division?—Road-making, breaking metal, collecting and stacking gravel, repairing of tanks, repairing of wells and drinking water ponds.

When did this work begin?—The first work was commenced on the 14th November 1896. We had rains about the last week of November and then the prices fell. Workers came in in the beginning of January and in February and March. In April the numbers began to rise.

Did distress begin very early in your division?—Yes, because coolies began to migrate to Chitaldroog in Mysore. An officer was also sent from Mysore to find out why the coolies were migrating to Mysore. We opened works so that people could stop nearer their villages.

Was it in October that the Mysore Government sent an officer?—It was about the end of October or the beginning of November. The name of the officer is P. Madava Row.

What kind of work did the coolies expect to get in Mysore?—Reaping ragi. In doing earth-work on black cotton soil and in constructing stone revetment; they removed *nut*. The chief work was the harvesting of ragi and cholum.

Can you tell us what classes of people first came on relief works?—Malas and Mathigas, that is Panchamas and Boyas who are also a kind of coolies doing sundry works.

All those people who were not puttadars?—Yes. If puttadars came, they must be owning chiefly dry lands—light soil assessed at annas 2 to 8.

Did a large number of puttadars come?—A very large number.

At first or later?—Later.

How did those people who have no lands live?—In sparsely populated places where cotton grows there will be work for three months, such as cotton-picking, etc. In connection with the cholum harvest there will be all kinds of labour. In black cotton soil each year they plough the field. But once in six years they plough the field very deep with six pairs of bullocks and get the whole *nut* removed. That is in ordinary years. They will also bring firewood and grass for ryots who look after their own fields.

What wages do they get?—It varies. In the harvest time the maximum wage is 4 local seers. One seer is equal to, if it is cholum, 80 tolahs, that is, they get from 240 to 380 tolahs per day and in ordinary seasons they get from 120 to 160 tolahs. In the harvest season it is generally given in kind. They get according to quantity. If it is cholum, 1 in 12 or 1 in 14 or 1 in 16.

How many tolahs does a Government seer consist of?—80 tolahs. A local seer is equal to 1·03, if it is cholum.

Do women generally go for that sort of work?—Women go freely for that kind of work.

For cleaning, etc.?—Yes, cleaning, bringing firewood and pounding grain. They do odd kinds of works.

Do they get lower rates than men?—In the harvest time all get equal wages, but at other times there is a difference, a difference of 20 to 40 tolahs between a man and a woman.

Mr. K. Narayana Aiyar.

12th Feb. 1898.

Do you know what children get?—Children are not at all employed. As they will injure their feet and hands, they are not employed on harvest works. They are generally employed in looking after cattle, in cleaning houses or in doing sundry works. But they are not employed on agricultural or harvest work as they are not fit for it.

If a boy is allowed to herd cattle, what will he get?—Besides food and clothing, he may get 3 to 6 rupees per year if he is a bright boy.—A man will get about R30 or R40.

Did you notice much difference in prices between cusbahs and outlying villages?—Yes, generally prices in outlying villages are greater as grain has to be taken from cusbahs. Merchants will always charge one or two measures for their profit. The grain that was in most use was ragi though the staple grain is cholum, and the people are not accustomed to eating ragi. As it was 20 or 30 per cent. cheaper, people began to eat ragi. The cooking of ragi requires a special process, such as frying in a earthen pot. Ragi did not agree with the stomach, and people complained of stomach-ache. All the same, as it was a cheaper grain they stuck to it and at the end it suited them.

At what time did ragi begin to come in?—In November. I know merchants held large stocks. It is the rain in November that frightened them. If the rain in November had not come, the ryots would have been saved the expenses of cultivation. It was the rain in December that sent the prices down a little, and the merchants got alarmed.

Where did they get the ragi from?—From Mysore, Salem and Coimbatore. They got paddy from Bezwada. For 15 or 20 years ragi was not exported to Bezwada; ever since the Railway was constructed.

Did they eat ragi as a sort of porridge?—Yes. They made it a bread-like thing, not watery but solid.

Do you think that the people who went on relief works were at the end of their resources, or do you think that some went to save up what they had?—They did not sell their jewels as we started works in time. They did not part with their last thing before coming on relief works. I think we took them up in time. I was told that they had not much to sell after the famine of 1877. There was scarcity in 1891 and still I do not think that they sold away their last things before coming on the works.

Did they sell cattle much?—Oh, very largely. Cattle went for prices so low as 50 or 30 per cent. of their value. They were generally sold for slaughter and they were taken to Bellary.

Because they thought that if they did not sell they would die?—They wanted to sell them away for what they would fetch.

Did they sell their brass pots and things of that sort?—Not much, though there were some things sold.

Were you in any famine district in 1877-78?—I was a young man then, I only had charge of a relief kitchen, and was not in charge of any large famine operations.

In what district?—Madura. In the Shivaganga zemindari, I was put in charge of a kitchen, and people from Madura migrated to that place, and we used to feed whomsoever that came. It was a zemindari tract.

Do you think that in the Deccan districts the distress this time was as much as that of 1877?—I do not think it came up in intensity to that of 1877. I was in the Madura district which was at the tail end of the famine.

You say in your note, "In some cases, the cattle would not absolutely belong to the labourer, but would only be under him under certain conditions." What custom is it that you refer to here?—Especially she-buffaloes and cows are given to people for being tended. If a person owns 10 cows he distributes 3 or 4 to the ryots and they bring them up; but each alternative calf belongs to the owner of the cows and the other to the man who brings them up. He also gets the manure and milk.

Is there anything like that in regard to sheep?—They are also given. If a person owns 10 sheep he cannot afford to have a separate tender.

Do you think that the prices were unreasonably high?—Owing to the large export to the north, they were high. Telegrams were flying like anything at the time. They had to employ special telegraph delivery peons at important trade centres.

Did a very large amount of grain go up to the north?—Very large quantity. I think about 30 wagons a day passed Guntakal for about two or three months. I am not quite sure about the actual number of wagons.

(*Mr. Holderness*).—I suppose you went over your sub-division thoroughly?—Yes, certainly.

Saw all the crops?—Most of them.

What was the extent of crop failure in your division?—I was relieved of my ordinary duties as soon as famine commenced. Approximately one-half of the crops in the division thoroughly failed.

You mean completely failed, no grain at all?—I think it was below 2 annas. In the other half the crop was from 4 to 8 annas.

In 1891 where were you?—I was employed in the Punganur zemindari.

Did you see any distress then?—I was in that zemindari for about six months, when I was in charge of relief operations. Our highest number was 2 to 3 thousand. We opened works in January and rains came in about June and then we closed the works.

With your famine experience were you surprised to see so many people coming on the relief works?—I was not at all surprised. I am surprised that the people did not come in sooner than they did. There was really no other work available for them.

We have been told by a witness that people in the Deccan were being demoralised by the easy terms of relief in former famines. Is that so?—I had no experience of previous famines in the Deccan.

Do people expect Government to come to their assistance?—Certainly. They are already clamouring. Our late harvest has not been good. This year's harvest is not such a one as generally follows a famine year. We had excessive rain up to September, we had water 1 foot deep and the ground got hardened. Then there was a break. In a fortnight crops had the growth of two months; and then there was no rain at all. Even the ryots were deceived. For instance I made an experiment in a cholum field and expected to get about 50 local seers. But when we cut it we found it was only 16½ seers.

Are they wanting relief now?—If they get rain in June they may be able to tide over the season. As I was riding along the road the other day 20 people were assembled on the roadside and said that they could not get work, and asked us to open works. I told them "Not quite so soon; if it is really required, Government would think of it."

Did you think that the task is too high?—They could only do the "C" task. In the matter of stone-breaking and gravel-picking, the strongest person could not do, in my own presence, more than the "C" task prescribed in the Code.

But when various deductions were allowed by Government, do you think the task was excessive?—After deductions, it was not too heavy.

Did they take the whole day for it?—I think with diligence that they could have done it in one or two hours less.

You are not in favour of a distance test under 3 miles?—I think it is unnecessary, as they are accustomed to go a distance of 3 miles.

That need not have been given, you think?—I think so. But in the hot weather, that was necessary when people could hardly stand upon the ground under the sun. Women and children could not stand under the sun between 10 A.M. and 3 P.M. In starting a work I was out in the sun for 3 days and on the 4th day I had a stroke of the sun, and if it continued for a month in that way it would have become positively dangerous. The ground was hot. There were no trees and no shelter.

Do not they work under such conditions in ordinary years?—Not in April and May. Our harvest is generally over by March. They generally do this *nut*-digging by going out at 2 or 3 A.M., and returning home by 8 o'clock.

They had to stay on the works all through the day?—Yes, from morning till evening. For the mere staying out in the sun, I thought they had earned their wages.

You consider that the staying in the sun was a sufficient test?—Yes, especially from the middle of April to the end of May, when the sun is very powerful.

If you opened relief works in an ordinary year with these conditions ruling, would people go?—Given these concessions, women and children would go.

To a relief work in an ordinary year?—Not in the harvest season.

In May and June?—In the slack season.

Under these conditions?—Yes.

So that the number on the works is not necessarily a very great test of the distress?—Of course the number is not necessarily a test.

How about the kitchens; was there any reluctance to go to the kitchens?—Yes, it was only the most needy that came to the kitchens.

Certain castes?—There are certain castes who would not come at all. Even among those who could come many did not come.

You started kitchens before gratuitous doles?—Long before gratuitous doles.

In villages?—No. Only in connection with works.

Had you any centres?—Only taluk head-quarters.

Did people come long distances?—About 3 or 4 miles. People could come even from 5 miles.

Were there many people coming to the kitchens?—People came with the greatest reluctance. It was only the starvelings that came.

Do you think that central kitchens are a good thing?—Certainly. It is a severe test of the distress. You may be quite sure that no one who is really not in need would come to the kitchen.

At what point of time did you start gratuitous doles?—About April or May.

Was that soon enough?—Yes.

Had you great difficulty in finding people that ought to be put on the list?—We prepared the list long ago, in January or February.

What classes of people did you put on the list?—All people who cannot work. I mean all old people, and all young people whose guardians had no means of subsistence.

You say this list was prepared in January or February?—Yes.

They did not get actual relief till April or May?—Yes.

Did coolies come from long distances?—Yes, about 8 miles.

On an average?—Yes. Certain villagers walked between 6 and 7 miles. That was in the beginning. After that they stopped on the works and went on the pay day.

(*Dr. Richardson*).—You think that boys and girls over 12 years should get the same amount of allowance as adults get, in which I quite agree with you?—Yes. So far as the "C" class wage is concerned, they must be treated equally. I would not go above the "C" class. In the kitchens, unhusked grain of 45 tolahs is given, *i.e.*, 20 ounces; whereas the "C" class men get 18 ounces of grain. *Mr. K. Narayana Aiyar.* *12th Feb. 1898.*

(*Mr. Holderness*).—The bulk of your people were getting "D" wages?—Until His Excellency the Governor inspected the works they were getting "B" wages and then they got the "C" wage.

Were they keeping well?—They were losing condition.

Afterwards what happened to them?—These concessions were granted and they were getting "B" wages.

Did they do well on that?—I did not see them lose condition.

They lost condition on "D"?—Yes.

The whole gang got "D"?—A certain percentage of the gang.

Because they could not work the higher task?—Yes. In the beginning we had a small percentage of men. Women and children could not dig and could not turn out much work, and so they could hardly earn more than the "D" wage.

How is it that a large number of men could not come?—Because they migrated to Chitaldroog and then advantage was taken of the loans which were granted largely in digging wells and in removing *nut*, etc.

Men were engaged on them?—Yes.

The loans were given?—Yes.

Men dug the wells themselves?—The men coolies were employed. The borrowers also ate a portion of the money themselves as they had to subsist.

You think that the "C" wage might be given to a worker?—For an adult it is not enough. "C" wage comes to about 80 tolahs a day, including the cost of other items, whereas in kitchens you give 20 ounces of grain which, I know, is not enough for a grown up man. Somehow they do not feel that their hunger is satisfied unless their stomachs are full. "C" wage is not enough for an adult; the grain that is given is barely enough. But it would not suffice to purchase other condiments.

Where did you get your cash from?—For a long time we had to get it from the Huzur.

Did you try to get it back?—After a time copper coins began to pour into the grain markets and then we could get these copper coins from these markets to any extent.

At the Council Chamber, Fort St. George, Madras.

THIRTEENTH DAY.

Monday, 14th February 1898.

PRESENT:

SIR J. B. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. (PRESIDENT).

SURGEON-COL. J. RICHARDSON.
MR. T. W. HOLDERNESS, C.S.I.
„ T. HIGHAM, C.I.E.
RAI BAHADUR B. K. BOSE, C.I.E.
MR. W. J. H. LE FANU (*Temporary Member for Madras*).
MR. H. J. MCINTOSH, *Secretary*.

MR. C. G. SPENCER, Acting Sub-Collector, Tinnevelly district, called in and examined.

I put in a written statement of evidence. *Mr. C. G. Spencer* *14th Feb. 1898.*

Introductory.—In commencing a note of evidence that I have been asked to write on the subject of the recent famine I feel bound, in justice to myself and to avoid any misconception as to the nature of the evidence that I can give, to explain that I am now serving in a district unaffected by famine, and I am thus unable to refresh my memory by reference to any Government Orders or locally issued orders or any returns or statistics prepared during the continuance of the famine.

2. *Seasons.*—I was in charge of the Head Assistant's division of Bellary district in July and August 1896, and continued till the end of the first week of September. The

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season was then, on the whole, fairly favourable. When September and October turned out to be rainless months, the situation took a very critical turn. About the 20th of November 1½ inches of rain fell, but it was then too late to be of much use, and in fact, as subsequent events showed, this rain had little effect beyond temporarily reducing the high prevailing prices to a slight degree, and inducing a few ryots to sow a late crop of white cholum that eventually failed.

3. *Progress of Famine.*—When I rejoined the district on December 14th, there was only one relief work open and that was attended by some 200 relief workers. At the height of the distress there were ten relief works with kitchens attached open in my division, besides gratuitous relief distributed in the form of grain doles in some 140 villages and three or four central kitchens. The monsoon commenced very favourably for my division in June, but the promise of a rapid improvement in the season was not maintained. At the beginning of August the dry crops again began to wither, until the heavy and continued rains in September removed all doubt. People then began to leave the relief works in great numbers, as there was plenty of work available in the fields in the form of weeding, cutting grass, etc., and by exacting full tasks and rigidly enforcing punctual attendance it was found possible to close all the works by about the end of September. By the end of October all forms of relief had come to an end, and it only remained to help such ryots as had lost their cattle, implements and houses, etc., to make a new start in life by the aid of the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund, from the funds of which about half a lakh of rupees were disbursed in my division.

4. *Local description.*—The Head Assistant Collector's division of Bellary district comprising the four taluks of Hospet, Hadagalli, Kudligi and Harpanahalli contains most of the red-soils of the district, and was less affected during 1897 than the eastern half of the district. Hospet, though bordered on the north by a belt of villages protected from famine by river irrigation from the Tungabhadra, suffered most severely of the four taluks named. In Hadagalli the distress was less severe and more partial, the southern extremity being treated throughout as unaffected. In Kudligi there was very extensive and complete loss of crop for which large remissions of revenue were granted, but owing to the absence of large villages and the consequently smaller number of the coolie class among the population in need of employment, owing also to the greater extent of pasture land and date-palm jungle, and the more favourable character of the south-west monsoon here than elsewhere, it never became necessary to start more than one regular relief work in the taluk, and this was only attended by about 2,000 workers at the most. The failure of the drinking-water wells in this taluk was the chief cause of anxiety between January and May. Owing to bad communications prices also of ragi and cholum, the staple food-grains, never rose so high here as elsewhere. Harpanahalli taluk and the southern extremity of Hadagalli were treated as unaffected portions. Though there was loss of crop in 10 villages of Harpanahalli, for which remissions and suspensions of revenue were granted, and a certain number of the poorer inhabitants attended two of the relief works opened in the adjoining taluk of Hadagalli, the distress never rose to famine pitch, although the situation was carefully watched and preparations made for opening works as soon as they became necessary.

5. *Health of People.*—During the continuance of the time of scarcity, the health of the people both on the works and in the villages remained generally good. As far as could be ascertained there were no deaths from starvation. Two such deaths were officially reported by the headman of one village, but on investigation I discovered that one was the case of an old man, aged 80, who had attended a relief kitchen for some days and subsequently wandered to a neighbouring festival whence he returned to his village and died of natural causes, the other death was that of his son who died of fever and owned a flock of sheep at the time of his death. In the early part of the distress some few of the young men and women at one of the relief works exhibited signs of weakness and innutrition, which, on enquiry, was found to be due to the fact that they had left dependants at their homes to look after their cattle or the young children of the family and they were all sharing the workers' wages. This state of things was soon remedied by the introduction of gratuitous relief in villages and the appointment of Circle Inspectors to prepare circle lists. In the long hot days that preceded the burst of the first rains, several of the women and children on the relief works, especially mothers with infants at the breast and those who came daily from long distances, appeared rather worn and weary, but when the season began to show signs of improvement, all took heart again and even the bodily health of the workers seemed to improve as the weather became cooler. A few sporadic cases of cholera appeared, but precautions were taken in time and fortunately the disease did not spread. One of the chief points to be noted by an inspecting officer at his inspection of relief works was to see that every gang had a good and sufficient supply of drinking water and steps were taken to prevent contamination of wells. Visible signs of emaciation among the people were conspicuous by their absence, except only among infants of a few months' age. Attempts were made at many of the kitchens to feed those unfortunate babies, for whose nourishment their mothers had not sufficient milk, with cow's milk and Mellin's food. The experiment was a temporary success in some cases, but many of the mothers conceived a sudden prejudice against the administering of that form of nourishment to their children, and in the end it proved to be the best course for saving life to send mothers of emaciated children away from the works to their villages so that they might be spared the daily walk to the works and, by being placed on the list of recipients of gratuitous relief, might be in a better position to attend to the health of their children.

6. *Success of Relief Measures.*—Regarded then as a means of saving life, which is their first and principal object, the relief measures undertaken by Government during the recent famine in Bellary district must be considered as a complete success. I would not seek to deny that some of the persons included in the grain dole lists in the villages, both the very old and the young, were seen to be thin and in poor health.

But it must be remembered not only that every village has its paupers, its diseased, and its deformities, most of which are not dragged forth to the light of day before the gaze of Government officers except at times when famine is in the land, but also that Bellary is not a rich district, and many of the poorer class of its inhabitants never attain that sleek and robust look that is so common in the Tamil districts of the south and the delta tracts of the north of the Presidency. A guess can only be formed as to the probable results of an absence of such measures of relief as were taken from the specimens of men, women, and children in various stages of weakness and distress who came flocking to our relief works from villages in the Nizam's Dominions beyond the river, especially when the news spread about the distribution of grain doles in British villages adjoining the river.

7. *Condition of Cattle.*—In parts of two taluks, Hospet and Hadagalli, a good deal of emaciation was to be seen in the condition of cattle belonging to the poorer ryots of purely dry villages where the stock of fodder was exhausted.

The mortality among cattle was, however, comparatively small, though it would undoubtedly have been greater, but for the timely grant of small allotments from the Indian Charitable Relief Fund for the purchase of fodder in deserving cases, the grant of loans to those who had property to furnish as security for repayment, and the opening of the Sandur reserves to the free cutting of grass.

In the first few months of the scarcity many poor persons found employment and a scanty livelihood in cutting and bringing down bundles of coarse hill-grass for daily wages. Thus the opening of the reserves at an early stage did good in more ways than one.

In the beginning of the distress many ryots of the more affected tracts sold their cattle for ridiculously low prices, others held on in the hopes of a better time coming and declined to go to distant relief works while they had cattle to care for at home, though this course meant that they had to stint themselves for the sake of their cattle; others again in less affected parts where pasture and fodder were deficient, sent their cattle off in droves to Mysore and to Harpanahalli taluk in search of fresh grazing grounds. When the advent of the rains brought the first tender green pasture, the inhabitants of villages adjoining the hills let out their cattle to graze in the reserves whether they had permission or not. Chopped prickly-pear, date-palm leaves, and such like inferior sorts of food were not much resorted to. Even the cut hill-grass was said to disagree with cattle. The owners of wet lands under the river channels in Hospet, where excellent harvests were gathered, made large profits by the sale of paddy straw at very high rates.

8. *Classification of Relief Workers.*—I now proceed to the discussion of two matters, upon which alone I feel competent to contribute any information likely to prove of value to the Commission. The first subject is the classification of workers. Children between 7 and 12 were taken as units of labour, women as two units, and men as four units. It was found after some experience that nursing mothers were unable to turn out as much work in a day as other women, and a Government Order was issued accordingly that in future they should be classed as one and-a-half units only. When the work to be done is breaking stone, many nursing mothers turn out as much metal as other women, but when they are employed on earth-work it is doubtful whether a mother, carrying a child on her hip and a basket of earth on her head, can do as much as one and-a-half units of work. Boys above 12 were classed as men, and girls above 12 as women, the test of their age usually applied being the development of their back teeth. In several works there was a preponderance of women and children, which, in the opinion of some, betokened that the distress had not reached an acute stage, and the women who attended the works came many of them only to earn something to supplement their husbands' savings instead of remaining idle at home. This may have been the case in some instances; in fact, I remember the case of one woman who declined to send her child to the kitchen, and on making enquiry into the cause, I learnt that she was the wife of a school-master of a salary-results school, earning R5 per mensem besides results grants. Another instance I heard of where the sons of a wealthy ryot attended the works for many days. Such results are unavoidable so long as the willingness to accept a famine wage and do a full task is accepted as the criterion of need for admission to the works. A system of requiring certificates signed by the village officers to the effect that the applicant for admission was in real need would not, I think, have worked satisfactorily in the Bellary district, where the village Munsiffs are not of a high standard of honesty and efficiency; moreover, there can be no doubt that a great proportion of the relief workers attended in order to avoid real starvation.

While there was yet employment in the fields for the more able-bodied male adults, it was not uncommon to find the men in the gangs largely composed of lads between 12 and 18 with a sprinkling of weak and aged men. Such men could not, of course, turn out four units of work, and a gang composed largely of women and men of the above description naturally would fail to accomplish the tasks set. To remedy this inequality between the tasks set and the work performed, the practice was introduced of classifying old men and boys not fully grown up as three and two units according to their capacity for work. When the work to be done is breaking stone it is said from experience that even an able-bodied man sitting down and breaking stones does not turn out double the quantity of work that a woman can do. Dishonest overseers and sub-overseers, especially those temporary hands whose employment depends on the continuance of the relief measures, have so many opportunities of reducing "the tale of bricks" required of each relief worker and making the conditions of attendance on the works too attractive, either in the allowances for lead or for distance, and the classification of stone according to the difficulty of breaking or procuring it, or in the measurement of the heaps of metal, that it is necessary to make a very careful check of their figures at inspection, and I consider it a mistake to add to their power of altering the task by classing boys as men and *paying them men's wages*. It was common for mothers of boys and girls, whose age was by appearance doubtfully 11 or 12, to appeal to an inspecting officer to raise their children out of the class that received only half the wages of an adult. The suggestion that I have to offer for consideration is that immature men classed as two or three units should be paid the same wages as a woman. The objection that might be raised to this proposal is that a growing boy eats as much as a man, but this I beg to question, and as a further argument I may add that such lads generally attend the work in company with grown-up members of their family. Now a man and his wife, with two sons and two daughters classed as adults, earn daily a sum by their combined wages that I believe to be more than sufficient for their actual subsistence.

9. *Concentration of Relief Works.*—The next subject that I should like to touch upon, is the material improvements that we have to show as the result of the employment of so much labour and the expenditure of so much money. An ample programme of works suitable for famine relief was ready before the famine began, and so far as my division is concerned a sufficient number of works remain unexecuted, which could be taken in hand on the occurrence of another famine. Road-works were found to be most suitable for the employment of all classes and sexes of labourers, and of the ten works in my division, eight were road works and two the construction of embankments of tanks. The workers preferred attendance on the road works. The estimates for roads were principally prepared by officers of the Local Fund Department, but when the Department of Public Works took over charge of all the regular relief works, they did not strictly follow the estimates already prepared, and I believe that in almost every case there was a very large excess over the original estimate in the course of construction, this being attributed to the inecoaomy of famine labour. The cost of construction of a new road or the thorough remaking of an existing road with famine labour cost between R5,000 and R8,000 a mile.

Now, at the beginning of the distress if it was reported that the inhabitants of any particular locality were in need of relief, and it had been ascertained that 200 or 300 persons would attend a relief work if opened, it was usual to select from the list of works for which estimates were ready, one which would be most easy of access to the greatest number of affected villages. In January and February 1897 when I visited many affected villages, I was generally met with a request from all the labourers out of employment to start as a relief work, the repairs to some reservoir or supply channel or drinking-water tank or other minor work in their own villages. They were unwilling to attend a relief work if opened outside their own village or at least if the distance exceeded three miles, the reason being that those who were only beginning to feel the pressure of want had not at that time sold their cattle, and they were unwilling to go and live on a central relief work leaving their houses and cattle in the care of others. Such requests were generally refused, because estimates were not ready for minor village works of the sort desired by the villagers, and because the cost of the establishment necessary for the execution of the works would have been out of all proportion to the number of persons to be relieved. But even where larger works were opened for the relief of a cluster of affected villages, residence on the works was not insisted on, and relief workers would come and go daily from villages three, five, and in a few cases even seven miles distant. Officers in charge of works were at an early stage ordered to be in readiness to provide huts for all who wished to live on the works, but as a matter of fact, concentration of works on any large scale did not become practicable till June or July. Then at some works two or three hundred huts might be found occupied by strangers of distant villages residing on the works. At other works they preferred crowding into the temples, chattrams, and pials of villages adjoining the work site. Now the Department of Public Works, when they took up a road as a relief work, carried out the repairs on the same thorough and expensive scale, whether the road was much used for traffic, whether it was at the time in a bad state of repair, whether the sub-soil was soft and friable, or the reverse. The consequence has been that for a length of five miles or more in the proximity of villages lately affected by famine, the district roads contain smooth level strips composed of lasting materials, while in other portions they are out of repair and broken up by constant traffic. In other places less frequented roads running on laterite or gravelly soil have had their surface picked up and two layers of metal and one layer of gravel spread and rammed at a cost far beyond the means of the Local Boards. In other places excellent new roads have been constructed which, being left unfinished at the close of the relief operations, have no beginning or end, and are unconnected with any other maintained road, while the District Board of a poor district always engaged in a struggle to provide funds for the maintenance of existing roads, for water-supply and a thousand useful objects, and now further handicapped by having to pay a part of the cost of the relief operations, is never likely to be in a position to complete the new roads begun in the famine, or to repair the remaining portions of the existing roads on the same lavish and complete style that the Public Works Department have set as an example. The lesson to be learnt thereby is, for the sake of economy, to aim at more centralization of works at the beginning. The adoption of central works and large projects would, no doubt, require some foresight gained by experience and a considerable amount of determination in refusing to listen to the clamours for local works; but I think the advantage of the course would be seen in the end, both in more permanent improvements to show for the outlay, and the risk avoided of relieving persons in no real danger of starvation. In the past year the strange spectacle was seen of numbers rising on relief works after good rains had fallen, the explanation being that the resources of many who had hitherto

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held out were only just then beginning to fail, and neither rain nor even green fields could satisfy the hunger of those whose hoard of grain had run out.

10. *Miscellaneous.*—I will now conclude with brief answers to a few of the questions prepared by the Commission and attached to G. O. No. 47, dated January 28th, 1898, on some of the subjects about which I may claim to have had a little experience. As explained already, I have had no access to any statistics or figures prepared during the famine, but the following answers may serve as an indication of the kind of subjects about which my recollection is still virid, and so far as I can be of assistance I shall be willing to answer oral questions.

11. *Extent and severity of distress.*—The famine of 1897 was divided only by a short interval from the famine of 1891-92 in Bellary, which was, however, of less severity. The numbers on relief in 1892 were fewer, I believe, and I think gratuitous relief was not then introduced in the form of grain doles, though I cannot speak with certainty on this point as I was not in that district in the former year. The seasons immediately preceding 1897 were moderately favourable in the western taluks. I think the officers in charge of relief operations were inclined to underestimate the stocks of grain stored in the district at the beginning of the famine. In the month of March in making an enquiry on another matter I incidentally discovered twelve pits of grain containing each 5,000 measures of last year's cholum buried in one small corner of a village within three miles of a relief work. After the famine was practically over I believe that many grain pits were opened, and some of these were found to belong to persons who had been in attendance on relief works, but I have no further personal experience on the subject beyond that connected with the prosecution of a grain dealer who exposed for sale some noxious fermented cholum that must have been three years old.

12. *Sufficiency and economy of relief measures.*—Personally I am of opinion that the Famine Code is nearly perfect, and I would deprecate any variation from it. Minor details of its working might well be left to "the man on the spot." It would be difficult to introduce modifications and subsidiary rules to suit every possible case. A change in the scheme of relief that might suit the conditions of one locality might, if ordered to be universally adopted, be found too harsh or too lenient in another district.

In the middle of the hot weather of 1897 Government issued a G. O., the number of which I am unable to quote from memory, prohibiting fining for short outturn of work for more than one week continuously and abolishing the D class wage.

I do not presume to criticise the wisdom of that order, which was subsequently cancelled when the season improved, because I do not feel that my experience has been sufficiently wide to condemn it by quoting facts and figures. I can only say that Public Works Department officers have told me that they had great difficulty in exacting a proper outturn of work from the coolies owing to the restrictions on fining which allowed idleness to go unchecked if persisted in, and I only know that the numbers on relief increased in number after the issue of that order. I am unable to say how far the increase was due to the distress increasing in severity as time went on.

13. *Weavers' relief.*—No relief for weavers was started in my division in 1897. At first there was a great outcry for relief among that class of people, but when a scheme based on the Famine Code was prepared and approved, they refused to accept the rates of famine wages. Their position improved later on, in the marriage season. Some weavers attended the ordinary relief works, and some relief was afforded to the more destitute owners of looms by placing with them orders for cloths to be purchased by the Charitable Relief Fund for distribution.

The condition of all weavers was carefully watched throughout the famine, but it never became necessary to start regular weaver-relief operations in my division.

14. *Indebtedness of ryots.*—I roughly estimate that the indebtedness of small land-holders must have increased about 25 per cent. during the recent famine. They will probably completely recover their position within two or three years, if the seasons are favourable. But for the timely assistance of the Indian Charitable Relief Fund it would have taken longer, five years or more.

15. *Beggars.*—Beggars increased in number in the larger villages during the scarcity. The problem as to how far they might be granted or denied gratuitous relief if they were incapable of bodily labour was a difficult one, when the springs of private charity were known to be nearly dry owing to the want felt in the homes of so many families.

When money grants were made to poor ryots from the Indian Charitable Relief Fund, beggars who had heard the news from far came flocking in hundreds to receive some charity and had to be turned away empty.

16. *Relief works.*—Plenty of useful public works are available in the event of another famine in Bellary district, provided that concentration be insisted on. Not many of these can be classed as really protective against famine. The nature of the soil to some extent, the geography and elevation of the district do not admit of irrigation works on a very large scale being introduced in the future.

17. *Migration of labour.*—II. Relief labourers in Bellary were unwilling to be conveyed long distances by rail for the sake of wages. I was addressed on the subject of labourers from the famine districts by a planter, but I could not find any persons willing to go to a distant hill country to work for higher wages. Migration is distasteful to the natives of the district, except to a few nomad tribes, such as Lambadies.

18. *Residence on works.*—Residence on the works during the late famine has been the exception and not the rule. Reductions for distance were allowed, the orders being altered on the subject in the course of the famine, the latest order allowing no reductions for anything under three miles, and $\frac{1}{24}$th for every man and $\frac{1}{10}$th for every woman for each mile in excess of three miles travelled by him. This was a fair allowance.

19. *Clothing.*—Some of those residing on the works asked for blankets, but their request was not granted: they were given mats and screens to keep out the wind and rain.

20. *Control of works.*—IV. I think that the latest Government order on the subject of the powers to be exercised by the Revenue officers of the district in regard to the management of relief works entrusted to the Public Works Department contains the only possible solution of the question of control to be exercised by either department.

21. *Payments.*—V. Bi-weekly payments worked well. At first daily payments were made on some works, but the quantity of copper and small silver available ran short, and no complaints were made if labourers were regularly paid twice a week. Whenever prices changed, fresh G forms were issued from taluk offices to paymasters.

22. *Best form of relief.*—I consider kitchens at which cooked food is given the best form of relief for non-workers and the best test of real need.

23. *Private employment of labour.*—VI-A. While the famine lasted private employers of labour, I mean land-holders, would not pay sufficient wages when they wanted their fields weeded, so the coolies would not leave the relief works till the demand for agricultural labour became imperative and ryots began to pay wages in grain.

24. *Gratuitous relief.*—Gratuitous relief at home is very popular with the people. With well-paid and competent Circle Inspectors there is no reason to fear the inclusion of many undeserving cases, provided that the lists are carefully checked from time to time by superior officers. Central kitchens were opened and were an excellent check on grain doles in places where the numbers showed an undue tendency to increase. No establishment was available for supervising the employment of persons on light manual labour, and I know of none suitable for every class of person relieved. Gratuitous relief was given in the form of grain. Money was only given for a short time to the dependants of relief workers who could not attend a kitchen. This was superseded by grain doles. I observed no malversation or extortion on the part of subordinates employed in the distribution of gratuitous relief, and I believe there was practically none. Complaints were only made about illegal gratifications received by headmen of villages, where loans and grants from the Charitable Relief Fund had been distributed. These were not very numerous and did not stand when proof was required.

25. *Relief kitchens.*—Tickets were granted to regular attendants at relief kitchens when once they had obtained admission and their names had been written in the register of admissions. These tickets were of use in obviating fraud and removal of cooked food contrary to rules. At one kitchen the mothers, mostly of Lambadi caste, wished to come into the kitchens where their children were being fed and attempted to conceal the cakes of food given them and remove them in their clothes to be eaten at home.

26. *Remissions of revenue.*—Suspensions of revenue did not carry interest. Full remissions were given in villages where the average outturn was under two annas, and half the assessment was remitted when they were classed between two and four annas, and one-fourth the assessment when the crops yielded more than 4 annas but less than 6 annas. Such relief directly affected the ryots, and has been of great benefit in preventing small ryots from falling into the condition of coolies and farm-labourers.

27. *Private charitable relief.*—The objects to which the Indian Charitable Relief Funds were devoted were not allowed in Madras to trench upon the field of Government relief works, as I am informed they did in Bombay, where the ordinary wages earned by a relief worker at a relief work were supplemented out of the fund.

28. *Loans.*—Those who were in a position to get *taccavi* loans from Government were not relieved from the fund as far as it was possible to avoid it.

29. *Distribution of cloths.*—Cloths were a very popular form of relief and earned much gratitude.

30. *Wanderers.*—There was little wandering among the inhabitants of the district. Some who had friends in other parts of the same district went and lived on them during the scarcity.

31. *Mortality.*—The staff of hospital subordinates and medical officers was barely sufficient to allow of each work being visited at least once a week, and of a hospital assistant residing on the larger works.

32. *Ordinary food.*—The ordinary staple food of the inhabitants of Bellary district is cholum and ragi.

33. *Kitchen food.*—Cholum was used in the kitchens for the greater part of the famine. Afterwards in order to discourage attendance among all who were not compelled to seek that form of relief, ragi was introduced as being a cheaper grain. Two meals were given per diem, and there were hardly any complaints as to the quality of the food.

34. *Food stocks.*—I think that private trade in grain was not so active among those who had stores of grain, as the prices justified, owing to the fear of the scarcity continuing for one or two years more. Complaints were not uncommon that the grain dealers cheated the relief workers out of one or two pies of their wages when they bought grain in small quantities, and that the grain was often of very inferior quality and full of sand and extraneous materials. I made enquiries into such complaints, but they were not well proved. Some shop-keepers seem to have allowed credit to relief workers and to have charged higher credit prices. I have already touched briefly on the question of private stocks of food grains so far as my experience extends. Many of the relief workers wore silver jewellery. I think the workers came to the relief works before they sold their personal ornaments, when driven by distress to do something to get money for their livelihood.

(*President*).—Mr. Spencer, you are a member of the Indian Civil Service?—Yes.

Were you Head Assistant at Bellary before the famine began in June and afterwards in December?—Yes.

As Head Assistant what taluks had you charge of?—I had four taluks—Hospet, Hadagalli, Kudligi and Harpanahalli.

When you were there in July and August everything was in normal condition?—Everything was in a fairly normal condition.

When you returned in December the harvest had failed?—The early harvest, the *munjari* crop, which depends upon the south-west monsoon, had completely failed by that time.

What crop does that consist of?—It consists of cholum principally. Also korra, ragi and oilseeds.

The whole of the four taluks were not treated as distressed?—No, Harpanahalli was treated as unaffected, and the southern portion of Hadagalli was unaffected, and Kudligi had only one relief work opened. The southern portion of Kudligi was only slightly affected.

What were the circumstances which made Harpanahalli unaffected?—Harpanahalli had better rains. It borders on Mysore. The cotton crops in the south of Harpanahalli were distinctly good, there was a great deal of pasture land, and large flocks of sheep and goats were kept.

In Kudligi too?—In Kudligi there was a great failure of crops but the conditions of the country there are such that a bad harvest does not affect the people so much. Most of them are small landholders; there are very few large villages, and consequently fewer of the coolie class.

And Hospet was nearly all affected?—Except that the villages protected by irrigation from the Tungabhadra, that is the Delta villages lying on the banks of the Tungabhadra had excellent wet crops. The rest was very dry and stony, and there they suffered the same as in the Bellary taluk.

I see there is a tract called Sandur. Is it a separate taluk or a part of Hospet?—It is a native state, mostly jungle. The reserved forests in Sandur were thrown open to cattle from surrounding parts.

Is it a native state or zamindary?—It is a native state. There is a Rajah and an Administrator.

Has the Magistrate of Bellary jurisdiction in Sandur?—No. Not as District Magistrate, but in his capacity of Political Agent he exercises control over this State.

The Rajah exercises powers?—Yes, except in a small portion of it, which is used as a hill station and sanitarium for troops. It is a small station called Ramandrug. That is excluded from Sandur. Some of the people from Sandur came to the relief works at Kudligi and Hospet.

Did the Rajah do anything in the way of relief works?—Yes, he opened some relief works at Sandur itself. I think they were worked on the same system. I had no experience of them.

Did the prices vary very much in the four taluks under your charge?—They varied about three measures in the rupee. I remember a time when prices were about the highest in Hospet. The price of cholum was 9 to 10 measures in Hospet and 12 to 13 in South Kudligi; and ragi, the other staple food-grain, was even cheaper. That I attribute to bad communications. The roads are very bad in Kudligi, and the cost of transport to Hospet made the difference in price.

You say that at the height of distress there were 10 relief works, with kitchens attached, in your division. When was the distress at its height?—I consider distress was at its height at the end of July. Numbers were at the highest point then.

What kind of works were they?—Eight of them were road works and two irrigation works.

What kind of irrigation works?—One was a reservoir for supply of tanks—what they call *Kuntas* in these parts. It was a useless work. After employing labour on it for three months it breached when the rain came. The other was a very large tank for which an embankment was being made. It will require professional labour before it is fit for use.

Making an embankment?—Yes.

It is a tank that exists already?—Yes, the second work I spoke of was commenced in the former famine of 1877, and was left yet uncompleted; and in this famine they filled up two large gaps in the embankment and strengthened the bund.

So that up to the present time it has never held water?—It has never held water. It will hold water this year, I believe.

And all these ten works,—were they under your charge?—Yes.

What establishment had you?—An Overseer and a Paymaster on every work in the regular relief works and a Kitchen Superintendent. In small works the office of Kitchen Superintendent and Paymaster was combined, because the number in some of the kitchens did not exceed 60 or 70, and one man was able to manage both the duties. For gratuitous relief we had Circle Inspectors.

The Overseer was an officer of the Public Works Department?—Yes.

On what pay were the Overseers?—I think from 70 to 100 rupees; I am not quite sure.

They are native officers, I suppose?—Native officers and Eurasians.

Was their work supervised by an officer of their own department too?—Yes.

Who was that officer?—Mr. DeWinton was Superintending Engineer. Mr. Somers-Eve was for some time Executive Engineer. After that time Mr. Clerk. And there was an Assistant Engineer in charge of two taluks, Mr. Stuart, working under the Executive Engineer, as well

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as a Native Assistant Engineer in charge of two other taluks.

Is there an Executive Engineer for the district of Bellary?—Yes, and Anantapur.

Is that an ordinary charge to have two districts?—Yes, Anantapur is a small district; there are no large irrigation works, and there is an Assistant Engineer to assist him, and so he holds control of both districts.

And who was the Collector of Bellary at that time?—Mr. Campbell was there when I first came, and afterwards Mr. Stuart.

Was there any friction between yourselves and the Public Works Department officers in working relief works?—Personally I never found any. I can only say that the system that was in force at first seemed to be a bad system, because, as Revenue Officer, if I found any fault in the course of inspection works such as insufficient supply of water, etc., it necessitated a reference to the Collector. The Collector had to address the Executive Engineer and the Executive Engineer addressed the Sub-Divisional Officer, and the Sub-Divisional Officer addressed the Overseer of the works, so that it took a long time for the order to filter down.

The Executive Engineer addressed you, and he did not address the Overseer direct?—He would give orders to the Overseer. The original arrangement was that regular relief works were entirely in charge of the Department of Public Works. The Revenue Officers were to inspect and report on the condition of the labourers, but they had no control, and they could not alter anything until this state of things was changed by the Government order, putting the Overseers under our control and giving the Collector power of ordering them and punishing them to some extent, by fining. After that I issued direct orders if I found anything amiss. I did not interfere in the matter of tasks.

How were matters of task arranged?—First of all a table of tasks was drawn up by the Executive Engineer and approved by the Superintending Engineer for the whole district. These were very reasonable tasks, so far as I have seen. At the end of the famine I had to enquire into the sufficiency of tasks in most of the works, and, as far as I could see, the tasks fixed in the table of works were very good and fair tasks. It received the formal approval of the Collector.

It was drawn up when the works were started, or afterwards?—It was drawn up before the works were started. There was a similar task table in the previous famine of 1892.

It differed from the Code task table?—It was the Code table amplified. The Code task table does not provide for all kinds of work. It does not provide for all the differences that may occur in the lead and the lift, and the hardness of stone.

Were distance allowances and allowances for weakness applied afterwards to that table?—They were worked out in the overseer's permanent task register and the net result for each gang in the nominal rolls. The task set was for a unit. The number of units in a gang had to be found out. The number of units was multiplied by the task and the result would be the task of the gang. From the number of units had first to be deducted distance allowance.

What order was it which gave the Revenue Officers power over the Department of Public Works?—The order that came out in June or July, I think. I speak from memory.

You say that you only gave reduction for weakness?—No, not when I had control of the works. I don't know how far the Department of Public Works officers had done so before the control passed from their hands.

What was done with regard to fining?—First the Code rules for fining were followed. Then the Government order came out—the omnibus order—prohibiting fining for more than one week continuously, except for open disobedience. And, finally, the original Code rules for fining were restored.

In the Code rules was there no limit for fining?—In the Code rules we were not allowed to fine below the "D" class.

Did you ever report any Overseer to the Collector for fines?—Yes.

Was it inflicted?—It was not inflicted by the Collector. He was fined by the Executive Engineer.

On the Collector's report?—Yes. I think so. In one case I addressed the Executive Engineer direct.

What sort of offence was that for?—He delayed giving extracts of nominal rolls to the Paymaster. Consequently payment was delayed. This continued till payments got into arrears. In spite of all promises he kept on delaying.

What was the pay of the Paymasters?—R30 mostly. Pay up to R50 was allowed. In my Division I never had anything above R35 because the works were not big. None of my works had more than two paymasters.

Were they candidates for Government employment, or were they Government employees?—They were almost all Government employees. The rule issued was to choose, as far as possible, Government pensioners and those who were in permanent employment. It was found difficult to secure hands; but we got men who did work very well. Those who were not Government employees were made to give security. We had school masters, copyists, taluk gumastahs, and kurnams. As far as possible we endeavoured to get paymasters who knew English so that they might understand the remarks written by the Inspecting Officers on their registers.

Was there ever much friction between Paymasters and Overseers?—Yes. When payments were delayed, the Paymasters would throw the blame on Overseers and the Overseers on Paymasters. Eventually we got over the difficulty in some of the works by opening a register, in which the Overseer had to sign, showing the day and hour in which the extracts from the nominal rolls were handed over to the Paymasters. Their duties were so distinct that, except in that particular matter, they had very little opportunity for friction.

Where did the Paymaster lodge his money?—Generally in the Police Station, if there was one near.

You paid bi-weekly, I think?—Bi-weekly payments were introduced about half-way through the famine. First we endeavoured to pay three times a week, and in small works orders were given to pay every day. It was found very difficult to make payments every day. Eventually the bi-weekly payments were introduced.

Did not that result in many men being absent?—On some works there was a large list of arrears, as many men went off without being paid up.

What was done with the arrears money?—If it was unclaimed for three months, it was credited to Government. The inhabitants of villages the same as those of absentees who had money due to them were asked to inform the absentees to come and claim their money. By every means we tried to get them paid. I issued orders at the end of the famine, when the works closed, to Paymasters to go round and pay the arrears; but the Collector cancelled the order, as he thought it was not necessary to seek the men if they would not come and take the arrears due to them.

If a man was absent, and two days later came and asked for his money, would the Paymaster pay him without reference to anybody else?—Oh! yes. It was his duty to try and pay off arrears as much as possible.

Was there not some risk that they might embezzle the money and say that the payee had come and drawn it?—The Circle Inspectors and Tahsildars made enquiries as to the genuineness of the payments. I think there was very little if any fraud. Payments were made in the presence of the rest of the gang, many of whom came from the same villages, and I think they would have brought to notice any misappropriation.

When did gratuitous doles begin in village relief?—It was not thoroughly introduced till the beginning of June. The order was issued to prepare circle lists beforehand; but until the appointment of Circle Inspectors practically nothing was done.

Circle Inspectors were appointed in what month?—They were appointed at the end of May. We were very short-handed in my Division for Circle Inspectors. We only had three. The Revenue Inspectors were expected to do the work in their own ranges, in addition to their own revenue work, which was very heavy as remissions had to be granted.

And you had three Circle Inspectors and how many Revenue Inspectors?—There were 3 for each taluk but 4 for Kudligi. There were altogether 16 Revenue Inspectors, of which 11 were on famine duty, because four of them were in the Harpanahalli Taluk which was unaffected and one in South Hadagalli. There were thus 11 Ex-officio Circle Inspectors who were Revenue Inspectors doing famine duty in addition to their own revenue work, and three special. Villages were divided for purposes of famine

into circles. From each Revenue Inspector's range 12 or 15 villages were taken away and this was done in all the 3 ranges. They were made one Circle Inspector's range. Each Circle Inspector had about 40 villages.

In putting people on the list for village relief were the Code Instructions strictly followed?—Yes.

In your written evidence you say that the problem as to how far beggars might be granted or denied gratuitous relief if they were incapable of bodily labour was a difficult one. Will you kindly explain what that means?—I mean to say that beggars were naturally attracted by the giving of grain doles and it was very difficult to know how far they depended on private charity. I am speaking of professional beggars who are always with us. At the end of the famine, when we were removing those, whom we considered able to obtain their livelihood, from the Circle Lists, we were left with a residuum of beggars who, when asked as to their living, said that they lived by begging. It was a difficult thing to decide whether the time had yet come for the beggars to obtain their livelihood by private charity, and whether private charity had sufficiently developed in that particular village to support them.

Where the famine was intense you did not refuse to put beggars on the list?—Not if they were incapable of working. We were guided a good deal by the condition of the men. To Northern Country beggars, who came travelling from District to District begging for relief, I refused to give any gratuitous relief.

Was there any poor-house?—There was no poor-house.

And the kitchens were only on the works?—We also had four central kitchens. They were only opened at a late stage of the famine as a check on the growth of gratuitous relief in villages.

They were in central villages?—Yes.

How did they act as a check on the growth of grain dole relief?—Persons on the list for grain dole relief living within two or three miles might be told to go to the kitchen and be fed there, and if they refused to go they would be struck off the grain dole list.

Was the order to go to kitchens given in doubtful cases?—It was given in all cases except where they were unable to walk the distance of 3 miles, or if they had a special caste objection forbidding them to receive food in kitchens.

Did most of those ordered to kitchens go to them?—I think so, when the kitchen was very near: in Hospet Town about ⅔ths went; but few when the kitchen was distant.

You mention that in one kitchen a mother of the Lambadi caste managed to conceal cakes. You mean the cakes of food given to children?—Yes.

Do you think they wanted to take them away for themselves?—Yes, they did take them away until we stopped it. They concealed the cakes of food and asked for another cake for their child saying they had received none.

Are there many of these Lambadis in Bellary?—There are a great many in the Sandur State, and in the jungle at the foot of the hills.

Are they still nomads in that country or have they got country holdings?—I think they are mostly nomads. They go over to Mysore to buy cattle. In Sandur there are a great many of them who have got *pukka*-built houses. On the borders of Sandur they continually keep changing their villages. They have temporary huts.

These Lambadi mothers you refer to were they working on the work?—Yes; they came in great numbers to works and they were difficult to get rid of at the end of the famine.

Did their men come too?—Yes.

They left some men I suppose to look after their cattle?—Yes; I think so. A small proportion.

I understand you to say in your written statement that the landlords reduced their wages while the famine was acute?—I did not mean that, I meant that they would not raise their wages. They were only willing to give as much as they would give in normal seasons instead of increasing the wages according to the price of grain.

Do they usually pay wages in cash or grain in ordinary times?—They pay in cash usually.

You say cloths were a very popular form of relief from the Indian Charitable Relief Fund. What sort of cloths were given?—Common cloths of the simplest materials made in those districts. A woman's cloth would cost about R1-4-0 or R1-6-0; nothing of greater value than two rupees would be given.

Did the people seem to be unusually badly clothed when they came to the relief works? Yes, it was supposed that those who had better cloths left them at home and put on rags in the hope of being given cloths from the Charitable Relief Fund. Of that I am not sure. I know they appeared to wear worse cloths as time went on and after the distribution of cloths began.

Blankets were not given?—No.

There was a rumour that the famine was going to last for three years, do you know how that was started?—I think from the Maharatta country, from the Bombay side. The Bellary district is very closely connected with the Maharatta country by Dharwar.

You say that "complaints were not uncommon that grain-dealers cheated relief workers out of one or two pies of their wages when they bought grain in small quantities." Do you see any reason why payment on the relief works should not be made in grain?—I think the cost of establishment would be prohibitive. It would be so much more troublesome than when payments are made in cash. In the distribution of gratuitous relief "other articles" were ordered to be given in kind and the difficulty of giving them in kind was enormous—to give each person on relief a small quantity of tamarind, a small fraction of oil, and a small fraction of salt was found to be very tedious.

How is the grain given?—The grain is measured out.

By whom?—By the committee appointed for the village. It generally consisted of the Village Munsiffs, and a few respectable landholders of the village, and the Circle Inspector was present, as far as possible, when the distribution was made.

Was distribution made once a week or twice a week?—It was made twice a week.

Where did the committee get the grain from?—They got it from the retail merchants. Advances were made to merchants and in villages where there were no petty shops advances were made to Village Munsiffs for procuring grain.

How were the accounts checked?—The Circle Inspector on his tour would square up the accounts of every village in turn. He would visit each village at least once a fortnight and settle up the shop-keeper's bill.

Do you think the full doles reached the recipients?—I think so.

You don't think there was much corruption or embezzlement in connection with gratuitous relief?—I think there was none. The only danger was of false names being put down. The lists were constantly scrutinized by Circle Inspectors and Tahsildars and the Divisional officers who checked them in a very large proportion. I think I have checked about 30 per cent. of the entries in the grain dole list myself.

Had up the people?—Had up the people in each village I came to and inquired what means of livelihood they had and asked every possible question to find out if I could not remove them from the village relief.

What pay did your Revenue Inspectors get?—R45. The ordinary Revenue Inspectors got from R35 to R45. Circle Inspectors were paid R50 to R60. Some from other Departments were paid even more. That was not in my Division. Some officers of the Salt and Abkari Department were taken on in the other divisions.

Do Revenue Inspectors rise to Tahsildars?—Yes.

Are they men who received good education?—Yes.

Your Revenue establishment consists of tahsildars for each taluk?—Yes, it consisted of tahsildars for each taluk with 3 or 4 Revenue Inspectors for the ranges.

You have no Deputy or Naib Tahsildars?—No. We have in some taluks a Sheristadar. His business is only at head-quarters, and he is responsible for the Treasury and accounts branch of the taluk work and has magisterial powers. In larger taluks magisterial functions of the Tahsildars have been taken away and Stationary Sub-Magistrates appointed. In those cases, instead of the Sheristadar or Naib Tahsildar, we have a Head Accountant who is more or less a head clerk.

You say that after the famine was practically over many grain pits were actually opened. You mean they were opened for the sale of grain?—Sale and consumption.

You say also that some of these pits you believe were found to belong to persons who had been in attendance on

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relief works. Is that founded on sure information?—In one taluk a Deputy Collector prepared a list of persons and put asterisks against the names of those who had been in attendance on relief works. He made inquiries in half a dozen villages and drew up a list of those who had grain pits open. Mr. Stuart, the Collector, took a great deal of trouble in trying to get information on the subject. I found it very difficult to make inquiries.

Are there many irrigation wells in your taluks?—Yes, there are a large number of private wells. Many of them have been constructed under the Madras Loans Act.

Are they in Hospet?—In all four taluks there are a large number of wells.

Were they much used during the distress?—Yes, until they failed. Some of them failed. But they were of great use in alleviating the distress. Being private wells, they only alleviated a few families in a village.

What did they cultivate by the aid of these wells?—Cholum, wheat, garden crops, such as chillies, onions, brinjals, and sugarcane.

Do two or three puttadars ever unite to sink a well on shares?—I think it would be very rare. They obtain their loans on such easy terms that it would not be necessary for them to unite.

Does the irrigation extend to two or three acres or is it less?—Yes, it extends to two and even more than three acres in some cases. I think the majority are less than three acres.

You think the result of the scarcity has been to impose a heavy burden of debt on the puttadars?—I don't think so. In three or four years they will completely recover their position.

Have they had to mortgage their lands much?—There was always a great deal of mortgage in these districts.

Was there any great increase of mortgages?—Not to any very alarming extent.

Are these mortgages merely hypothecation on security, or does the mortgagee get possession?—They are mortgages without possession.

Do they contain any power of sale?—Conditions are sometimes inserted in mortgages that, if the debts are not paid off within a certain date, the properties are liable to sale.

(*Mr. Holderness*).—I understand that the majority of your gangs were in B class?—They were all B class until the latest Government order which ordered the code classification to be introduced. Then orders were issued to classify them according to the code and to form C class gangs. It was found very difficult to form any C class.

Then at the early stage they were all B class?—Yes.

In the latest stages there were a few in the C class? Very few. One in ten.

These gangs being in the B class, I suppose their full task was the B task?—Yes.

This was reduced for distance?—Yes.

According to the places where the workers resided?—Yes.

It was not reduced from weakness—I understand it was not from what you say?—There was no reduction in my division on that account. I do not include the classification of boys as 2 or 3 units among reductions for weakness.

Were there reductions for the task being too hard or on other grounds?—In some cases the task was reduced owing to the deficiency of men.

That is to say, though the gang was the B gang yet its composition was such that some reduction in task was found necessary?—Yes.

The Government order of 9th July, directed the task work to be raised to 25 per cent. where it was not full?—Yes.

What was the effect of that order in your district or rather in your sub-division—had it much effect?—It had no direct effect beyond the fact that weakly persons were weeded out of the B class and put into the D class, and a few C class gangs formed, and the system of fining introduced where the task was not being regularly performed.

In the majority of gangs was the task expected from them increased or not in consequence of the Government order—I suppose it was increased on account of the distance allowance being curtailed? That was the only difference you think?—Yes. Also A class was stopped. Before, the able-bodied men, who were engaged in ramming, etc., were paid A class wages, though the gangs engaged in road making and road spreading to which they belonged were given the B class task.

What I am trying to get at is the exact effect of the Government order of the 19th of July. It increased the task of the gang to a certain extent?—Yes.

By reducing distance allowance?—Yes. At that time in my division all the gangs were doing their full task.

I would call your attention to what the Collector of Bellary says in his fortnightly report ending 31st July. He writes thus, "during the fortnight a number of changes have been made in details of the administration of relief. The old scale of distance allowances has been restored and the grant of wages for half days and the lenient treatment to late comers have been abolished. The last was fatal to discipline." Can you explain what that means?—I think they were very slack in requiring punctual attendance on the works. If a man came late he would be admitted to the gang, and if he came very late he would be paid half a day's wage. But when the Government order that you refer to came out, if a man came late he was struck off the list and given no wages.

Was the effect of allowing men to come late and giving half wages detrimental to discipline?—Yes. Because the Overseers had not the strength of mind to reject those persons who were only a few minutes late. It rather depended on the Overseer whether he carried out the order very strictly or leniently.

In consequence of this order did persons sometimes appear on two relief works in one day and draw wages on each relief work?—I don't think it was possible. Persons used to be struck off the old muster rolls, and it was only sometimes that they would get themselves enrolled as new comers in another gang. The new comers were always admitted without any question if they came for work.

Was the task less than the full one before the order of Government came out in July?—I think it was less than the code task.

Was it unnecessarily lenient in your opinion?—Yes, comparing it with the proper task that was exacted afterwards.

Had that any effect in drawing people to the works who need not have come?—That is a question which I cannot answer, because I have not had exact experience in the matter. I only noticed a few cases of persons who need not have attended the works. I can only say that the numbers rose about the time that the lenient order came out, but how far the increase was due to the deepening of distress or to the lenient order, I can't say.

You think that the majority of the persons came on relief works because they required relief?—Yes.

In paragraph 8 of your written statement you say, "Now a man and his wife with 2 sons and 2 daughters classed as adults earn daily a sum by their combined wages that I believe to be more than sufficient for their actual subsistence." How did you arrive at that conclusion?—Taking the man's wages according to the prevailing price of the grain and the wages of the different members of the family, I think the total sum would be more than sufficient.

Approximately, what do you think the earnings of a family of that sort for a month represent in cash?—It depends on the wages. Taking the wages of a man at one anna and ten pies a day a family consisting of a man, wife, two sons, and two daughters would earn about 9 annas 6 pies per day.

Then we may take it that the earning of that family would certainly be R15 a month?—Yes.

Would that be considered an excessive wage?—I think it is more than what an ordinary agricultural labourer is certain of.

Would it be more than what many menials in Government employ get?—Yes.

Would it be more than the wages that a horse-keeper or a similar person would get?—Yes. A taluk peon was getting only R7.

Was he getting compensation for dearness of grain?—Yes.

How much?—R1 or R1-8.

Then his wage was R8-8 per month?—Yes.

Are the children in this family that you speak of all over 12?—Yes. I am talking of a family where children are over 12 and under 18.

Of course that is an extreme case?—Yes.

Generally what was the condition of the workers?—I think it was very fair.

Did they deteriorate or not on the works?—There was no deterioration.

Do you think they looked worse than they looked in ordinary years?—Yes. I think the women and children were thinner and weaker after two or three months' work, but I do not think that was kept up. But, at the end of the famine, say after seven months, they were no worse than what they were after four months.

Then they did deteriorate?—Yes. But I do not think they deteriorated beyond a certain stage.

You think that they deteriorated at the first stages of the work?—Yes.

What do you attribute that to?—I attribute it partly to the dependants of the workers at home sharing to some extent the wages of the relief workers.

That is to say, all the family did not come on the works?—No.

Was it the case that the men stayed away to any large extent?—Yes. At first there was a great preponderance of women and children on the works.

What is the reason?—I think the able-bodied men found less difficulty in getting work than women. I think they got employment in the fields.

Wages were fixed on the price of cholum—were they not?—Yes. At a later stage they were fixed on the combined price of cholum and ragi.

Is cholum the cheapest grain in the market?—No. Ragi is cheaper, but it is not so generally consumed.

It was possible for a man to buy ragi which was cheaper than cholum?—Yes. They would not eat ragi continuously though they might take it as a change of diet.

Subsequently what did you do?—We fixed the wages on the price of ragi and cholum combined.

Why was that done?—To prevent the relief works becoming too attractive.

Then the assumption was that they ate ragi as well as cholum?—Yes, they did so. After that time they were beginning to buy ragi in greater quantity.

Did you give any extra allowance for fuel at any time?—No. Relief workers could be seen picking up fuel on their way back to their villages every day.

Did the Government authorize the grant of an extra allowance for fuel?—No. We were asked to report whether there was any necessity for giving an allowance for fuel.

Was it given?—No.

Did you think there was any necessity for giving an allowance for fuel?—No.

If an allowance was given for fuel, would it be spent on fuel by the workers?—No, I do not think so.

Did any evidence come to your notice that the people saved any portion of their wages?—No. I cannot remember a case.

I suppose payments were made in pice and small coins?—Yes, in silver and copper coins.

Was there any evidence to show that the copper coins came back to the Government treasury or they stayed with the people?—They did not come in large quantities.

Then what happened to that money?—I think half of it came to the shop-keepers.

And the other half?—It was kept.

Is that an evidence of saving?—It is very difficult to choose an argument of that kind because the money naturally does not come immediately to the shop-keepers.

Did you attempt to get the small change from the shop-keeper in exchange for rupees?—Yes.

Were you successful in doing it?—We were. But it was difficult to get as much as went out.

Did the excise revenue fall off?—Yes. Many Abkari lease-holders became bankrupts and we could not collect rents from them.

Now about the works. Was the paymaster on the works under you or under the Public Works Department?—The paymaster was under me, *i.e.*, under an officer of the Revenue Department.

Did you supply him with money or the Public Works Department?—We supplied him with funds on cheques drawn by the Public Works Department. The Public Works officer would issue the cheques to the Tahsildar and he would replenish the paymaster's imprest on that cheque.

Was there any difficulty in replenishing these imprests?—We introduced a system that worked very regularly. Imprests were very regularly replenished and the paymaster was compelled to send in his vouchers by a certain hour on a certain day.

These cheques were issued by the Public Works Department?—Yes.

Did they raise any difficulty in issuing cheques on the ground that the vouchers for the former money were not in?—That never caused delay in payment. The Tahsildars were responsible for seeing that the vouchers were received from the paymaster. In cases of emergency the Tahsildar used to issue the amount indented for by the paymaster to replenish his imprest rather than delay payments and insisted on the production of vouchers afterwards.

A good many of these famine roads have not been finished?—They were only repairs to roads. There was only one new road that was not completed.

Repairs?—Repairs were not completed for the whole length of the road.

If you had the conduct of a famine again, would you avoid this by re-arranging the work in such a way as to finish any particular work that you take up?—I think more central works might have been started in the first instance. In the beginning of a famine one never knows how long a work will be in progress. So you cannot calculate whether you can finish a work or not. In other parts of the district where the distress was greater roads were completely finished—roads of even greater length than those we had.

If you concentrated work regardless of the distance, you would have had more to show for your money I suppose?—Yes.

Do you think it necessary to pay attention to the question of distance from the homes of workers?—I think it is very hard not to in the first instance. I think it would be best to abolish it in the end.

Do you think you could gradually have moved most of the workers to larger works?—I think a majority of them would not have moved till May or June to the central work.

Would they have done so then?—Yes. They would have moved to a central work if it was within the same taluk.

Why would they then have moved?—Because the distress was great.

When the distress was really great do you think they would have really moved?—Yes.

Do you think it would be hard upon them to compel them to do it?—I think it would be. In the beginning of the distress they became reduced to a low state of strength before they ever attempted to come on the works. They would have endeavoured to remain at home as long as possible to look after cattle. At first all were in great doubt how long the famine would last. They did not like to sell their cattle in the hopes that things would mend and that they would be able to save them.

Afterwards they were convinced that it would go on for some time?—Yes.

Did many stay near the works?—At the close of the famine about one-third of the workers were residents of other villages.

Other villages?—Yes.

Did they come from a long distance?—Yes, they came and lived in adjoining villages.

Then in granting reduction on account of distance did you grant it with reference to actual homes of the workers or to the villages where they were temporarily residing?—Where they were temporarily residing.

Was that known in all cases?—Oh, yes, there was no doubt about it.

In the muster roll was the name of the village to which a person permanently belonged entered?—That would not be entered at all. The muster roll would simply contain the name and the fact whether he was present or absent.

How is it ascertained that the workers came from certain distances and were therefore entitled to distance allowance?

Mr. C. G. Spencer.

14th Feb. 1898.

—The Overseer knew most of them personally, and with regard to those whom he did not know he obtained information from the maistries.

Then the Overseers would know whether the workers came from their own villages or from the villages in which they were temporarily residing near the works?—The Overseer would know it. The calculation of the distance allowance was left to him subject to check.

Do you think that his discretion was properly exercised?—I think that before the latest Government order came out he had a very free hand in calculating the distance allowance. I am not prepared to say that the Overseer always exercised a wise discretion.

Did you check the allowance given for distance?—I did. The Revenue officers were given power to interfere in the matter of task.

Not before the receipt of the Government order?—Yes, not before.

Did you consider that you had authority to issue orders to the Overseer in charge in regard to shelter from the heat of the day or the tasks or distance?—Yes, after the receipt of that order.

Not till then?—No.

There was scarcity in the district in 1891-92?—Yes.

Did that still affect the district, or did the district recover from it?—I think it has not altogether recovered from that yet.

I think you said that debts were not great?—I said that there was a great deal of mortgage. I was speaking of the result of the present famine.

You do not know whether they got rid of the debts incurred during the last famine?—In the last famine there was no gratuitous relief and no Indian Charitable Fund. The ryots had not the same means of regaining their position as they have had this time.

Do you think they had a more liberal relief in the present famine so as to enable them to recover soon?—I think the grants from the Indian Charitable Fund helped them to start life better than they did before.

Then the ryots were chiefly helped by the Indian Charitable Relief Fund and not by the relief works?—Some of them were on relief works.

What was their proportion to the total number of relief workers?—About 20 per cent.

About 20 per cent. were ryots and the rest were day labourers?—Yes. That is only very approximate. We were giving orders that these ryots should be put in separate gangs and given full task, so that those who had property might have every inducement to leave the works.

When was that done?—In July.

Had that much effect?—By the time we collected information most of that class of persons had left the works.

Had you any strikes on the works?—Yes, we had a strike of maistries.

Why did that happen?—The Overseer had oppressed them and delayed the payment of wages to them.

You had no general strikes on account of raising the task or the reduction of wages?—No. At the end of the famine many of them left in large bodies. But I do not call that a strike.

They simply went away?—Yes.

(*Dr. Richardson*).—You say that as far as you could ascertain, there were no deaths from starvation?—Yes.

You say "I would not seek to deny that some of the persons included in the grain dole lists in the villages, both the very old and the young, were seen to be thin and in poor health". Was that after they came to the gratuitous relief or before?—After they came to the gratuitous relief. I think there would have been a good many deaths if we had not introduced grain doles.

Would it have been advisable to have given grain doles sooner; would it have prevented them from falling into this condition if you had issued the doles about the 1st of June?—I do not think it was necessary so far as saving of life was concerned.

So far as health and condition were concerned?—It might have been introduced a little sooner.

Was there heavy mortality amongst very young children?—I think the mortality was not very much above the average. I have had no figures to show the mortality amongst children and adults.

You say "visible signs of emaciation among the people were conspicuous by their absence, except only among infants of a few months' age". Do you think that to avoid this it would have been a good thing if mothers of these infant children were placed on the list of recipients for gratuitous relief and kept in their villages instead of being dragged on the works?—Yes.

Then you would let the mothers stay at home?—Yes, because they become worn out by travelling and are not able to take care of their children.

You do not think that many children died?—I think children and babies of a few months must have died. I enquired into the matter and ascertained from some of the mothers that their children had died.

If the mothers are put on gratuitous relief in their own villages and prevented from coming on the relief works, do you think it might prevent this mortality?—Yes.

Did you think that the grain dole was sufficient for the maintenance of health and strength of those who were in receipt of it—Did it keep them in good condition!?—Their condition did not improve but it seemed to prevent deterioration. If they were in bad condition they did not recover.

But after the receipt of the dole they did not fall off in condition?—Yes, they did not fall off in condition.

(*President*).—Do you think that the people who got grain dole usually consumed it themselves, or they had it divided with others?—It was inevitable that they should divide it with others to some extent.

(*Mr. LeFanu*).—You mention in your written statement as a case in which people who were not in distress came to works, that a school-master earning R5 per mensem, besides results grants, sent his wife?—Yes.

Taking the price of grain at 9 measures per rupee he will have 45 measures?—Yes.

You don't suppose that B wage is too much for a man?—Not too much.

If you allow a man B wage, he himself gets 71lbs. of grain per mensem to live upon?—Yes.

The school-master will get for R5, 95lbs., and deducting out of that 71 lbs., there are only 24 lbs. left?—Yes.

The B wage for a woman is 67 lbs., so that deducting the 24 lbs., it would leave her still 43 lbs. short, to say nothing of the maintenance of children in the family?—Yes.

Looking at the matter in this light, does it not occur to you that people in that condition would find it difficult to make both ends meet?—I considered that the females of a Thalayari or a Vettyan—village servants—were in need of relief while his pay was only R4. But this school-master got a salary of R5 besides results grants which would make it about R7.

Do you think that the school-master was not justified in sending his wife and children to the works, that a man with an assured income of R5 or even 7 a month might not send his wife and children to the works?—I think that a man with a large family earning a wage of R7 might find it necessary to send some of the members of his family to relief works.

You have said elsewhere that a man, his wife, and his 2 sons and 2 daughters, classed as adults, earned as daily wage a sum which you believed to be more than sufficient for their daily actual subsistence?—Yes.

I think, according to the figures of Mr. Holderness, it comes to R15 per mensem?—Yes.

Do you think that in the case of a family, referred to in the last sentence of paragraph 8 in the written statement, earning a wage aggregating to R15 per mensem, that sum is more than sufficient for their subsistence with grain selling at 9 measures per rupee?—I still think so. But I should like to work out the result myself. I think that if every family with an income of R15 is reduced by famine, such as we have had, to a state of such need that they must apply to Government for relief, then there must be something radically wrong with the system of relief.

How much did you pay for your servants on account of famine?—One rupee per month for each of my servants.

Supplementary note of evidence by Mr. C. G. Spencer, dated 25th March 1898.

I have the honour to state that when I gave my oral evidence before the Commission at Madras on February 14th, I was asked by Mr. LeFanu a question whether I considered

it natural that with prices of food-grains at the high rates prevailing during the scarcity of 1897, a family of six earning R15 a month should not have more than enough to provide for their bare subsistence, and I then requested permission to work out the problem myself and add my reply to my memorandum of written evidence.

2. From the appendix to the Famine Code I find that when the staple food-grain is selling at 9½ seers a rupee, a man on B class wages would earn 2 annas a day and 1 anna 6 pies on rest days, and a woman would earn 1 anna 11 pies a day and 1 anna 4 pies on rest days. A family of six, consisting of a man and his wife, with 2 boys and 2 girls between the ages of 12 and 20, would obtain on a relief work by their combined wages for 25 working days and 5 rest days a sum of R21-0-3.

3. With R21 they might purchase 199½ seers of grain at the market price of 9½ seers a rupee, and this converted into tolahs will amount to 15,960 tolahs. If a B class ration is declared to be the least amount sufficient to keep a man and woman in goood health, 95 tolahs per diem will have to be allowed for every male, and 90 tolahs for every female composing this typical family. At this rate the family of six will consume 555 tolahs of grain a day, or 16,650 tolahs a month, and the quantity already calculated as earned by them will thus be barely sufficient. But by this process of calculation which Mr. LeFanu has asked me to make, I have in reality, as may be easily seen, been merely working back to the original data upon which the wage table has been based, without making allowance for the fact that a relief worker is supposed to eat less on a rest day than on a working day. If this be allowed for, the quantity of grain required will amount only to 15,900 tolahs, which is almost equal to that earned, *viz.*, 15,960 tolahs.

4. The result, in my opinion, proves nothing beyond the fact that the figures in the wage table have been correctly calculated from the axioms that have been taken for granted. To settle the question by this kind of calculation would be to make no allowance for three important considerations: first, that the cost of feeding a family is proportionately cheaper than feeding a single individual (this is especially true when grain and other commodities can be purchased cheaper in large than in small quantities); secondly, that the quantities of grain given in section 120 of the Code are supposed to represent also the value of "other items," and the price of other items may be comparatively low while grain is at famine rates; thirdly, the doubt that I have already raised in my written memorandum of evidence, *viz.*, whether children of ages from 12 to 16 eat as much food as a full grown adult.

5. I should not like to question the sufficiency or otherwise of the quantities of food that expert medical authorities have fixed as the minimum that an adult man and woman should consume to keep themselves in full bodily health and strength, but I think it is quite open to doubt whether, even in seasons of plenty, the adults of the labouring classes do, as a matter of fact, consume food equal in quantity to the grain allowances given in article 120 of the Famine Code.

6. I am further of opinion that, if Government undertake the responsibility of maintaining the members of any family earning R20 or less whenever the prices of food-grains rise as high as they did in 1897, they are taking upon themselves a task of enormous magnitude, for at that rate I suppose more than three-fourths of the population would be entitled to receive relief.

7. I am unable to quote any verified instance of relief workers having saved money out of their earnings after paying for their actual subsistence, though I have some recollection that some were said to have bought other articles out of their savings.

8. I take this opportunity of explaining that my statements as to the increase of debts and mortgages during the famine were of course only approximate estimates. They were based on the conclusions that I arrived at from enquiries made at the close of the famine in several thousand cases into the state of indebtedness of ryots who were applicants for relief from the Indian Charitable Relief Fund. The conclusions I derived may therefore be taken as fairly well founded.

9. I see that Mr. Stuart, the Collector of Bellary, has said that my statement about many of the abkari contractors having been rendered bankrupt by the famine was an exaggeration. I distinctly remember that revenue officers in 1897 had unusual difficulty in collecting the rents due on arrack and toddy shops, that in my division a few small shops were given up by the contractors and had to be closed for want of bidders at the re-sale, and that two abkari lessees absconded and were reported to have no moveable or immoveable property. As to the actual consumption of liquor during the famine year, I think that only the officers of the Salt and Abkari Department are qualified from their examination of the accounts kept in the shops to form any opinion worth having.

10. I observe that in the report of my evidence in the *Madras Mail* it is reported that I stated that the Head Assistant's division of Bellary was on the whole unaffected. What I think I said, or at least intended to say, was that my division was treated as only partially affected when compared with the eastern taluks of the district where the distress was deeper and more widespread.

11. I stated that deductions for distance were made in the nominal muster rolls. What I should have said was that the allowance for distance was worked out in the overseer's permanent task register, and deductions made from the number of units in each gang, and the net results entered in the work sheet attached to the nominal muster rolls of each gang. Thus, a man being supposed to walk 3 miles an hour and a woman 2½ miles an hour, a deduction of $\frac{1}{24}$ had to be made in an eight hours' day for every mile walked in excess of 3 miles by each man, and a deduction of $\frac{1}{20}$ for each woman. To reduce this to the common denomination of units so as to apply it to the task fixed for a whole gang, the allowance of $\frac{1}{24}$ for each man and $\frac{1}{20}$ for each woman had to be multiplied by the number of units to which each man, woman, and child's labour is considered as equal.

12. To take an instance of a typical gang of 85 persons composed of 25 men and 30 women and 30 children making up 190 units, suppose that 6 men, 10 women and 10 children come from a village 3½ miles off, and 6 men, 10 women and 10 children from a village 4 miles off. The allowance to be made for the 6 men from the first village, who in coming and returning walk a mile in excess of 3 miles each day, is $\frac{1\times6\times4}{24}=1$, and for the 10 women $\frac{1\times10\times2}{20}=1$, and for the 10 children $\frac{1\times10\times1}{20}=\frac{1}{2}$; and the allowance for the 6 men from the second village, who in coming and returning walk 2 miles in excess of 3 miles each day, is $\frac{2\times6\times4}{24}=2$, and for the 10 women is $\frac{2\times10\times2}{20}=2$ and for the 10 children $\frac{2\times10\times1}{20}=1$.

Thus 2½ units have to be deducted for the first village and 5 units for the second village from the units of which the whole gang is composed, *viz.*, 190, and the result will be 190−2½−5=182½. The number of units thus arrived at has to be multiplied by the task set per unit of labour, and the result is the task of the whole gang.

13. I think I stated in my oral evidence that no deductions for weakness were made on the works in my division of the district. I should have qualified this statement by explaining that I was referring to the time after the control of the relief works under the Department of Public Works passed into the hands of the Revenue officers under the Government order issued at a late stage in the progress of the famine.

I am not aware to what extent the Public Works officers allowed deductions for weakness before the issue of that order, as I did not enquire before into the sufficiency of the task which was fixed by the Department of Public Works authorities, regarding that as a matter beyond my sphere of action.

14. At one relief camp where the work to be done consisted solely of earth-work, I came to know that the lead was increased in order to provide work for the excessive proportion of women among the relief workers, though the same earth was available at a less distance, the few men that attended the relief work being employed only in diggings and the women in carrying the earth to the embankment. Another plan was to fix the task according to the number of pick-axes in use in each gang.

15. After Revenue officers were given authority to see that the tasks set by the Department of Public Works overseers were proper tasks, I remember only one instance of an overseer in my division attempting to make deductions for weakness. On that occasion the overseer solicited my orders to reduce the tasks for certain B class gangs in which there were a considerable number of decrepit old men and women. He was finally ordered to weed out those weakly persons from the B class gangs and form separate D class gangs of them.

16. I regret that the exigencies of my ordinary duties have prevented me from sparing time to write this supplement to my recorded evidence at an earlier date.

Mr. S. B. Murray.

14th Feb. 1898.

MR. S. B. MURRAY, Executive Engineer, Cuddapah division, called in and examined.

I put in a written statement of evidence.

1. In the district where I was working during the late famine, the Code was adhered to most rigidly and the result was anything but satisfactory. I consider that people were allowed on to works who were really not in need of relief, that the work that the coolies were called upon to do was, in a great many cases, too light, and that owing to incorrect classification a great many coolies were overpaid. I ascribe these mistakes to the divided authority and duality of control which Article 94 of the Code entails and to the insistance of task-work which articles 94 and 97 prescribe. If the Public Works Department, who are best qualified to classify labour and to decide what work these classes were able to perform, had been allowed to do so, these mistakes would not have occurred.

2. I will give instances of two innovations which I wished to introduce on works in my district, but about which I was overruled by the Collector on the grounds that they were against the provisions of the Famine Code. They will show how, even in minor matters, the Code had to be directly followed:—

(*a*) Article 97 of the Code lays down that "to each gang a task shall be allotted according to its capabilities." To carry out earth-work the capabilities of a gang depend on the numbers of diggers in it (subject to a certain maximum). I, therefore, proposed that when earth-work was being done the task should be set per digger and not per unit of the gang, but this was not allowed as being against the Code (except towards the end of the famine as an experiment).

(*b*) During the hot weather, when there was moonlight, the coolies on a certain work—earth-work—asked to be allowed to work at night instead of in the heat of the day, and promised that their tasks would be completed before roll-call the following morning. I was anxious to allow this, but on referring the matter to the Collector was met with a reference to paragraph 8 of Appendix VI of the Code.

3. To my mind, however, the great evil which arose from strict observance to the Code was the division of authority and control which it necessitated. The resident staff on a work usually consisted of—

(1) The officer in charge of the work (in almost all cases a Public Works Department subordinate).

(2) The Paymaster.

(3) The Medical Subordinate.

(4) The Kitchen Superintendent.

(5) The Head Mistry.

(6) The Store-keeper.

The inspecting staff was as follows:—

(*a*) The Collector.

(*b*) The Executive Engineer.

(*c*) The District Surgeon.

(*d*) The Assistant Engineer.

(*e*) The Deputy Collector.

(*f*) The Tahsildar.

The power of the inspecting officers to give orders to the resident staff was as follows:—

The Collector and the Deputy Collector could give orders to all of them. The Executive Engineer could give orders to the officer in charge of the work, the head mistry and the store-keeper, subject to the sanction of the Collector on all matters which were not "strictly professional."

The District Surgeon could give orders to the medical subordinate and (I believe) the kitchen superintendent.

The Assistant Engineer who generally has seven works to look after, and who saw far more of them than any one else, is not recognised by the Code, and so had no authority, and could only give orders on strictly professional matters to the officer in charge of the work, the head mistry and the store-keeper; the Tahsildar could give orders to the paymaster and kitchen superintendent.

It must be apparent that such a system could not be satisfactory—there were too many masters—and the result was considerable friction and loss of power.

It will be noticed that in the list of inspecting officers I have omitted the Superintending Engineer. This is because the Code does so, but as a matter of fact during the late famine my Superintending Engineer was of the utmost help to me. His experience of works extended over four districts, and he was consequently able to see works being carried out under very varied conditions and so decide which were best and to give his executive officers hints as to what should and should not be done. By not fully utilising the services of the Superintending Engineers during the late famine, Government sustained a great loss of power. They, better than any one, were fitted to decide on a consistent and uniform policy for the organisation and management of relief works, and if it had been put into their hands, the extraordinary variations which prevailed in different districts in the carrying on of relief works would never have occurred.

4. The remedy for all the defects pointed out above seems to me perfectly clear. On all works which have been put in charge of the Public Works Department that department is to be given complete control and to be held solely responsible for its proper management and organisation. Directly a work is handed over to the Public Works Department, the responsibility of the Collector for that work ceases.

5. I would only put the Public Works Department in charge of large works, and my scheme for famine relief works is roughly as follows. In each taluk there would be one or at most two large works to which all able-bodied persons who needed relief would be drafted. Residence on these works would not be compulsory, but no concessions would be given to those coolies who returned to their homes every evening.

Supplementary to these large works I would have a certain number of smaller works distributed about the taluk to give employment to the old and weakly, the able-bodied members of whose families would be on the large works.

The large works would be in the sole charge of the Public Works Department, and on them I would have the piece-work system, pure and simple, and would not convert it into task-work until distress became very acute, and it was found that the bread-winners were not earning sufficient to keep themselves and working dependants. Even then I should be inclined to improve matters by enhancing rates rather than by degenerating into task-work. With unlimited piece-work, all coolies who wished to work could earn enough in six days to keep them for a week, and I would not allow Sunday work.

The small works would be managed entirely by the Revenue Department. The coolies to be admitted to them would be selected by the revenue officials, and as there would be really no question of testing the necessity of giving them relief, task-work, and that almost nominal, would be best for these works. In fact these small works would be but a veiled form of gratuitous relief.

I would make the Superintending Engineer the head of all the large works in his circle, and any complaint which the Collector—who, of course, would have the right to inspect and criticise the works in charge of the Public Works Department in his district—might have to make, should be made to him. In urgent cases the Collector could also write direct to the Executive Engineer; all officers and subordinates of other departments attached to works in charge of the Public Works Department would be under the orders of the Engineer Officer in charge.

6. The above is an outline of what I am convinced would be a more successful way of conducting famine relief operations than the method adopted during the late distress.

The advantage of my proposal is that it will fully utilise the resources of the Public Works Department, who are better able than any other department to cope with large masses of labour and extract work from them, and by relieving the Revenue Department of a great deal of responsibility, it will enable that department to devote more time to the many other branches of famine relief, which can only be rightly dealt with by them.

(*President*).—You are the Executive Engineer of the Cuddapah division?—Yes.

What does the Cuddapah division consist of?—The whole of the district.

From what date to what date did you supervise famine relief?—I cannot give you the actual dates. I think it was from the last week in November up to the first week in October, that is, just for 10 months.

At first was the work carried on in strict conformity with the Code?—Yes.

And the task given in the Code was found to be heavy?—Yes, we could not adhere to that.

And the task was revised by the Public Works Department?—Yes, by me.

Was that acted upon?—Different tasks were set at different times. We altered them several times.

You did that in correspondence with the Collector?—Yes. I always reported it to him. I went over the works with him and we did it together.

Was it revised as a standard, or was it only the task of a particular gang?—When we altered the task we did not alter it throughout the whole district, but only with regard to particular gangs.

In what way did your relations with the Collector cause friction?—There was never friction between me and the Collector, but there was between the Collector's subordinates and myself.

Who were they?—The Deputy Collectors and several Tahsildars.

How did they interfere?—They went on the works and gave orders which sometimes were contradictory to mine.

On what sort of subject do you remember there was friction. Can you give us any instances where a Deputy Collector or Tahsildar gave an order?—In one or two cases the task that I had myself set was reduced. For the rest they usually interfered in the general management of the work.

In reducing the task, was it done by giving special distance allowances, or in what way did they alter the task?—They gave orders to the subordinate in charge that less task was to be set. They were only verbal orders.

I see in your scheme for the management of future famine relief works you would apparently only give the Collector the power of sending to large relief works in charge of Public Works officers, men wanting relief and fit for piece-work, and you would turn all those who are not fit for piece-work to other works managed by the Revenue Department. Is that so?—Yes.

Suppose the Collector found that many able-bodied men did not practically go to large relief works managed by the Public Works Department and were getting into low and bad condition, what would he have to do under your scheme?—They will have to go on large works if they want relief.

Do you think they would go?—I do.

On the small works managed entirely by the Revenue officers, would any subordinates of the Public Works Department be employed according to your scheme?—We would have nothing to do with them.

How would the Revenue officers lay out the work without some subordinates of the Public Works Department?—I would not give them any engineering work. They will have prickly-pear and jobs like that. That is what I would propose.

If almost all the relief works were managed exclusively by the officers of the Public Works Department, do you think you would have enough of officers to supervise?—Yes, I think so, because it would reduce the number of our works. For instance, we had seven or eight, even nine works in a taluk. I do not propose to have more than two.

The Code provides that in forming gangs, people of the same village and of the same family if possible should go into the same gang. Do you think that the subordinates of the Public Works Department are equal to the carrying out of directions of that sort?—Yes. Certainly.

Would they have sufficient knowledge of the people?—People themselves tell you what villages they come from when they come to the works.

Do you expect that on the large works managed by the officers of the Public Works Department under your system, the number of children would be much?—Yes, I should think that in earth-work, the digger would probably bring in three of his family to help him, if not four.

In the case of your ordinary earth-work done under the Public Works Department, do many women and children come?—Yes. They generally serve as carriers while the men dig.

Is it only the Oddar class that do that kind of work, or is it the people of all classes?—It is mostly the Oddars. In our parts they are the professional earth-work people.

I believe that wherever Oddars go they always take their women and children with them on to the works. I suppose the same is not the case with other castes?—I do not think it is. I have seen the earth-work done exclusively by men.

(*Mr. Higham*).—What were the different classes of work you had in progress in the Cuddapah district?—Mostly road work, and we had the formation of two tanks and the excavation of two channels.

Is the relief work mainly road work?—In number they were mostly road works. Out of 31 works 25 or 26 were road works, four or five were for clearing old channels or making new channels or repairing tanks.

How many charges were there?—There were 31 works and each work had an officer in charge. There was the Sub-Divisional Officer for each taluk. I was the head and I had a Sub-Divisional Officer in each taluk. I had three Assistant Engineers and one Sub-Engineer.

What was the smallest number on your works?—It went down to 300 or 400.

And the largest?—Between 7,000 and 8,000.

Under one officer in charge?—Yes.

What is the greatest distance at which these works were from the villages?—Some people came from 12 miles, I believe.

About what average distance were the works apart?—I should say roughly that no two works are more than 12 miles apart in the four taluks that were affected.

Did the people who came from 12 miles reside on the works or go home?—They might have gone home or might have gone to some neighbouring village. The latter is very common.

Do you provide shelter for the helpless?—We give huts for all those that want to stop.

Did they ever stop?—Very few.

I suppose very many did not come from as far as 12 miles?—No.

Before these works were opened, were there any test works?—They began with test works, but afterwards converted them into regular works.

Had you anything to do with test works?—No, I was on leave. They had been opened for three weeks before I joined.

Test works have not been taken by the Public Works officers?—No, by the Local Fund Department.

Do you know anything about the way in which test works were managed; what tasks were imposed?—Exactly the same. There is no change except the officer in charge. I took over the work from the Local Fund Overseer.

Then what is the difference between test work and relief work. Is it the only difference that the one was under the District Board Engineer and the other under the Public Works Engineer?—Apparently.

You say "people were allowed on to works who really were not in need of relief". Have you any reason for supposing that they were not in need of relief?—Yes. Because when I had the task raised to a fair extent, by no means hard, a great number of people left the works. They would not do work.

Then the test as to whether they were in need of relief or not was whether they had a certain task or not?—Yes.

You also say that there was incorrect classification?—Yes, too many people were put into class D.

That is due to dual control?—No.

That is due to the order of Government?—Yes.

What classes did you have on your works?—Very few in class A, only some of the watering coolies and some of the men who did hard work with heavy rammers of 30 lbs. on the road work. We gave them A class wages, and practically all the rest were in class B. Very old people were put into class D. Thus the majority of workers therefore were in class B, and the old people who could only do nominal tasks were in class D.

After the issue of the omnibus order they came into class C?—No. I think we kept them pretty well in D.

They got D wage?—Yes.

If there were weakly people in a B gang, did you make any reduction of task for them?—There is no necessity, because really the task was very low and there was no need to reduce it.

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Were those that were unable to do a task put in D class?—No, they were still kept in B class.

Your returns of men included boys?—Boys over 12. They were men for wages and three-fourths men for task.

In about what proportion were these boys to the men? Can you give us any idea about it? Suppose you had a gang with 50 men in it, how many of these would be boysSeven or eight?— about 12 per cent., I think.

Did you find any difficulty on your works owing to the small number of adult males?—On earth-works we did, and on road works it did not matter much.

What do you mean by earth-work?—Tanks and channels where we wanted diggers.

By road you mean road-metalling?—I mean road-making and metal-breaking. Road-making can be done by women. The only work for which you want men is ramming, and also a certain amount of work that you want for side ditches.

With the small proportion of men that you had on the works, would it have been possible to dig these works on the piece-work system, payment by results?—Not as the coolies were on the works. Not as things were. We had too many carriers, there were a good many women and children.

If you had piece-work you would have had to provide for these excess carriers?—Probably more men would come.

Why would more men come?—So as to earn wages for their families.

Why would they not come to work when it is task?—Because they send their women to do their work instead.

Would not their women come to piece-work?—I do not know. I had no experience of piece-work, and therefore cannot answer that question.

Do you think if you had piece-work without any limit as to the amount to be earned, a greater percentage of men would have come to the works?—I do.

Have you any idea as to where the men were?— Very often they were doing nothing and merely sitting in their villages.

How do you know that?—I myself saw them.

Were any of them employed in the fields?— In the early part of famine they were, but later on they were not, because there was nothing for them to do.

Then why did not they come on the works and earn 1½ annas?—I cannot answer that, because I do not know why.

Do you think that if they would have earned 2 or 3 annas, they would have come?—I do.

I suppose they did not care about earning 1½ annas?—Yes.

If you were to open large central works as you propose on the piece-work system, do you suppose that would attract all the able-bodied labourers from surrounding villages voluntarily?—If there was any distress they would come.

Do you think they would all come? Yes, provided we gave them good rates.

What do you mean by good rates?—We would have to give them more than the normal wages. We should have a sliding scale which would go on changing according to the change in the price of grain.

Supposing they do not come on to the works, how do you propose to get them?—I would not do anything. I would wait until they came.

With regard to the feeble in the villages who could not be expected to come, would you have some sort of relief arrangement?—The Revenue Department would do that.

Suppose some able-bodied labourers came and applied for help on the works?—I would exclude them provided I had another work opened on the piece-work system.

Would you make them go to the piece-work?—Yes, if they are able-bodied and fit to work.

Suppose they do not want to go?—Then they need not go.

You could not force them to go on the works?—No.

Do you think the piece-work would give them enough inducement to come?—I do.

Do you think it would be simply sufficient to refuse them relief in any form to make them go to the large relief works?—Yes, so far as able-bodied men are concerned.

As regards the position of the Collector in regard to works under the Public Works Department, would you allow him any voice at all in the matter of rates or tasks?—If he is to be responsible for the management of the work, I would allow him all power over everything.

I do not mean that he is to be responsible for the management, but if he is to be responsible for the work as answering the purpose of relieving distress, do you think it necessary that he should have a voice in fixing the rate?—No, I do not.

On what considerations would you fix the rate?—Is it simply on the value of the work done?—Yes, if it is piece-work that you are referring to. I just now said that it would be a sliding scale which would go on changing as the prices of grain went up or down.

In working that would you not be required to refer it to the Collector?—What for.

To know your rates to begin with?—You could easily ascertain it from the Collector every week or even once in two or three days.

Supposing the Collector considered that the rate for piece-work was so low that the people could not live, would he be in order in proposing to raise the rates?—Yes, he would be. According to my idea he should write to the Superintending Engineer that the rate on such a work is low; and if the Superintending Engineer agreed with him, it would be raised.

In regard to the tasks, do you consider that the Collector should have any voice in reducing or raising the task?—Yes, in the same way.

That is to say, he may make suggestions?—Yes.

During the recent famine did you order any modification of the task at any time without reference to the Collector?—Several times I did, and I reported it afterwards to the Collector.

For sanction?—For approval.

You gave the order first?—I did in some cases and in other cases I did not. I came across instances where the task was palpably too low, and I reported it to the Collector.

Were they according to the table for the district?—We never had a regular sanctioned table. We always altered it so many times.

Did the civil officers alter the task at any time without reference to the Collector?—I do not know that. Certainly they altered the task.

Did they alter it without reference to you as Executive Engineer?—Yes.

You found the task altered when you went over the work?—Yes.

By the order of civil officers?—Yes.

Of which you received no information?—None whatever.

You made no deductions for weakly gangs in your district?—We had a rule which was never used because they never got into that state. Coolies in good condition had full task, those in fair condition had a reduction of one-third, and those in bad condition had a reduction of half in the task. When I proposed that to the Collector, he approved of it. There could be no reduction unless we considered them to be in fair or bad condition.

Then all were in good condition?—Yes.

You never made any reduction?—No.

Then what about the weakly persons?—Generally they were put in class D.

I thought that class D was abolished?—No, we had it.

All through?—Yes, if I remember rightly.

(*President*).—In reply to a question of mine, you said that the task was fixed on the standard devised by yourself, and sometimes you altered it in consultation with the Collector. I do not understand exactly how the task was low. In reply to a question from Mr. Higham you said that the task was so low that it was unnecessary to give reduction on account of weakness. How did the task get so low?—The task that I was then alluding to was stone-breaking for road-making. We divided up

our stones into different degrees of hardness and softness and we had four classes. If the overseer who was in charge of the task called a soft stone hard, then the coolies would be doing a far lower task than they ought to be doing. In the same way with regard to earth-work. There were three classes, hard, medium, and soft, and if the officer in charge thought the earth to be medium when it was hard, people would be doing a far lower task than they would be otherwise doing.

(*Mr. Holderness*).—When you first started relief works, did you start them on a strict system?—The original works I did not start. I went home on leave.

When did you come?—Three weeks after.

When you took over charge, did you attempt to enforce task strictly?—I carried on the task that was used by my predecessors.

Did you consider that task an unreasonable one?—I had no experience. It was all stone-breaking and collection of stones. I had no experience of that sort of thing in the country. I had to learn myself.

After you began learning, did you think it unreasonable or not?—It was fairly reasonable.

Did you exact that task strictly by fines?—Not at first, but later on we did.

What do you mean by later on?—About a month after.

What month?—January.

Then in January I take it that the task was on the whole reasonable and you endeavoured to enforce it by fines?—Yes.

Did you make any allowances for distance?—We did, but when it was introduced I cannot tell you.

I am talking of the work before the issue of the Government order?—We had an allowance before that in the district.

When the Government order was issued, what do you think was the effect of the instructions contained therein about reducing the task?—To bring more people on our works.

That was the effect, you think?—Yes.

Was the task in that way made unnecessarily small?—I think so.

How do you judge that it was unnecessarily small? Did the people finish it in the early part of the day and loiter about the work?—They loitered about the work even though they could do work.

When the task was thus reduced, did they ever fail in doing it?—Some gangs did.

Then what happened?—They got the minimum wage.

They were never fined below that?—On our works people struck work at one time for five days, during which they did not get more than the minimum wage.

Then what happened?—The Collector gave the power to fine irrespective of the minimum wage, with the result that a great many people left.

In what month was it?—I can only guess, about June.

At a still later stage, the Government issued an order tightening up the task; what effect had that?—The task had to be done.

Did it affect the works?—Not appreciably.

People continued to come?—Yes.

Did more work?—Yes.

During the hot weather months before the rains, do you think that people required to be indulged a little in the matter of task?—Yes, I do, to enable them to get out of the sun longer than two hours laid down by the Code, *i.e.*, from 12 to 2.

Did you allow them to work at nights or early mornings?—I was not allowed to do that.

If you had been allowed, would you have made any change?—I would not have kept them down to the Code hours, provided they did their task in time to have it measured up in the morning before we started work.

Did any people come from long distances?—Yes, 12 miles I said.

Many?—Not many people from outlying villages.

As a rule, had they long walks?—No, I should say 3 or 4 miles, which is rather more than the average. They rather like long walks because they got extra allowances for distance. They would often pass a near work and go to a farther one. I noticed that several times.

On account of distance allowance?—Yes.

In what condition do you think women and children were who resorted to the works?—I saw no signs of emaciation.

Did they strike you as being in considerable distress?—No, certainly not.

What makes you say that they were not in distress?—Their appearance.

Were they very badly clothed?—When the charitable organisation began distributing clothes, they were badly clothed. They very soon realised that, if they came to the works half naked, they would get a new cloth.

In the matter of completed roads and completed earth-work, has the State got a fair return for its money?—I consider that in roads they practically got no return at all.

Why?—Because none of these roads were really wanted—roads that were made.

Were they new roads or the old roads?—They were both, but mostly new roads.

Those roads that were repaired would be useful?—They will be for a time, because they would not be maintained.

Are earth-works permanently useful?—Yes.

On what work would you put them?—I would put them more to Public Works Department works.

What are they?—Earth-works.

What are earth-works?—Tanks and channels.

Have you got any projects ready?—We had one channel 20 miles long which went right through the middle of one affected taluk. We could have taken up the whole of the coolies in the district on that work.

Was it professionally passed?—It was sanctioned and in two places we opened camps.

Did people go?—Yes.

In spite of this, it has not been finished?—No, we are going on with it now as an ordinary work.

If you had the management, would you have closed small works and put more men on it?—Yes.

If the Collector had opened civil works, could you have got able-bodied labourers to your work?—My proposal is that we are not to have any able-bodied men on a civil work. The village officer would only take such people of the family whose able-bodied members were taken on big works.

Would you have any Police?—No.

Merely they would be refused relief?—Yes, if you send a coolie by the Police to piece-work, he would not do the work.

Would the women and children under your authority be allowed to do work?—All our work would be earth-work—that means, men would be diggers, and they would take their women and children as carriers, leaving the old people at home.

Work would be confined to inefficient labour?—Yes.

(*Mr. Higham*).—How do you reconcile the large numbers in class C in the returns for July with your former reply that there was nobody in class C?—The people that I had thought were in class D, must have been returned in class C in accordance with the omnibus order.

If all these were in class C, how were they tasked?—They were given a nominal task.

What would you call a nominal task?—They were given a task, and even if they did not do it, they would not be fined.

They were allowed to do what they liked?—Yes.

(*President*).—I think you said that women and children greatly preponderated among the people that came to the relief works in the late famine?—Yes.

Suppose your piece-work system is introduced and women and children preponderated among the people who came on your large relief works in the same way that they did this time, would you be able to use the piece-work system successfully?—I do not think they would come for one thing. The piece-work system ignores them. It considers only the diggers. The diggers would no doubt bring their women and children to act as carriers for them.

Mr. S.B. Murray.

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I understand your answer to be that really there will be no difficulty, and even if they did come in that proportion, men would still come?—Yes.

(*Mr. LeFanu*).—You spoke of a large irrigation work that was available for employment. I suppose you were referring to the Velgode project?—No, to the Chepad project.

You say it was approved and sanctioned. When was it approved and sanctioned? Not in November?—At the end of February or in March.

Where were you in 1877-78?—At school.

In 1891-92?—In the Kistna district.

Were you in Ganjam in 1891?—No.

You were not on famine before?—No, this is my first experience of famine work.

You are not in a position to say that the outturn for the money spent is greater or less than in the previous famines?—No.

Mr. H. H. Ward.

14th Feb. 1898.

MR. H. H. WARD, Extra-Assistant Conservator of Forests, on Famine Relief in the Godavari district, called in and examined.

I put in written statement of evidence.

The area of the taluk is 1,900 square miles, of which about 500 are reserved forest. Of the rest, perhaps, about an eighth is permanent clearing, podu cultivation being carried on over the remainder.

The population numbers about 50,000. Of these, less than a thousand are Naiks, about 4,000 Hill Reddies, and over 20,000 Kois. The bulk of the balance of the population are Telugas, in whose villages are found a fair number of Panchamas. Most of the Reddies live on the bank over the Godavari from the gorge to a point about twenty miles above.

There are also a few small Reddy villages amongst the hills. The largest and most thriving of the Koi villages are on or near the banks of the Saberri; but by far the greater number live away from the rivers. All the Telugas' villages are on the Godavari and Saberri.

The taluk is divided into three revenue ranges, of which Bhadrachalam is the smallest, contains the smallest Koi population, and the poorest soil and forest growth, and worst water-supply in the interior. Rekapalli, the largest range, has the best forests and water-supply.

The south-west is the chief monsoon and continues to the end of September. But the heavy rains are generally over by the end of August. A few showers fall during the north-east monsoon.

There are very few tanks in the taluk. Some rice is grown in all low-lying land, and needs the September rains to be ripened.

Two varieties of jonna, manchi jonna, and konda jonna are the crop chiefly grown and forms the staple food of the people. The former is principally grown on the alluvial lands on the banks of the rivers by the Telugas and requires little rain to mature it. It is sown in October and reaped in February. Konda jonna is grown chiefly by the Kois and Reddies and in podus. It is sown in July, requires occasional showers of rain to bring it to maturity, and is a seven months' crop. Pulses are sown after the south-west monsoon is over and gingelly is an early crop, but very precarious, as it is fit to be gathered in the south-west rains and is often lost.

As a rule, the Koi and Reddy do not grow enough grain to keep them in food throughout the year. They depend to a great extent on wild roots, fruit and leaves. But in each village there are one or more industrious thrifty families that are comparatively well-to-do and well able to tide over a bad season or two.

About half the Telugas would probably be able to tide over one bad season. They generally are able to store some grain till the following harvest is got in, when they either sell it for export or more generally advance it to the Koi.

All the gingelly grown in the taluk is exported and some of the pulses. Also a little jonna, *viz.*, the surplus stocks of a few well-to-do Telugas and that received from Kois by Sowcars who have made advances to them. Rice is imported from Rajahmundry chiefly for the use of the well-to-do classes who live upon it.

The famine of 1897 was caused by the local failure of rains and crops. The season began favourably. But no rain fell in September and all the crops in the interior withered and none of the minor crops were sown. A shower of rain towards the end of the year saved the jonna on the banks of the rivers.

The high prices at Rajahmundry, before a failure of crops was threatened, tempted most of the ryots in the river-side villages to sell their stores of grain, and when the failure came, there was no grain at all in the taluk.

Had there been a fair yield of mangoe and Ippa flower, little or no relief would have been needed. But the former failed completely and the latter almost so. Fortunately the Tumiki bore so abundantly that it kept the people alive and in fair condition till towards the end of May.

High prices in other parts of the country do not affect the bulk of the population here. It is only those who live on imported rice that are affected.

It was only after the Tumiki fruits were exhausted that the distress became keen. Those who suffered most were first the Kois and Reddies of the interior, and next the Panchamas, Kois and Reddies of the river-side villages, Naiks and professional beggars. I shall now speak of the measures taken for giving relief in the Rekapalli and Marrigudem ranges only, as I did not visit the Bhadrachalam range during the continuance of relief.

Grain was imported by Government and sold below cost price at first to Kois and Reddies only, but later on to Naiks and Panchamas. Money-doles were paid to the infirm who had no supporters (there were not thirty such in the two ranges) or whose relations were not in a position to do so in such hard times.

The importation of grain by Government was a necessity. There was little grain in the taluk, and merchants would not import. Many of them were prepared to leave if relief had not been given. A few talked of importing small quantities at a time (they counted on being looted) and selling at 5 or 6 measures a rupee.

The Teluga ryots would not sell, as they gave credence to a stupid story that got about that the famine would last three years.

I know for a fact that if grain had not come in when it did most, if not all, the Teluga villages would have been looted by the Kois.

The sale of grain at depôts was a great economy. It prevented the people from receiving gratuitous relief as long as they had resources of their own. But to their credit it must be said that the Koi and Reddy would not accept gratuitous relief as long as he had the means of buying grain.

After June, when the distress became very great, almost every Koi and Reddy family was put on gratuitous relief, one adult member of each family receiving a grain-dole. Money-doles would have been of no use when there was no grain to purchase.

The allowance was not liberal, but as the people had bamboo shoots and field herbs wherewith to supplement their dieting, it kept them alive.

To my knowledge there were no deaths from actual starvation. Cholera or choleraic diarrhœa broke out amongst some of the Teluga villages; only one river-side Reddy village suffering.

Without any figures to guide me, I cannot say whether the death-rate of 1897 was above the normal or not.

Though partial failure of crops is of frequent occurrence, a general scarcity like that of 1897 is rarely known. The famine of 1876-77 was not felt here, and only two or three very old people recollect a very bad famine that occurred about seventy years ago.

The question of overpopulation is not likely to arise for many years. The poor state of the Kois and Reddies is owing to their own thriftless habits and want of steady industry. Though they get through a great deal of hard work at times, they are averse to steady continuous labour of any kind. Garden cultivation under wells (and there are great facilities for well-sinking in the greater part of the taluk) would raise them to comparative affluence. But

they are too lazy to take to this mode of cultivation now. To open up the country by good roads would doubtless incite the people to greater industry and develope the resources of the country: as long as they are addicted to poor cultivation, their supply of food is bound to be uncertain.

The only means of communication at present—the Godavari—is difficult during the greater part of the year.

The Kois and Reddies are not a prolific race. A few Kois from Bustar and Jeypore yearly come and settle here.

An anicut across the Sileru, a tributary of the Siberri, would probably irrigate the greater portion of the two ranges.

Should another famine occur, I would strongly deprecate the grant of gratuitous relief to able-bodied adults.

Kois and Reddies are not only all farmers, but rely to a great extent on podu cultivations, which entail their constant presence in their villages.

The giving of piece-work to each village as a unit would be the best form of giving relief, and the improvement of communication between villages the best form of work I think. They were all anxious to obtain loans of grain to be repaid wit ut interest, when their harvests were got in, in preference to gratuitous relief.

Though this would have given the officials engaged in the work a great deal of trouble and caused some loss to Government, it would have been more economical than the methods adopted, and would not have a tendency to demoralize the people.

(*President*).—You are the Extra-Assistant Conservator of Forests in Badrachalam taluk?—Yes.

How long have you been in the Forest Department?—About 22 years.

Can you tell us who the Naicks are?—Naicks are Hindus. that were brought into the taluk some generations ago by the old zamindars. They are not a jungle tribe. They have fallen back a bit.

What people are these Hill Reddies?—They are Hindus. They belong to the great Kapu class of cultivators.

What are Kois?—They are some section of Khonds.

Who are Telugas?—They are the low community people. They are Hindus.

What do you mean by Ippa flower?—It is *Bassia Latifolia*, mahua.

What is Tumiki?—It is a species of ebony which is edible and a sort of plum.

You say in your written statement, "high prices in other parts of the country do not affect the bulk of the population. It is only those who live on imported rice that are affected." I suppose that local prices were very high?—Yes.

How was the import of grain managed by Government?—It was brought in boats towed by steamers and lodged at central depôts and there distributed.

Did the Government work through contractors or through its own servants?—Through its own servants.

In what months did it get grain?—Towards the end of May there was the first consignment, and it continued to come till the end of October. I am not certain about the dates.

Besides yourself, what other officers were there in the taluk?—A Deputy Collector was in charge of Badrachalam Range, and the Assistant Collector was in charge of two ranges of Rapalli and Marigudem. They had extra revenue inspectors to help them, besides the men of the regular establishment.

In ordinary years what officers are posted there?—The tahsildar.

You say that merchants would not import grain. Were they afraid of being looted?—Yes.

Did Kois loot ryots or grain-dealers?—There has been no looting since the rising of 15 years ago. I know for a fact that they were planning to loot.

How are they armed?—Mostly with bows and arrows, very few matchlocks.

Were other people afraid of them?—Hindus are afraid of them. Ordinarily the Hindu bullies and swindles the Kois, but when Kois are once thoroughly roused, Hindus are afraid of them.

Do you know that the Teluga ryots had considerable store of grain?—Not very much. They did get a fair crop, though a few got a bumper crop, the majority only got a fair crop, enough to keep them going.

Are they in the habit of storing grain?—They always store grain, if there is a surplus.

Do Kois and Reddies store anything?—A few thrifty men do, but very few of them have surplus. They have just enough to keep them going a few months in the year.

You say that "but to their credit it must be said that the Koi and Reddy would not accept gratuitous relief as long as he had the means of buying grain." On what sort of sentiment is that based?—They never received any help from Government. That is what they tell me. They held on as long as they could and refused to come till they are forced by keen suffering and starvation and by being thoroughly hard up.

You say that "after June, when the distress became very great, almost every Koi and Reddy family was put on gratuitous relief, one adult member of each family receiving a grain dole." He received a grain dole for one man?—For one man, and the whole family was expected to live upon it.

How did they live upon it?—Supplemented by bamboo shoots and different leaves; and later on there were field herbs. These helped them to keep body and soul together.

Do you think that the death-rate is high among the Kois and Reddis?—I knew that because I was furnished with information from Coconada. It is not so very great as to be perceptible unless one took down the figures. I did not see any perceptible difference except when cholera broke out in villages.

You say figures show it?—Yes. You will see from the figures that there was a great rise in mortality from April to August.

Can you give any opinion as to what part of this excess of mortality between April and August was due to cholera?—No. It is strange to say that cholera broke out chiefly amongst the people who were least affected by famine, namely, the Telugas on the river.

In what month did it actually break out?—I cannot say positively. I have not a single note with me. I did not expect to be examined.

Was it at the end of hot weather?—Yes.

You say there are great facilities for well-sinking in the greater part of the taluk. Is it not the whole taluk?—Not in the whole taluk but in the Rekapalli and Marrigudem Ranges away from the rivers. There is a mass of hill frontier separating the taluk from Rumpa. There is a group of hills in the centre on the right bank of the river, and here there is no well-sinking.

Is water near the surface in the wells?—Yes, in Rekapalli and Marrigudem.

Are there many wells?—Only a few sunk by Government.

Do the Kois live on the plains?—No Kois live on the hills, but they all live on the plains.

What is the podu cultivation?—They clear a bit of jungle, then cultivate the land for two or three years, and abandon it. That is what is called kumari in the south.

(*Dr. Richardson*).—Do you think that cholera occurred in these villages in former years?—From report I hear that it breaks out once in six or seven years, chiefly in the villages on the river.

Do the people suppose it is due to the drinking water?—They say it is brought in by pilgrims and travellers.

Is that a place of pilgrimage?—Yes, the village of Badrachalam itself. It is a sacred place, and once a year a large number of pilgrims come there.

The outbreak of cholera had no connection with the famine?—People attribute it to the poor food during famine time.

You said just now that where the scarcity was the greatest, there was no cholera?—Yes, these people never or seldom suffer from cholera. Some of the Telugas did feel the pinch by not having the usual quantity of food, though they did not starve.

Mr. H. H. Ward.
14th Feb. 1898.

(*Mr. Bose*).—You say in page 2 of your printed statement "that grain was imported by Government and sold below cost price." How was the loss recouped? Was the loss recouped from State funds or otherwise?—State funds.

(*Mr. Holderness*).—How much grain was imported?—Between 5,000 and 6,000 bags, about 5,000.

Was any grain imported out of the Indian Charitable Fund?—Most of this was paid for by the Charitable Fund.

Not by Government?—I am not certain about it. The figures are in my possession, but I have not had time to study them.

May we take it then that some grain was imported at the cost of Government and some afterwards at the cost of the Charitable Fund?—Yes.

Had you any relief works?—No, not in the two ranges.

Had you any immigration from Native States or the Nizam's dominions?—No, a few came from Bustar this year as they come every year.

Is the population very sparse?—About 50,000 altogether for the whole taluk.

Was the whole taluk under you?—Only two ranges as regards famine relief.

What is the population of the two ranges?—Of Kois, Reddis and Naiks about 17,000.

Was there immigration from the Nizam's dominions into the other parts of the taluk?—None from the Nizam's dominions.

Were relief works opened in other parts of the taluk?—In the Badrachalam range some relief works were opened, but they were not a success.

Would it have been possible to have opened relief works where you were?—No, unless the conditions of the Famine Code were modified. The Kois would not work on the rates given in the Famine Code.

The Collector says that Kois would rather beg than work?—They very seldom beg. They stand by each other and help each other when in need.

They would have done piece-work?—I should think so near their villages.

Did you give them loans?—No loans were given, but grain and money gratuitously.

Did you give cash loans?—They were not loans. They were given cash with which to buy grain.

At the Council Chamber, Fort St. George, Madras.

FOURTEENTH DAY.

Tuesday, 15th February 1898.

PRESENT:

SIR J. B. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. (PRESIDENT).
SURGEON-COL. J. RICHARDSON.
MR. T. W. HOLDERNESS, C.S.I.
„ T. HIGHAM, C.I.E.
RAI BAHADUR B. K. BOSE.
MR. W. J. H. LEFANU (*Temporary member for Madras*).
MR. H. J. MCINTOSH, *Secretary*.

Mr. J. F. Somers-Eve.
15th Feb. 1898.

Mr. J. F. SOMERS-EVE, Executive Engineer, Bellary Division, called in and examined.

I put in a written statement of evidence and written answers to the Commissioner's questions.

Note.—The period I had knowledge of the famine was from November 1896 to March 25th, 1897.

(*a*) Departures from the prescriptions of the Madras Famine Code.

1. The task-table was abandoned entirely as incomplete and overstated. I understood that it was made in the Board of Revenue's office, but of this I cannot be sure. I found old task-tables in the Bellary office, after I had made mine, relating to the previous famine, which bore no resemblance to the Code table. This departure was, I consider, unavoidable and right, and had the tasks as set been adhered to as they were during the time I was in charge, I do not think anything would have been heard of the slackness and want of discipline and *morale* of which I have heard or read. The tasks were fixed allowing a considerable margin for leniency on account of the various difficulties which famine labour has to contend with, and it was wholly unnecessary to allow all sorts and conditions of departments and subordinates to reduce it until test by tasks became a farce. There is a vast difference in the stringency of a task or the reverse in the way it is done. A metal task may be made very easy if broken to a larger gauge than ordered. It was in this direction that I found revenue officials so deficient, as judged by work turned out under their practical charge.

(*b*) *Classification.*—For the time I was on the famine A, B and C wages were given, A to a small extent—and these were almost abandoned, as very few professional diggers came to the works. There were only very few C class also at this period, or practically the coolies were nearly all B class.

(*c*) *Control of works by the Public Works Department.*—I consider that the spirit, if not the letter, of the Code was departed from in reducing the power and scope of the Public Works Department, and the interference of the Revenue officials, in the later months. In support of this and to show how one Collector agreed with me, I would refer to the following extract from the first circular that I issued with the Collector's approval; indeed, he considerably strengthened the language of my original draft, which he signed.

"* * * All relief works are to be taken over by the Public Works Department.

"That Department will be responsible for the execution and arrangements of the work and management of the coolies. It will not be the duty of the Revenue Divisional Officers or Tahsildars to muster coolies, criticize tasks, check measurements or to scrutinize the system or details of management on the work. These are matters which should be dealt with entirely by the officers of the Public Works Department * * *."

This Collector had just seen the chaos that existed when the relief works had been run, nominally by the Local Fund Engineer, but in reality by the minor Revenue officials, some details of which I give in my separate reply to the questions circulated.

If this spirit of the Code had been maintained, the relief works would have been run smoothly and well, as I believe them to have been when I was in charge of them. I do not pretend they were perfect; probably this is impossible on a task-work system.

I consider I had, perhaps exceptional, opportunities of observing the conditions of this vexed question. I saw the works started and carried on practically under the Civil Department, and I had to carry on the relief works, in the first case with the advice and ready acquiescence of one Collector, and in the second under the attempted control of another and the harassing interference of his subordinates.

I remember one occasion in which a work was inspected in one week by three Revenue officials, in addition to myself and Sub-division Officer. The Public Works Department

subordinate was expected to attend those inspections with the result that he could not attend to his work.

3. *Degree of success attending relief work measures.*—As regards the saving of life, they were eminently successful, and as regards the preservation of health, as successful as I imagine is necessary or advisable with due regard to economy. There were some works where, for some unaccountable reasons, coolies "ran down" in appearance and spirit, and for this alone I should hesitate to introduce a lower scale of wage than B in Madras, as has been suggested. As regards economy, the relief works were chiefly road repairs, and to suit the locality from which the coolies came, these were generally in places where the roads required but little repair, where metal was difficult to procure and in ordinary cases would have been carted. If coolies could have been transported to other parts of the district, real good on roads alone could have been done. As regards efficacy of test, I believe it was sufficient *if imposed* properly, with the exception that whole families on a work made a little too much. On the other hand, there were many individual hard cases of workers with dependents unable to work previous to the opening of the gratuitous relief. I can readily understand, though I did not witness it, that demoralization ensued when the tasks were so reduced as they subsequently were.

4. *Organization of relief works.*—The Code being liable to different interpretations by Collectors, the relations between the departments were sometimes strained. The Madras Government has been pleased to give practically entire control to the Collector and his subordinates. I have no hesitation in saying that in so doing they have lost money and power of discipline in famine. I can add but little to the valuable report of Mr. Higham on this subject and the various representations made by Mr. deWinton, but I would bring to notice especially the almost impossible position of the Public Works Department subordinate in actual charge of the work. I did not see the worst of it, but I saw the commencement of it. Men were turning from willing and cheerful workers to harassed and worried ones, not knowing which master to serve or please, getting kicks from all and half-pence from none. I felt the same myself, and can the more readily sympathise with them.

In strengthening the Collector's hands they have been instructed to use tact, but a department should not be at the mercy of tact, but of departmental authority and rules. I presume that it must be admitted that some Collectors have less tact than others.

Relief works should either be handed over to the Public Works Department *in toto*, or its subordinates should be *lent* to the Revenue Department, and, of the two, there can be no doubt which is the right course to pursue, after the experience of the fiasco that attended these early efforts. I have noted two or three cases in my "answers" to show the incapacity shown in this respect.

I write thus in no carping spirit. I have always been on friendly terms with the Collectors of the district, but my personal feelings on this subject are so strong that, if I were continually subjected to the control of an officer other than one of my profession in matters of detail, I should take the earliest opportunity of seeking other employment. Of their native subordinates I cannot say so much. Some I have nothing but praise for, others were irritants and nothing less.

In one case I remember a Deputy Collector came to check and inspect on a work in capital order in the evening where I had checked in the morning, and this a man who had been a few weeks previously in practical charge of a work I inspected with the Collector and who was severely reproved by the Collector for the disgraceful condition it was in. The system is absurd on the face of it.

It has been advanced that the Public Works Department are unfit to set tasks, as they would be inclined to be more hard-hearted. I beg to repudiate this entirely. Proper discipline is a necessity. Slackness and setting of impossible tasks and no punishments such as I saw before I took over the works lead to utter demoralization. If anything from my experiences, the Public Works Department were more tender hearted than the Revenue officials.

5. *Measures and methods of working.*—The task-work system is no doubt, from the coolies' point of view, most admirable, especially when brought close to his village.

The machinery in carrying it out, however, is most expensive and cumbersome, and involves a trained establishment that it would be impossible to procure if famine was widespread. I would most strongly advocate the piece-work system combined with relief (cooked food if possible) in the villages. I believe it would be far cheaper, better for the people and more easily managed. I had some experience of this in 1889 on the Rushikulya project, and, though we only used really able-bodied coolies in this case, it worked admirably, and the coolies thoroughly appreciated it.

This would solve the question of the best way of employing the Public Works Department and Revenue Department in famine time. I would concentrate coolies on big works. The Famine Commissioner has stated that there is no possibility of big works in the Deccan. I beg to differ entirely. Now that I have seen on what wasteful works coolies are employed, I have no hesitation in saying that there are a dozen works in the Bellary division, where it would be advisable to import famine coolies to do the easy work, and where the difficult work could be done afterwards as funds were available. Even if the latter portion paid a small percentage and sufficient to cover maintenance, the country would have gained some good. Even on roads alone I consider that there is good useful work for a big famine in the Hospet and Kudligi taluks, where many of the roads are atrocious.

6. As regards relief works, therefore, I would institute the following:—

(1) Start big works and those only.

(2) These to be put in absolute charge of the Public Works Department.

(3) Dependants on workers to remain in their villages under the care of the Revenue Department, whose duty it would be to send all able-bodied people to big works. I feel sure the above will give better and cheaper results than the existing system.

7. I have been ten months away from the famine, and my recollections are necessarily rather rusty. I had only access to famine papers on Saturday last, and the note is necessarily hurried and incomplete.

Answers to the Commission's questions.

I was in charge of the Bellary Department of Public Works Division, which included the Bellary and Anantapur Districts, when the famine started, and remained there until end of March. The Collector of Bellary was changed once in this period, and I therefore worked with three Collectors. There were 45,000 coolies under me when I left.

* 12. During this period, except just at the commencement, the people who came to the works and who were not in need of relief were very few indeed.

13. I came across many people in the early stages who complained of distress, but would not leave their villages to attend works at a distance. This was of course remedied later on by opening more works.

18. After I made my task table which was after one month's careful watching and testing gangs as a unit, and up to the time I left I consider the coolies were thoroughly tested as to relief necessity. The question how to make a hard-and-fast task table is *most* difficult, and I believe it to be an impossibility to suit all classes of workers even in one district. Thus what was a fair task for the coolies on the Chippagiri road was a literal hardship to those on the Adoni town work. I endeavoured to make my task table a mean for the district, and after three months' experience I could not have made a better, *but* it is absolutely necessary to use discretion with it and insist on stringency in some cases and leniency in others. Under the first Collector I served with such action as possible, and coolies were properly tested and treated I consider. The next Collector read the Famine Code differently, and wished no discretionary powers to be vested in the Executive Engineer. At about the period of this change, His Excellency the Governor inspected, and on one work I enforced work and rules in the letter, not the spirit, of the Code. The result was fines, discontent, and I believe hardship. I believe this work had a good deal to do with the issue of the "omnibus order" with its, perhaps, too relaxing rules. I firmly believe that discretionary powers vested in the Executive Engineers and controlled and made uniform, as far as possible, by the Superintending Engineer would have saved what I hear was considerable demoralization of the coolies. It is easy to find out a daily task of individual stone-breakers or carriers, or others, but it is not this task that is applicable, but a task which a group can do that must be considered for famine labour, consisting, as a gang must, partly of weak coolies, but not weak enough for a lower class; of nursing mothers whose time is a great deal "otherwise occupied." Gangs made up of famine coolies are such that no contractor would think of using or paying for, and this must mean, less work. Tasks should therefore be made under actual capabilities of ordinary coolies. Once

* The numbers refer to the questions drawn up by the Commission.

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made and found fair, they should, *after* the coolies have got used to the work, be most vigorously enforced.

19 & 20. All persons who came to my works had to work. A few aged and decrepit had but nominal work, and these we tried to force to the kitchens. There was no gratuitous (money dole) relief started while I was there.

22. From hundreds of cases I closely inquired into and the coolies' food examined on the work, I feel sure that the B wage did not buy more than enough to keep the coolies in a fit condition to work. I do not consider the D wage sufficient for this purpose.

If mistakes occurred, such as giving a market town grain rate instead of a local village rate, where food was actually purchased, the wage 'B' rate immediately became too tight. I found from numerous experiments in various places that the money allowed for the "other items" rarely quite purchased them, and never provided for fuel.

23. For future economical purposes, I consider that large works must be started even if there are no other works than roads and then one road after another must be taken up, and villagers forced to go to them and live on such works. Such a test will, I consider, be a much more severe one of necessity, and they should only be started when the gratuitous relief system has been started *in* the villages, otherwise I should contemplate loss of life.

My experience of the Bellary coolies led me to think that residence on the work was intensely disliked. The arrangements I made on the works for such residence were never used and were therefore discontinued.

33. I consider the Madras Code wrong in—

(*a*) the task table which should be obliterated. In lieu of this, a task table should be drawn up by the Superintending Engineer for each district and approved by the Chief Engineer, and Assistant Engineers examined in its use, etc., for their professional examination.

(*b*) *Appendix VI.*—This was clearly written for the use of Local Fund for Revenue Departments, as the title shows. It has been taken as a guide and rule for the Department of Public Works, for which it is entirely and wholly unsuited. I consider that, when this was framed, it was never contemplated to give relief works to the Department of Public Works, as has been done.

(*c*) *Paragraph 29, page 91,* is, I consider, unnecessary. Most famine works are practically useless, and there is no reason in giving coolies more than a subsistence wage.

(*d*) *Paragraph 107, page 21.*—The Executive Engineer should have the power, and he alone, subject to the Superintending Engineer, to arrange, alter and give tasks. The Collector should have power to increase or decrease the whole of the tasks in a district, taluk or work by so much percentage for such reasons as excessive heat, falling-off in the coolies, compelling them to leave the works, etc., but he should have nothing to do with details on the work.

In this way he could exercise control without interference.

(*e*) *Paragraph 94* should be expunged.

(*f*) Provision should be made in the Code for treatment of pregnant women before and after confinement, when no gratuitous relief is afforded. Several cases of hardship came under my notice in the earlier stages.

(*g*) *Paragraph 55.*—The Civil Officer should be under the orders of the Executive Engineer on a relief work, not the Collector.

(*h*) Forms and duplications and triplications of forms should be simplified and reduced. The officer on the works' clerk is overworked. The copy of the register is often $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards long. Sending this to other than Department of Public Works Officers is wholly unnecessary I consider.

(*i*) The chapter on Department of Public Works system of accounts should be made clearer. I made arrangements and started an audit office; clerks and accountants were posted from other districts; the Famine Commissioner, however, read the Code differently and ordered all this to be done by the Collector. This *might* have led to much confusion.

(*j*) A Committee of experts should meet and draw up forms and rules for accounts. The initial accounts have not spaces for indicating nature of work, etc., which are necessary to abstract accounts in Division Office.

(*k*) Provision should be codified for giving assistance to Executive Engineers early in the famine. Such assistance was refused me, and the result was I was knocked up. No one man could do for long what I did.

49. The chief criticism I have to advance is that in Madras the Collector in some cases at his own instigation and in others at that of the Famine Commissioner assumed a control over the Relief Works never contemplated by the Code, thus stultifying and weakening the enormous capacity for good which could be exercised by the Department of Public Works on such works. Personally I was but little affected by these matters, as the first Collector recognised this and approved of my circular attached, and even strengthened the original draft that I prepared. He forbade the interference of his subordinates on the works. Things worked smoothly enough and coolies were properly tasked and efficiently worked. The advent of another Collector introduced another state of affairs entirely. Interferences of every description and by all sorts of subordinate amateurs were introduced, and the unfortunate Department of Public Works subordinate did not know who to obey, and who to try and please.

Work, already burdensome, was made so difficult as to be heart-rending and vexatious. My health broke down, and I believe I only saw the commencement of what I understand was practically the break-down of the discipline and economic management of the relief works.

Instances are better than theory, and I witnessed the relief works under—

(*a*) nominally the Local Fund, but really under Revenue officers,

(*b*) under the Adoni Municipality, but really under the Deputy Collector who was Chairman,

before they were put under charge of the Department of Public Works.

The Local Fund Engineer was an able man, and started the works in a capable and intelligent manner, but the works were ruined by the Deputy Collectors and Tahsildars giving all sorts of orders. I can only describe them as chaos. I rode along one of these works with 3,000 coolies and could hardly move for complaints. All of them I thought just. A few weeks later there were scarcely any; more work was obtained and a better class under the same rules. It was no technical professional knowledge that did this. Only organisation, but trained organisation, learnt from previous handling of labourers and knowledge of their requirements.

The Adoni work under the Deputy Collector called forth severe reproach from the Collector with whom I inspected it. It was hopeless confusion as regards a test of famine. Under the Department of Public Works organisation, it was in capital order in a short time, and that only with an overseer straight from college.

I will quote another instance of the incapability of the Revenue officials in the matter of tasks. It was, I think, on the Bellary-Siruguppa road, where coolies had not done their tasks, and ordered to be fined below the minimum, with the result that the coolies struck work. A Committee of Deputy Collectors and Tahsildars were sent down to find out what was the matter. They reported the facts, but ended up by asking for the Executive Engineer, Department of Public Works, to be asked to apply the remedy, as they knew it not. I went there and found it was not by any means the coolies' fault. A 100 gang put on to work in gravel pits that would not hold 30 blunt pickaxes, etc. The coolies did perfectly well a few weeks hence under the Department of Public Works.

In future famines I trust that the Department of Public Works may have on relief works in Madras, as in other Provinces, full control and responsibility. Section 41 of the Code seems to me to intend this.

52. It of course depends upon where metal and gravel is obtained from, but on the average 1 mile of road will employ 1,000 coolies for one month to re-make, and another three months to reserve metal for five years.

53. Road works in many instances have been and will be of permanent utility, but in many cases the coolies were placed in positions where the effects of previous famine works had not worn out and heaps of old metal still remained.

The District Board in Bellary will probably not be able to maintain them properly.

New roads could be made in Bellary, but I would not recommend them for utility as they would not be maintained or probably bridged.

55. Metal collection is the best form of work for relief. It is simple, easy to check, and adapted to the class of workers I had to employ.

I think much might be done in this direction in future famines by collecting large quantities of metal near railway lines where quarries are situated. This would be almost certainly utilised sooner or later at even a reduced market rate.

57. Village tanks are next to useless as large relief works. They should be kept in cases where choleara breaks out, and it is necessary to break up larger works.

62 & 63. Whenever water can be stored for irrigation, it must necessarily be a preventative against famine. In the Deccan the best way to aid in this direction would be to make tanks large enough to hold a three-year supply. It often occurs that big falls of rain run to waste.

I have entirely changed my opinion about projects for famine since I have seen the work that has been done by famine coolies. Where I have condemned projects which would not pay, say, 2 per cent., I would now recommend them if they paid 2½ per cent. on the masonry work, plus the cost of maintenance of the project when finished. The earthwork and collection might be done for no profitable return, but still something useful would be the result.

Further, I think that the question of raising the water tax should be mooted. Many projects are thrown out because they do not pay on a water tax of R4 per acre, in many of which cases the ryots are willing to pay R6 and more per acre.

67. There are several projects in Bellary District that would be worth doing for famine works under these two above conditions.

71. (*a*) On task or piece work coolies can go backwards and forwards in the day up to seven or eight miles, but I think a work deduction should be made for any distance over 3 miles.

(*b*) The distance may be within the taluk, preferably if hutted on the work, and should not be outside the district except in phenomenal cases.

72. I consider it would be practicable to withhold relief from all able-bodied men who refused to work as above.

73. I would not send them out of the district unless they volunteered.

74. Residence on works was the exception in my time. Coolies did not use the huts when provided.

78. Under task work the Department of Public Works establishmemt would be quite insufficient if famine were widespread. Even under piece-work, I doubt if it would be enough.

79. I started the distance allowance in Bellary, and I allowed coolies coming from villages over 3 miles a reduction of task—$\frac{1}{8}$th task for every 3 miles over and above that distance. Thus a villager coming from his home 5 miles would obtain a deduction of $\frac{(6-3)\times 2}{8 \times 3} = \frac{1}{4}$. This was possibly open to objection and fraud, but it seemed impossible to allow women and children to walk 12 miles per day in addition to 10 miles of carrying stone in a basket and collecting it.

85. I think it essential that piece-work should be instituted instead of task-work. I had a little experience of this in 1889 in the Ganjam District on the Rushikulya Project. We only employed A class coolies. I instituted small pits and let coolies make their own gangs. This became popular, and the labour increased rapidly. The extra cost was very little over normal.

86. I would use it on all large works placed under the Department of Public Works.

87. The rate would have to be a little more than the present rate for subsistence, in which case the workers could support their dependants as usual. If dependants came for gratuitous relief, they could be given work about the villages, or nearest road under the Revenue authorities at a very low rate.

89. I would divide works into useful and non-useful. In the former I would encourage work by overpayments at the discretion of the Executive Engineer according to the importance and utility of the work. On non-useful works I would give no higher wages than 'B' class, whether the coolies were A or B. Famine wages are to keep recipients alive and well, nothing more I take it.

90. The size of a piece-work party should be from 10 up to 50.

91. It is wonderful how few complaints are made among coolies generally as to the division of money: I had *no* complaints in Ganjam in 1889.

93. I consider there would be very considerable difficulty in first starting piece-work on big works far from villages, but none when near. The former could be overcome, I believe; nearly all work people in this country are used to the piece-work system.

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96A & 97. I would class men as 3,
Women } 2,
Children over 12 }
Do. under 12 1.

98. Children below 7 should be sent to the kitchen.

99. They should be fined rigorously when they have been about 10 days on the work or are accustomed to it previously.

100. Officers in charge of works should not fine below the minimum without bringing it to the notice of the Executive Engineer in every case for orders. Recalcitrants can be put into a gang by themselves and kept under observation. This is considered a disgrace and is a capital punishment.

102. I do not think coolies should be able to earn more than a subsistence wage on works other than useful at the discretion of the Executive Engineer as funds may be available, etc.

103. I would give a rest day on payment to coolies who had been on six previous working days for task work only.

104. I do not think proposals for standard task necessary for adoption on works, though they are an excellent guide to officers as to general principles. The "duty" of a cooly varies in districts and in taluks even.

107. It is quite possible to instruct subordinates as to best proportion of carriers and diggers and such tables have been circulated. A famine task for a unit is carrying 0·2 cubic foot of stone five miles and back. Breaking varies with the hardness of the stone and can only be uniformly regulated by constant supervision.

108. I think 100 a very good unit; for a gang 50 would be more handy, but would entail more head coolies and vouchers, which are to be deprecated.

113. I made many enquiries, with no definite result; the man counting as 4 units much increased the work of a gang with but little addition to the wage, and as long as work had to be done in the village, the man was left to do it.

114. Concentrated large works should be carried out by the Department of Public Works, the remainder, if any, by Civil Agency.

115 & 116. I would make the Executive Engineer under the Superintending Engineer responsible for everything on a relief work. The Collector could of course inspect and, if he thought the general health bad, bring it to notice. There is not an Executive Engineer in the Department who would not take immediate action, I believe, if necessary.

117. Most decidedly not. This is distinctly the worst feature of the question.

118 & 119. Minor revenue officials and Salt Department subordinates. All must be under control of the Executive.

120. If concentrated large works are only used, the Executive Engineer should make all arrangements *including* payments. On small works I saw no objection to the existing arrangement, if well managed, which it was often not.

121. No magisterial powers necessary, I consider.

124. Twice a week if done by Civil Agency; daily if done by Department of Public Works.

127. No chalans.

129. For task work 5,000 is the maximum; for piece work it depends on the work, but if space enough is obtainable, 20,000 would be a good number for an Assistant Engineer's charge.

130. I am strongly in favour of kitchens for non-working children.

131. (*i*) The cost varied from 2 to 1 to 6 to 1, the latter cases being chiefly metal collection when the lead was 2 miles.

132. *Simplification and reduction.*—The clerks are overworked. A committee of experts should sit on this at once.

Public Works Department Circular.

Relief Works.

All relief works are to be taken over by the Public Works Department.

1. That Department will be responsible for the execution and arrangements of the work, and management of the

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coolies. It will not be the duty of the Revenue Divisional officers or Tahsildars to muster coolies, criticize tasks, check measurements or to scrutinize the system or details of management on the work. These are matters which should be dealt with entirely by the officers of the Public Works Department. If coolies complain to them in these points, they should refer them to the Engineering staff. It is only in this way that complaints can reach the proper authorities so that they may rectify them. The Overseer will be held responsible that all complaints are either rectified or reported to the Sub-Divisional Officer who will inform the Executive Engineer. It is to be generally understood that if there is a doubt the cooly is to have the benefit of that doubt until the matter is settled.

* * * * *

(*President*).—Mr. Somers-Eve, you were in Executive charge of the Public Works Department in Bellary and Anantapur ?—Yes.

From November 1896 to March 25th, 1897 ?—Yes.

Who are the usual professional diggers in that district ?—They are generally the wudders.

In your ordinary public works in ordinary seasons, I suppose it is only the wudders that come ?—No. The wudders do the difficult part of the work, while the ordinary coolies do the easier part of the work.

Earth-work ?—Yes.

Did the ordinary coolies bring with them their women and children like the wudders ?—The wudders, as a rule, in Bellary do not bring their women and children.

Do the other coolies bring their women and children ?—Yes, but not the children as a rule.

Who were the Collectors you had to deal with ?—First Mr. Campbell, second Mr. Stuart.

And the third ?—He was a native gentleman, Mr. Manavedan Rajah.

You say "there were some works where for some unaccountable reason coolies 'ran down' in appearance and spirit." You could not detect any reason for it ?—No. I could not.

Did men, women and children "run down" in appearance and spirit ?—I think the men looked worse.

What time of the year was it when you noticed it ?—About January.

Were there many dependants that came with the workers to the works ?—Yes, but the dependants were non-working people.

Who were the non-working people ?—A lot of children and a few old people.

Did they attend the kitchen attached to the works ?—The children were sent to the kitchen. We tried to send the old people to the kitchen, but generally they resisted strongly.

You mention a case where a Deputy Collector came to check and inspect a work which you checked in the morning. What sort of check and inspection did he do ?—Of the task and of the mustering of coolies. He was mustering the coolies to see if their classification and their tasks were correct. No doubt, too, he was inspecting the condition of the coolies.

What was the Rushikulya project ?—A big irrigation project.

In what district ?—Ganjam.

Was it taken up as a famine relief work ?—Oh! no. It happened to be there, and we utilised a part of it for famine work.

Was it all on piece-work, or only part of it on piece-work, when it was utilised as a famine relief work ?—It was all on piece-work.

Did people other than ordinary Public Works Department labourers go to it in that year ?—A good deal. We turned away the people who could earn only the C wage. We would not take them. We only took capable men and women.

Was there famine or scarcity in that year in Ganjam ?—Yes.

Do you know what was done with the people that were turned away—weakly people and children ?—I only just came at the end of the year. I believe the Civil authorities did something for them. There was no absolute relief work going on in my time.

That is of course ordinary piece-work, without a maximum of any kind ?—Yes. I beg to correct the statement that there were no relief works. There were some under the Civil authorities at the time.

If in case of a future famine a few big works were started on the piece-work system, do you think that people who are not professional diggers would go to those works ?—I believe so. There might be some difficulty at first.

You don't think that they would get into seriously bad condition before they leave their villages ?—I don't think so. I think the Revenue officials would have sufficient influence to induce them to go on the works.

What sorts of work are you thinking of, when you say that there are a dozen works in the Bellary Division where it would be well to import famine coolies to do the work ?—Mostly storage works.

Water storage ?—Yes.

Big tanks ?—Yes, of big and suitable size, enough to irrigate five or six hundred acres if there was water sufficient. There is a river channel work, too, which might be opened.

Is it the river channel of the Tungabadra ?—Yes, from the Tungabadra.

Your proposed system is to start big works ?—Yes.

And those are to be put in absolute charge of the Public Works Department, the dependants of workers remaining in their villages to be under the care of the Revenue Department. Whom do you mean by dependants ?—Absolutely young children, children below 12, pregnant women, and old and decrepit people.

The experience in the recent famine was that a great many of the able-bodied men thought it advisable to stay away in their homes, where they picked up a certain amount of agricultural work, and where they looked after their houses and cattle, if any, and sent their wives, children and some of their dependants on the works. That is their idea of famine. Do you think that you can get able-bodied men to go on the works ?—I think the chief reason why men stopped away was that the task was heavy in proportion to the pay they got. I made enquiries at the earlier stages, and I was told that many of them went into Native States.

What work did they do there ?—There were some works going on.

I suppose they went into Native States such as Mysore ?—Yes, Mysore and Hyderabad.

There was harvest work, too ?—I do not know.

You say that when the relief works first began in your charge a few people who were not in need of relief came. Can you state any reason why they came just at the commencement ?—The works were not in my charge at the commencement, but they were under the Local Fund Department. They came to see how much they could get, and when they saw that they could not get much, they went away.

You say in reply to question 13 that many people who complained of distress would not leave their villages to attend works at a distance and yet you propose that in the case of future famines only big works should be started which will involve people going long distances ?—I think the people knew that, if they pressed the point, a work would be opened near their villages. I am quite sure that they would not go to a large work at a distance if they can go to a smaller work near their homes. I think they would rather walk seven or eight miles a day than leave their villages.

Why do you suppose they are so unwilling to leave their homes ?—They are not accustomed to it first of all. They are afraid to leave some of their dependants behind and the little comforts that they have got.

Mr. DeWinton admitted before us that there would be a difficulty in getting people to go to distances, and proposed to meet it by compelling them to go. Do you think it practicable ?—I think so, too. But an old Deputy Collector has sufficient influence—at least moral influence—to get the people to go on the works.

Mr. DeWinton proposed compulsion through the Police. You don't think that would be necessary ?—I think the Deputy Collector would use it occasionally in a quiet way.

Don't you think that you would frighten people ?—I do not think so.

With reference to your answers to question 18 you say that what was a fair task to the coolies on the Chippagiri Road was literal hardship to those on the Adoni town work. How is this ?—First of all there is a town labourer who I do not think does much of agriculture, though he does odd jobs. I fancy he would also help the weavers to a little extent.

You say that the second Collector under whom you served wished to have no discretionary powers vested in the Executive Engineer. Do you mean that he insisted that all deviations should be referred to him for sanction ?—Quite so.

About that period when the second Collector came, His Excellency the Governor was expected. What month was it?—At the end of February.

You say that on one work you enforced task according to the very letter of the rules in the Code. What is the object of doing that?—I wished to show how the Code might be worked—to show, still following the very letter of the Code, how hard it was if discretionary power was not used sometimes.

This was the Collector who was in favour of the very stringent enforcement of the Code?—Distinctly, when he first came. I think he modified his views to a considerable extent afterwards.

You think that His Excellency's observation of the hardships on this particular work had a good deal of influence in the issue of the omnibus order?—I fancy so. His Excellency made a remark that he did not at all like the fining that was going on.

Did His Excellency see other works besides this?—Yes.

You say that once the task is found to be fair, and, after the coolies have got used to the work, it should be most vigorously enforced. Is it by fining, or by what?—By fining.

Without a minimum?—I think there ought to be no minimum. But the Overseer in charge of the work ought not to be allowed to fine below the minimum without the consent of the Executive Engineer.

In reply to question 20 you say that a few aged and decrepit had but nominal work, and you tried to force them to the kitchens. Why did they object to go to the kitchens?—They thought, I think, that it was *infra dig.* That was the chief reason. Food was excellent, and the kitchens were well managed.

Do you believe that the people who were on the relief works spent all the money they got on food, or do you think that they saved it to any extent?—I used to make hundreds of enquiries as to what they did with the money. It was a very difficult enquiry, and I could not get at the truth of the matter. I could not make out that they had anything left over. In a large percentage of cases in which I made the enquiry I found that the money went straight to the grain dealer to whom they were in arrears.

To the grain dealers on the works?—To the grain dealers, but not on the works necessarily.

Do you think that the workers supported their people who were in the villages?—Undoubtedly.

Have you any reason to think that grain dealers did not sell the grain to them at the current rate but sold it to them at higher rates?—I don't think so. The village rate was about one seer dearer than the town market rate.

In your answer to question 23 you say that your experience of the Bellary coolies made you think that residence on the works was intensely disliked, and you also say that the system you propose of having large works at a distance from villages will be a much more severe test of necessity and should only be started when the gratuitous relief system has been started in the villages?—Yes.

Seeing the disinclination of the people, don't you think that such a system as you propose would lead to a great number of able-bodied men remaining in the villages, refusing to go to distant works and trusting to live upon the gratuitous relief given to their dependants and children?—The matter would require very careful watching at the time. I think the men would turn out eventually. They would not first of all, I believe. In regard to big works, men would leave their dependants behind and go on the works; but if they were going on task-work, they would have to take with them their dependants also.

You propose in your answer to question 33 that in the new Madras Code a task-table should be drawn up for each district?—I think that is a very important item. When this famine came upon us, we had practically great difficulty in making out a task-table. We had to start works and observe them and then prepare a task-table.

I suppose your remark under head C in your answer to question 33 refers to the task-work system that is in force?—Yes, that is in regard to class A.

You say "paragraph 29, page 91, is, I consider, unnecessary. Most famine works are practically useless, and there is no reason in giving coolies more than a subsistence wage"?—I do not see why we should pay for more work than we want, so long as we keep them alive. I should think that the B wage would be quite sufficient. I refer to task-work, not piece-work.

On the other hand, you propose a sort of piece-work without a maximum?—Yes, but then we would employ them on useful works.

With reference to the treatment of pregnant women, you say that several cases of hardship came to your notice in the early stages. What kinds of hardship were they?—There were no rules to give them any sort of relief, except on the works. But it was impossible for them to work. In practice I found that several tried to. They could be sent to the kitchens, but they would not go.

Their strong reluctance to the kitchen is rather extraordinary?—They would not go. Dozens of women I have persuaded, and I have taken them to the kitchen one day, but they left it the very next day.

I suppose there is nothing in the management of kitchens that is objectionable?—No, they were most excellently managed.

Do you suppose that it was a sort of caste feeling or was it that they wanted to take the doles to the husbands in the villages?—I am sure they did not want to take the doles away home. They were prejudiced somehow or other—caste or otherwise.

With reference to your answer to question 33, paragraph (G), what classes of Public Works subordinates were in charge of relief works?—From Supervisors down to Overseers and Sub-Overseers on the works. There were also employed under me a European Assistant Engineer, two native Assistant Engineers, and a European Sub-conductor.

The Civil officer that you refer to would not be under these Overseers or Supervisors, I suppose?—Oh! distinctly, as regards details.

Would they be under the Overseer in actual charge of the work?—Distinctly, but if large works were opened, the Public Works Department Officer would in all probability be an Assistant Engineer, a Sub-Engineer, or at least a Supervisor.

What pay do your Overseers get?—From ₹40 to ₹100.

The Civil officer will very often be better paid personally?—That could be specially arranged. I am referring specially to big works where the subordinate would be higher paid.

In your answer to question 49 (*b*), you have given an instance of one work which you say was ruined by the Deputy Collector and Tahsildars giving all sorts of orders. You say "I rode along one of those works with 3,000 coolies and could hardly move for complaints. All of them I thought just". What work was that?—Allur-Guntakal road, more commonly known as the Chiphagiri road.

What were the numerous complaints that you thought were just?—Classification, insufficiency of pay, over-task, mixed up gangs, insufficient tools, blunt tools, want of water and so on.

Who was the Public Works Overseer in charge?—It was under the Local Fund Overseer.

Then it is his fault?—I dare say, to a large extent. If a man has got four or five masters to serve, it can hardly be called his fault if things go wrong.

Who was the Civil officer supposed to be immediately in charge?—The Tahsildar and the Deputy Collector.

Was this work then made over to Public Works?—Yes, after that.

Made over to one of your Overseers?—To the Supervisor and the Sub-divisional Officer himself.

You say in reply to question 104 "The 'duty' of a coolie varies in districts and in taluks even." Does it depend particularly upon the class of population?—Yes.

In answer to question 120 you say "On small works I saw no objection to the existing arrangement if well managed, which it was often not." In the matter of payments what is the mismanagement you are thinking of?—Generally delay, but sometimes arrears.

Whose fault is it then?—Often the paymaster's and sometimes the Overseer's.

You say in answer to question 124 "Twice a week if done by Civil Agency; daily if done by Department of Public Works." Why is this distinction?—I made that distinction, because I think that the great part of the delay is caused in the giving of vouchers by the Department of Public Works officials to the paymasters; if the Overseers had the whole responsibility and had not to send vouchers backwards and forwards, it would be done quicker and in the least possible time. It would be done daily. Under the present system, it will hardly be possible to do it every day. Vouchers could not be sent, if there were any mistakes, till 12 o'clock or 1 o'clock in the night, and if the paymaster was sleepy, he would not get the thing ready for the next day.

(*Mr. Higham*).—You left the Bellary District at the end of March?—Yes.

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Where did you go after that?—Ootacamund.

You had nothing more to do on the relief works?—No.

When the labourers came on the works and applied for employment, who classified them?—The Overseer.

At the time you were there, all your labourers went into one class?—Practically. There were a few in A and a few in C.

What did you do with all those who were unable to do the Code task—the feeble, the old and the pregnant women?—They did not come to the works in the first months. There was only a small number of them. I do not think they were even two or three hundred on all the works.

Those of the people who came originally were, what you call, able-bodied men?—Yes.

You had no class D?—No. I had one full gang of the C class.

All the rest were able-bodied?—They were getting B wages.

Then at that time was the task vigorously enforced?—After the people had been on the works for ten days or a fortnight, they had the full task to do, and were fined if they did not do it.

Were deductions made at any time in accordance with paragraph 28 of the Appendix?—Yes.

If a man only did 50 per cent. of his task?—He would get half wage, subject to the minimum wage.

Always the minimum?—Yes. It was the D wage.

There is no minimum contemplated in this Appendix?—I am a little rusty in my recollection of the Appendix. I was under the impression that there was a minimum.

There might have been a minimum, it is not according to this?—There was actually a minimum.

Minimum being the D wage?—Yes.

What did you pay on Sundays?—The ordinary D wage, the minimum wage.

Would it still be shown in the B class?—Yes.

Now in regard to the payment of labourers at the time you were there, were they always paid in small coin?—I do not think they had much more than 8-anna pieces on the works.

Did each man earn 8 annas?—No, there were 8-anna pieces used. That is the highest coin used.

They did not use rupees?—I don't think in my time.

Did they pay each man individually, or to the head of the party?—I think there was a good deal of party payments, but, taking all round, the coolies were practically paid individually in my time.

In one case of payment that I saw in the Bellary District, coolies were called up three at a time and paid a rupee and also whatever small change was necessary?—May be.

Was this payment in rupee and small change exceptional or general?—I don't think it was general.

Then payment, as a rule, was made in small change?—Yes, as a rule.

Then the rate per coolie varied with the price of grain?—Yes.

Were those variations very frequent?—Yes, very frequent.

Would the slightest variation be followed by the enhancement of the wage?—Yes.

How did the paymasters know about the variations in prices?—They were informed from the Tahsildar's office.

Then the Tahsildar informed them what the rate was?—Yes.

And they worked out according to that?—Yes.

If the rate in the village differed from that in the town?—At first the Tahsildar gave the market rate, and I found that was a great hardship to the coolies. Eventually the Collector directed that the enquiry should be made in the villages as to local prices, and that is what the Tahsildars were supposed to get and send to the paymasters.

The higher the prices that were kept up in villages, the higher the wages will be?—It is generally a seer per rupee dearer than the market town.

The payment was made twice a week?—Yes.

Suppose the grain rates varied in the course of the three days, would the wage be worked out to different rates?—I think that depends a great deal on the paymaster and the Tahsildar as to how they should be done. There was no general rule.

I suppose no coolie would know beforehand what amount he would be paid?—I used to have a board at some of the works showing what the price of grain was and what the day's wage of the coolie ought to be. Of course there would be a great difficulty for an ignorant man to know it.

When the payment is made once in three days, or once a week, he had to work out the wages himself?—Yes.

He never knew where he was?—Yes. He could not be quite sure as to what he would get.

These wages would be modified by fines to a certain extent?—Yes.

Were fines announced daily to the men? Did they know daily how much they were fined, or were the fines entered on the pay bill arbitrarily?—Arbitrarily on the pay-bill.

If the fining was really enforced, then the coolies would not know until they got their pay how much they would receive?—No.

You say that the Local Fund Engineer of Bellary had the commencement of the operations. What became of him afterwards, when you took over charge? Was he under your orders?—No. He did nothing with the relief works while I was there afterwards.

Was he employed on relief works?—Not under me.

But by the Collector?—Not in my time.

What did they give him to do?—I suppose he had his ordinary work to do.

Was it on work unconnected with famine?—He was occasionally employed to start works, as we had not the subordinates ready.

You say that the dependants of workers would remain under the care of the Revenue Department. I think you also said in your evidence that gratuitous relief should be started in the villages at the same time that you start your relief works?—Yes.

If the workers had gone on relief works, do you think that you would at once admit their dependants to gratuitous relief?—I think they must be.

All those who could not go on the works?—Yes.

Then you have to put the people on the works and feed their dependants at home?—I would make their dependants also work in villages. The work would be practically nothing. If they are able-bodied, I would not give them relief.

What do you mean by "dependants?"—I mean women with very young children, old and decrepit people who could not do work and children up to the age of 10 or 12.

If your labourers go on piece-works, there will be no limit to the amount they might earn if they choose to work hard?—No limit. But the work will be of a useful kind.

Suppose a man was earning a large sum, would you still maintain his dependants in the village—supposing that his earning was enough to support his dependants?—Then the gratuitous relief would be withdrawn.

How are the Revenue people to know how much the workers are earning, considering that the workers are at a distance, the work is conducted by the Public Works Department, and the dependants are in the village?—I think the dependants would have to be fed in the village. I do not see how you are going to get out of it.

However much may the workers earn on piece-work—enough to support their dependants in the village?—That you may deduce.

If you work on the piece-work system, would you have any nominal roll of labourers employed?—No, I would have no muster roll.

How are the Revenue Department to have any idea as to how much has been earned by the workers in a village?—I see the objection.

On task-work you consider that those who dig should receive no higher wages than those who carry?—No.

Did you ever have any difficulty in getting enough of diggers to come on your works?—Yes, on famine works. I paid them extra wages to bring the carriers.

That is doing what I suggest, namely, that diggers should get extra wages?—I would not give, unless I was forced to do it.

Under certain circumstances, you recognise that you will have to do it?—Yes, you must, but only on rare occasions. I only had to do it on two small works.

What did you put them on?—I put them on the Department of Public Works works muster roll.

What did you pay them?—The local rate. I am talking of useful irrigation works.

You have had one or two?—Yes. I have had only two useful works under me.

(*Mr. Holderness*).—When you took charge of the works in the Bellary District, did you find the table laid down in the Code impracticable?—Quite.

What did you do? I suppose you made one yourself?—Yes. The Local Fund Engineer had a task-table of sorts drawn out which was less than the Code table, and even then it was a great deal too high. After I was there for a fortnight, I made my own table.

Was that sanctioned by the Collector?—Yes, my task-table.

Before you submitted it to the Collector, did you show it to the Superintending Engineer?—No.

Simply settled it between the Collector and yourself?—Yes.

Did the same sort of thing take place in other districts?—I have no knowledge. I know I sent my task-table to many districts.

You received no instructions from the Public Works Department?—No.

Did the Superintending Engineer issue general instructions in the circle?—Not for the first two or three months. As long as things went on smoothly, and I was able to manage these things myself, I did not refer to my Superintending Engineer. But when I could not do so, I had to appeal to my superiors on questions that arose.

Then did he issue instructions?—Yes. He gave me instructions.

Was any reference made in the Revenue Department as to the right of giving instructions in famine relief matters?—Not in my time. The Superintending Engineer looked after my work as a matter of course. When I wanted him, I wrote to him.

In your table did you make any allowance for the distance that the people had to come?—I introduced the distance allowance after a short time. I allowed so much for distances *over* three miles.

Did you vary the task for the gang according to its weakness? Did you make deductions for weakness?—No, I considered that the task-table allowed for that.

Your table, as finally settled by you, did you consider was a reasonable one?—I thought so.

You were not in the district when the Madras order of 30th March came out?—No.

Did you read it?—I did not read the G.O., but I saw extracts from it in the papers.

As far as you have been able to judge without being in the district, do you think that the deductions allowed there were excessive?—I should say that the allowances given there are very excessive.

Even having regard to the character of the weather, that is to say, it was extremely hot?—Yes. I still think that the task was a great deal too low. One of the allowances made the task to come to a minus quantity.

On account of work or distance?—Distance. The deduction must be too much if it is reduced to a point lower than zero.

What is the net result to the Bellary District of the works executed by famine labour? Is there any permanent return?—I do not think so. You will get good pieces of road here and there for five miles. Practically they were good before, for most of the works that were started were on sites of old work in the previous famine. They were not required there.

So that there is no continuity in the work?—No, in most of the works.

Was road material broken in excess of requirements and collected along the roads?—Not in my time.

Do you know at all that it was so?—I believe there has been some.

What was the condition of the workers when they came on the works? Were they in good condition or the reverse?—The Bellary coolie never looks well. I did not see very much the matter with him. He is the most inferior looking specimen of humanity.

Was there any great anxiety on their part to obtain relief works?—Distinctly so. They showed it by coming in great numbers.

Asked for works?—Yes.

Did they ask that works should be opened when they were not opened?—Yes, in many cases.

Is that their characteristic in ordinary years?—Far from it. It is most difficult to get work done in this particular district.

What do you infer therefrom?—I infer there was distress distinctly.

Under your proposed piece-work system how would you fix the rates? Would you give them ordinary rates or more liberal rates?—I think the rates would have to go up and down with the price of grain.

Even with piece-work?—Yes. There would not be quite as large variations as we have in task work, but still there would be variations.

As to the B wage, did you think it was sufficient or more than sufficient?—It was just sufficient.

You mean taking the individual by himself?—Yes.

In the case of a family you say that occasionally the aggregate may be too much?—Yes. A man and wife with sisters and two or three children who can get classed as adults might often get more than what was necessary.

Among the menial servants are there not any in the Public Works Department drawing R6 or R7?—Yes, as head coolies.

As maistries and so on?—For gomastas and maistries R6 or R7 would be too low. R6 or R7 would be high for a head coolie, but it would be too low for a gomasta.

Did the head coolie send all his people on works, or did he support them?—I never found any families. I found at the kitchens the children of the cooks, and so the head coolie might have had his people on the relief works.

What do you call chaprasis?—Peons.

Did they send their wives and children on the works?—No.

What is their pay?—R 6 or R7.

Did they get any allowance from Government?—They did not in my time.

Did they support them with R6 or R7?—Yes, presumably, but they probably get occasional tips.

(*Dr. Richardson*).—You say that "there were some works where, for some unaccountable reasons, coolies 'ran down' in appearance and spirit, and for this alone I should hesitate to introduce a lower scale of wage than B in Madras, as has been suggested." You seem to connect the "running down" of the coolies with the wages they were getting?—Yes. A man's physical appearance depends on what he eats and how he works.

Did those coolies who for some unaccountable reasons "ran down" in appearance and spirit do the same quantity and quality of work as those on other works who did not seem to "run down?"—I think so.

You cannot account for it?—No.

Still you connect the "running down" of the coolies with the wages they received. In one case receiving the same wage the coolie runs down, while in the other he does not "run down?"—Quite so. To me it is unaccountable. I dared not give them less wages because they would get less food and would get worse than they were before they came on the works.

Was the weight ever tested in those cases?—We started some weighing machines, but I did not see the results.

Could not an explanation be found in that the task was too excessive?—The task was not heavy.

The food and task being the same on both the works, in the one the coolies kept well and in the other they "ran down"?—Yes. I cannot account for it.

You say that it was sufficient in the case of some, but not with others who "ran down?"—Yes.

(*Mr. LeFanu*).—Mr. Cooper, the Local Fund Engineer, had charge of these works before you came?—Yes.

Do you happen to recollect whether the C wage was paid when Mr. Cooper was in charge of the works?—I think the C wages were being paid.

Don't you think that the C wage was much more common before you got charge of the works than after you got charge?—Yes, I think so. That is one of the things in which the classification had been wrong.

You say in your written statement "The Famine Commissioner has stated that there is no possibility of big works in the Deccan"? Where did you get that from?—That is on paper.

Are those the exact words?—Yes, I think so. I have got them here with me, and I think it is something like that. It is in one of your replies to Colonel Campbell's letters. You say here "paragraph No. 3 of the Chief Engineer's note may be disposed of very briefly. He knows well that there are no large works available for the employment of famine labour in any of the affected districts."

Mr. J. F. Somers-Eve.

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That is not exactly the same thing as what you have got down in your written statement?—After reading this passage, I admit it is not quite so.

You mention that there are 8 or 10 of such works. Had they been put in the famine programme?—No, because they were condemned. I have pointed out that I have altered my opinion. The works that I used to condemn I would bring forward now.

You have done it since you left the district?—No. Since I was on famine works.

Would you recommend them on their merits, or as being preferable to road works?—I would recommend them as being preferable to useless works.

Would you recommend them as irrigation works on their own merits independently of their being famine works?—No, I condemn them on their own merits.

In fact, there is a great deal of difficulty in finding really remunerative irrigation works?—Yes.

Have you read the articles by Major-General Fischer on irrigation in the Bellary District?—Yes, many of them.

You regard them as ideals?—I think so.

Was the large work under the Tungabhadra, which he recommends, one of the works which you had in your mind when you spoke of large works?—No, I did not mean that by large works I meant works of 30 or 40 or 50 thousand rupees. I was speaking of the Segur project among the others.

Have you been employed in the Kistna delta?—No.

Do you happen to know that the Tungabhadra is very much indented upon?—I should say there is an ample supply from what I have enquired into.

Mr. Somers-Eve, you speak of the Department of Public Works officers as having been misrepresented as being more hard-hearted?—That idea is apparently prevalent. In support of my statement I would quote the note by the Chief Engineer, No. 799, dated 7th July, wherein it is stated "There is absolutely no reason to apprehend that the Public Works officer has less common-sense than the Collector or that he is more hard-hearted and unsympathetic."

Where did he get this from?—I do not know. The papers must be available to him.

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MAHDI HUSSAIN, SAHIB BAHADUR, Deputy Collector, Bellary, called in and examined.

I put in a written statement of evidence.

As to the extent and severity of the distress.

The whole of the Pyapali division formed of the two taluks of Ramallakot and Pattikonda was affected. The distress was due to the failure of rains and of harvests as also to the high prices owing to large exports of old stock of food grains to the other affected parts and to scanty imports. During the deepest portion of the famine the prices rose higher than those of previous famines. The condition of the affected area was fair prior to the failure of the rains. Under normal circumstances, the population of the affected area enjoy a pretty fair measure of material well-being. The agriculture in the whole of the division is dependent entirely on seasonable and sufficient rains. Failure of a single harvest tells hardly upon agricultural labourers, small landholders and the cultivating non-proprietary class who form the bulk of the population. Their earnings are generally just enough to maintain themselves and their dependants. The portion of the population which can reserve something for their future use consists of large landholders and merchants who are small in number. The failure of more than one harvest makes the condition of the former class far worse, when the grant of State relief becomes necessary. The recent famine was severer than its predecessor (of 1892-93), for the interval between the two was so short that the affected classes had hardly recovered their condition. The estimate of the extent of crop failure, the degree of distress, and the absence of resources on the part of the people was, so far as I can judge, correctly formed.

As to the sufficiency and economy of relief measures.

My experience of the last famine is that the percentage of the number of persons on relief in the worst months of the famine was far in excess of 15 per cent. of the population of the affected tract. In no part of the tract, however, the proportion of the population relieved was larger than was necessary to prevent loss of life or severe suffering. Only those who were in real need of relief were relieved. The relief arrangements were not defective, insufficient or ill-adopted. There was no mortality due to starvation in the tract. But the mortality in excess of the normal in some months was due to cholera, measles, and other diseases which could not have been prevented, however extensive the relief measures might have been. The relief wages were not attractive. They were less than normal. But as every member of a family was separately relieved either on works, in kitchens or by grain doles, the famine wage, though low, was not felt to be so by the people. All persons including women and children over 7 years of age capable of work were required to work as a condition of receiving relief. The number of persons that were relieved without being subjected to the test of labour was comparatively small. The workers, as a rule, did not like to reside on the works. They liked to return to their homes in the evening, where they had their cattle, as also old and infirm dependants who were unable to walk long distances. The latter were useful to the workers in looking after their cattle, if any, and things, cooking their food and keeping it ready for the workers who returned from the works quite exhausted from hard labour. The tract affected was very large, extending over several square miles. The opening of several works at reasonable distances from the affected villages was found necessary. Moreover, it was impossible to erect sheds to accommodate so many coolies who were of different sects and castes without incurring prohibitive expenditure. The procuring of materials for sheds, etc., was very difficult, as there was large demand for them from different parts of the affected area. Even when they were erected, they were open to the risk of being burnt down on sanitary grounds when any of the occupants fell a victim to cholera or other contagious disease, and such epidemics generally break out during famines. Residence on relief work, in my humble opinion, does not constitute an effective and a fair test of necessity. People in these parts, as a rule, are averse to their being separated from their kith and kin. They would rather undergo privations than being subjected to such a predicament. They prefer starvation to residence on relief works. People resorted to relief works with eagerness and at an early stage of distress, as there were no private works where they could have earned their subsistence. This timely relief prevented the workers from falling in condition. The eagerness on the part of the workers was due not so much to the liberality of the terms of relief as it was to the acuteness of the distress consequent on the sudden rise in prices which compelled even persons who had scruples to go to relief works to resort to them. No poor houses were opened, as there was no necessity for them. Gratuitous relief was given in the shape of cooked food in kitchens opened at relief works for the maintenance of non-working children and other infirm dependants of the workers and at other centres. It was given immediately after the opening of works with a view to prevent the non-working dependants of the labourers from sharing with their wages and thus reducing their subsistence allowance, which was just sufficient for their support. Gratuitous relief was extended also to the infirm poor who were too far from any kitchen. Only the really needy were thus relieved. This relief did not demoralize the people. It saved lives and kept villages and households together. The relief was administered economically. The ryots were granted full remission on the tracts where the crops failed totally, or whose outturn was annas 2 and less. Partial remissions were granted where the outturn varied between annas 2 and 6. The collection of assessment was suspended in cases where it was found necessary. Loans were advanced to ryots for improving their lands and purchasing cattle, seed, etc., on easy terms of interest. The famine, alleviated as it has been by relief measures, has reduced most of the classes to poverty. The agriculturists lost their cattle. Excepting the well-to-do ryots, the others lost their animals, being unable to support them. Even the rich ryots reserved only a few head of ploughing cattle at an enormous cost and disposed of the rest. For the land-owning classes payment of land taxes was an additional source of anxiety. The lands cultivated by non-proprietary classes and by small pattadars remained fallow for want of necessary means and cattle. Only the well-to-do dealers in grain continued their business. The business of the other merchants became dull for want of demand for their wares. But for the liberal grant from the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund it would have been difficult for the sufferers to start anew in life. The condition of weavers has become worse than that of the other affected classes owing to the want of demand for cloths both from within and without the affected tract. It would take some time before the people can recover their former position. The weavers do not stand in the same level with the agricultural classes in obtaining loans from the State. Some concession to enable them to continue their work after the closing of the relief sems neecessary.

The present Code makes no provision for it. These and other affected classes will recover their state only after a succession of prosperous years.

As to the arrangements existing for ascertaining the imminence of scarcity.

The arrangements existing for reporting failure of crops and rainfall are sufficient. I would suggest the opening of more rain-registering stations. The village karnams maintain accounts showing the rainfall, the different crops raised, their condition and outturn. Every month the revenue inspector and officers of higher grades check the accuracy of these accounts by local inspection as far as practicable. When distress is apprehended, information as to the extent of the area affected and to its degree is obtained from these returns, and after a fair proportion of it is checked by personal inspection by higher officers, arrangements for granting relief are made. The returns supplied by the karnams are on the whole reliable.

As to the extent to which the prescriptions of the Provincial Famine Code have been departed from or have been found to be unsuitable.

As a Deputy Collector in charge of a large affected area, I had opportunities of gaining experience of the different kinds of relief measures used in the late famine. They were all in accordance with the prescriptions of the Provincial Famine Code. As far as I can remember, in no instance the prescriptions of the Code were departed from. As almost all classes of sufferers freely resorted to kitchens where caste restrictions were observed in distributing food, relief in the shape of cooked food is economical and therefore preferable to relief by grain dole which is more costly. The grain dole system, moreover, entails difficulty in the distribution of grain, etc., makes control over it impracticable and thus gives room for fraud. It is therefore necessary to have kitchens spread all over the affected tract at reasonable distances.

As to relief works.

Most of the roads opened as relief works during the famine will be of permanent use to the community if they are completed and maintained. But they cannot be effectively maintained in future years for want of funds. They will have to be abandoned as soon as they fall into disrepair, and repaired only on the occurrence of famines in future. The roads left uncompleted may serve as good relief works in future famines. The metal collected and left unused continues to be so for years to come. It would not be advantageous to cart it to long distances for use on other roads. It is better to lay out roads for opening in future, narrow gauge railways or tramways connecting important centres of trade with the main railway lines. Construction and repair of small tanks in villages where water-supply is generally deficient and removing prickly-pear grown in village sites and on public paths might be advantageously taken up as relief measures. Employ only weakly persons on these works reserving stronger ones for road works. A larger number of supervising staff is required, but the entertainment of such establishment is more than compensated by the permanent good that results from improving the water-supply and removal of the noxious growth.

As to large and small works and the distance test.

The greatest distance at which the distressed inhabitants of a village may be induced to attend relief works is five miles, when they have to return to their villages every night. People generally are averse to reside on relief works. Even the few that may agree to reside on the work would like to visit their villages on rest days, *i. e.*, once a week. In their case the distance of the relief work should not be more than 10 or 12 miles from their villages. I do not recommend conveying all relief labourers to long distances, over a hundred miles, to employ them on any large work. Only professional coolies such as Wodders who have no agricultural avocations can be so drafted. Residence on relief works need not be made obligatory. A high task and low rate of wage are in themselves sufficient tests to prevent persons who are not in real need of relief from joining relief works. When the famine becomes widespread and the relief works are increased, the establishment required for maintaining the necessary accounts and supervising the works must be sought for from other districts where men fit for work can be procured, when such men are not available locally. It is not safe to reduce the number of relief works simply because the number of persons fit to control and supervise the works is not available in the affected tract.

III. Task-work and piece-work.

The minimum age at which children should be employed as workers is seven. I would propose that a small fine may be levied from workers when it is satisfactorily shown that failure to do the whole task set was due only to wilful neglect on their part with a proviso that the net wages payable should, after the deduction of fine, not be less than the minimum wage. The benefit of the proviso need not be extended to persons who misbehave and prove disorderly and riotous on the works. The fines imposed may be levied by deductions in the payment to be made. Workers who lived continuously on 'C' wages for some months showed signs of losing strength. I am in favour of allowing extra wages for persons who did more than the task set in the same proportion of deduction made when the work turned out falls short of the prescribed task. I am also in favour of paying for one rest day every week (which should always be a market day) the minimum wage for coolies who attended work regularly during the previous six days.

V. Other details of management.

It has not been the practice in relief works to require new comers to produce a ***chalan*** from village officers. All persons desirous of joining works were freely admitted. I do not consider the production of any ***chalan*** necessary. The maximum and minimum number of labourers that should form a gang should be 120 and 75, respectively. There may be 50 such gangs in charge of one overseer. I am in favour of having kitchens at all relief works. In rural parts generally, children aged seven years work. It is not advisable to distribute cash doles on account of the non-working children.

VI. Interference with the supply of labour to private employers.

I did not receive any complaints from any companies, contractors, planters, or other private employers that the opening of relief works affected the supply of labour which they were desirous of employing. Large landholders who received Government loans employed able-bodied labourers in digging and constructing wells, digging and removing ***nuth*** grass out of black soils and in making other improvements in their lands, taking advantage of the low rates of wage at which they could command labour. But for these facilities, the improvements referred to would not have been undertaken.

As to gratuitous relief.

Persons relieved by gratuitous relief were from agricultural classes, weavers, and artizans, incapable of doing work, who had no resources of any kind and destitute of relations bound and able to support them and also children and infirm persons, and ***gosha*** women who were not accustomed to outdoor work. In ordinary years such persons used to live by begging from ryots and others placed in better circumstances. Failure of harvests crippled the resources of such supporters by raising the prices abnormally. The number of persons destitute becomes large, as even relatives who were assisting them forsake them for want of sufficient means. Private charity becomes contracted; hence the necessity for State interference. In a country where the ***gosha*** system prevails among women it is not safe to calculate the number of women and non-working children requiring gratuitous relief in reference to the number of coolies on relief works without making house-to-house examinations. I do not approve of the practice as a test of necessity, of requiring the poor who have able-bodied relations to accompany the latter to the relief works and there to remain as dependants. We cannot force an able-bodied relative to support his incapable relative, the earnings of the former being only just enough for his own maintenance. The incapable person should receive aid from the State. Before gratuituous relief was given in houses, a list of persons deserving it was obtained from the village officials. It was checked by the Revenue or Circle Inspector in the first instance, then by the Tahsildar or the Divisional officer, and then distribution of grain made at short intervals. The Tahsildar who did the functions of relief officer or the divisional officer in his tours checked the recipients with the registers maintained in every village. There were no instances of malversation or extortion on the part of the officers entrusted with the distribution of grain dole, nor were there any instances of the poor paying anything to the village officers, etc., to be placed on the gratuitous list. A Circle Inspector was in charge of about 10 to 15 villages.

He had to travel round the whole range at least once a week. Besides this work, he had the work connected with the supervision of kitchens opened in his range. The system worked on the whole well.

As to relief kitchens.

Residence in these kitchens need not be compulsory. The inmates after taking their food may easily find shelter under trees during the day. I am not in favour of having a kitchen in each village. One within an easy reach of a number of villages would do. Cooked food was given in the kitchen only to those furnished with tickets by the officer in charge of works or the Circle Inspector. The kitchens were in direct charge of officials. There was no wastage, as food was always prepared twice just before distribution. The

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morning food was prepared according to the indent based upon the previous evening's attendance. If there was, by any unforeseen cause, a surplus in the food prepared, it was made use of in the evening as it was fit for such use and the quantity prepared in the evening was reduced in proportion. I am not in favour of granting money doles to the parents of non-working children and other dependants in substitution of cooked food.

As to loans to cultivators and landholders.

About three lakhs of rupees were advanced as loans to landowners and cultivators for land improvements, for seed grain and cattle, etc. Just when the famine was coming to a close, a very small sum was advanced for subsistence. The recipients spent the money, as a rule, on the object for which the money had been advanced. No cases of misapplication of loans were brought to my notice. A special establishment consisting of a special Tahsildar and Special Revenue Inspectors was entertained for the speedy disposal of loan applications. The sums advanced for purchasing cattle and seed grain were of much benefit to the ryots. The time of the repayment of these loans was regulated according to the provisions of the different Acts under which they were granted. It is more economical to aid cultivators by such advances than to offer them work and wages. It is only large pattadars that could save money out of the produce of their land after meeting their expenses, that received loans generally to a large extent. Small pattadars who lived from hand-to-mouth preferred seeking relief from works to receiving State loans. Since the introduction of the free grant of loans by the Government, the indebtedness of the cultivators has increased for the reason that the period of repayment and the terms of interest are favourable to those prevailing in the local money market. The periodical visits of unfavourable seasons render borrowing a matter of necessity to the cultivators whose resources depend entirely upon good harvests.

As to suspensions and remissions of land revenue.

In the absence of statistics, I am unable to say how much revenue was suspended or remitted. The amounts thus treated were arrived at after a careful inspection of the affected tract and the scrutiny of the accounts relating thereto. The cultivators had the entire benefit of the relief thus given. Sufficient measures were taken to secure that the relief given reached the cultivators. No legal provision seems necessary on the subject. I am not in favour of suspending the collection of revenue which is found difficult of realization owing to the unfavourable character of the season. However prosperous the year succeeding the famine year may be, the cultivator would feel it difficult to pay the assessment of the current year and the suspended portion of the previous year. Soon after the famine is over, the ryot cannot recover his former position. The harvest reaped by him does not leave sufficient surplus to pay up the current and previous years' demands and his other debts. I would, therefore, recommend that in a bad year all the revenue that is found irrecoverable should be remitted instead of being suspended. The recovery of such amounts even by instalments is not possible without severely pressing on the cultivators. I do not recommend the charging of any interest on the suspended revenue.

As to the use made of forests.

When pasture and fodder became scarce, the reserved forests were thrown open to the cattle for grazing purposes free of rent. This step should have been taken a little earlier.

As to private charitable relief as auxiliary to State relief.

The opening of grain shops where wholesome food-grains would be sold at rates below the prevailing market rates is a legitimate method of giving relief to respectable persons with small fixed incomes who would not accept purely gratuitous relief either from Government or from Charity Fund. The opening of such shops cannot be considered to be interfering with private trade any more than the grant of loans to cultivators by the Government at favourable terms of interest and of repayment can be said to be interfering with the trade of the money-lenders. It is a pity such shops were not opened during the famine. To render the help effective, I would recommend that the relief to broken-down ryots should be given even if the distress be then at its height and at the commencement of the agricultural season, provided the season is favourable for commencing agricultural operations. The Charity Fund should find its way to restore the impoverished weavers, artizans and other classes who are not in the same level with the agriculturists in the matter of obtaining loans from Government and to supplementing State relief where it is found insufficient. I am not in favour of applying Charity Fund for the relief of agriculturists who are in a position to get *takavi* from the Government. It could, on the other hand, be usefully spent in supplementing *takavi* advances where they are not enough to meet all the agricultural requirements of the recipient including the subsistence of himself and his family during the interval between the sowing and the harvest. Thousands of rupees given away from the Charity Fund for purchasing fodder, seed grain, bullocks, cloths, materials required for weaving and for purchasing implements used by different classes of artizans, is money well spent.

As to emigrants and wanderers.

As relief operations were opened immediately the season became threatening and showed signs of distress, there was no wandering of the poor from my division. But the poor and destitute came in numbers from the adjoining Native States of Hyderabad and Banganapally, where the season was equally bad and arrangements for their relief were inadequate. No difference was made in the treatment of wanderers from the said Native States, and I think no distinction should be made in the treatment of relief seekers.

As to the mortality during the famine period.

The mortality was, I think, more than normal. It was large amongst young children and old persons, a circumstance which implies that death was due not to the insufficiency of food, but to want of strength to resist the evil effects of the weather, which brought on fever, measles, and such like fatal diseases. There were bowel-complaints also due to bad food prepared out of unwholesome food-stuffs and unwholesome meat. Monotony in food, devoid of vegetables, condiments and sufficient salt, also affected the health. Exposure on relief works to the sun and heavy winds continuously for several months, and the worry and care due to want, contributed not a little in impairing the health of the workers who were generally ill-clad. To keep the workers in health, the minimum wage should not be less than B class wage with an addition of 2 pies per head per day for purchasing firewood ; and for the kitchen inmates, the rates should not be less than 50 tolahs per adult. As the food given is devoid of vegetables, I would suggest that a portion of the money spent for purchasing dholl may be spent in supplying vegetables at short intervals. There were no deaths from starvation in my division. No parents abandoned or neglected their children under stress of want. Before the want was keenly felt, relief measures had been adopted. Every practicable precaution was taken to provide and protect against contamination of pure water-supplies for relief camps and kitchens. The number of medical officers on famine duty was not sufficient. But the supply of medicines and medical comforts for the use of the sick on relief works, kitchens and in villages was adequate.

As to the ordinary food of the people.

Cholum (white and yellow) and korra form the staple food of agriculturists and artizans generally. A few well-to-do ryots eat rice and do not on that account neglect partaking of any of the above said grains in small quantities. Mere rice does not seem to appease their appetite. The working classes eat three meals a day—one in the morning before they go to work, the second at about noon when they return from their work, and the third an hour or two after sunset. Each meal ordinarily consists of cooked cholum or korra and dholl cooked with tamarind and onions or other vegetables or greens. Except pure water and buttermilk no other drinkable is generally used. Variety is observed by partaking of some bread prepared out of these grains. In winter korra is used, in summer white cholum, and in rainy weather either yellow cholum or korra is used. Besides dholl, other pulses are used occasionally. Ragi and cumbu are used occasionally on a small scale. Cholum was used in kitchens and at relief works. The kitchen inmates got only two meals a day. The meal consisted of cooked cholum and 'charu' prepared with dholl, tamarind, salt and chillies. Except water, nothing was given for drink. There was complaint from some persons about the food being insufficient when the ration was reduced from 50 to 43 tolahs. But this rate did not long continue, as, soon after its introduction, there was a change for the better in the season and the works and kitchens were closed.

(*President*).—You are a Deputy Collector?—Yes.

How long have you been a Deputy Collector?—For two years.

May I ask where your home is; in what part of the province?—In Bellary now.

Your real home?—Chittore, near Madras. For 12 years I have been in the Deccan districts as a revenue officer—5 years in Cuddapah, 5 years in Bellary and 2 years in Kurnool.

You had charge of the Bellary division?—No, the Pyapali division of the Kurnool district.

During the whole of the famine?—Yes.

When did relief works begin?—In December I opened the first work.

Was that in your division?—Yes.

What professional assistance was there?—I had a minor irrigation overseer to start work with.

What professional assistance had you to lay out the work?—I had the assistance of a minor irrigation overseer.

What was the work?—Road work.

How many works were there later on?—In one taluk nearly 11 works, namely, in the Pattikonda taluk, and in Ramalkottah taluk 6 or 7 works.

How many men were there on these works?—About 85,000 in both the taluks together.

On the works?—Yes. The highest figure was about 85,000.

Are these people residents of these taluks or did any outsiders come?—A few came from the Nizam's Dominions and Banganapally, a native state, but most of them were residents of the taluks.

Where are these native states?—One in the Hyderabad territory on the other side of the Tungabadra, and the other is between the Koilkuntla and Pathiconda taluks of the Kurnool district just close to the Pyapali division.

Were the people clamorous for relief before works were opened?—Yes. It is only then I was obliged to open them.

Were they in ordinary condition as far as appearance went, in physique?—Just when they began to show signs of falling off I proposed the opening of relief works and they were opened. I went over to every village myself before starting the works.

When did the village relief dole begin?—I don't remember the exact date, but I think it was soon after the opening of the works when it was found necessary. As I was transferred from Kurnool to Bellary, I did not make note of it, and I have to depend entirely on my memory.

Did any people reside on the works or did they all return to villages?—As a rule, they did go back to their villages, and they did not like to stay on the relief works. Some were living in the villages close by.

What distances did they come from?—4 or 5 miles, and people used to come even from a distance of 8 or 10 miles, which was the highest.

They went back?—Either they went back or lived in the neighbouring villages. Those that were living within 5 miles generally returned to their homes.

Why were they so anxious to go back?—They had left their cattle and poultry and things of that sort in their homes as well as their infirm dependants, and therefore they generally preferred to go home.

You say that the old and infirm dependants cooked their food. Then they ate their food in their homes in the evenings?—They generally used to bring with them cooked food which they took at midday on the works and they returned home in the evenings and took meals in their villages.

They did not cook food on the works, as a rule?—No.

Do you think they shared what they got as wages with other people in the villages?—Not likely, after the opening of gratuitous relief. But before that was started, I think they must have shared their wages with their dependants.

Children over seven years of age were also required to work?—Yes.

Do you think that it is the proper limit?—I think in the Deccan districts children of 7 or 8 used to go to the fields with their parents and help them in their agricultural work.

Do you think that they do any useful work on the works?—According to their tender age, I think they could turn out some work.

You don't think that they stopped, work by getting in the way of other people?—No.

Children below that age who came were sent to the kitchens?—Yes. But not to the kitchens that were at long distances.

Was there any objection to sending young children to kitchens?—Not as a rule.

Did older people object to go to the kitchen?—The old people among the lower orders did not object much, but in the case of the caste people they did not like to go to kitchens.

Did small puttadars go on the works?—Yes. They did go in large numbers.

Don't you think they had some grain in reserve?—No. They could not have maintained themselves unless they came to the works.

Did small puttadars ordinarily do work as well as cultivate their fields?—Generally they spent their whole time in cultivating the fields. Perhaps they would go and help other ryots and get similar help from those ryots for their own fields.

It was generally thought by many officers that it would be better in the case of another famine to have a few large useful works and to send the able-bodied men and women to those works and to start village relief at the same time and give the infirm people light work near their villages and give gratuitous relief to those who are not able to work at all. Do you think that able-bodied men would go on the works?—I do not think so. There was an instance in the Ramalkottah Taluk in which the Famine Commissioner found fault with the Tahsildar, where in the case of works ten miles from the villages, the villagers did not like to go that distance. They would suffer in their villages rather than go to those works. The Tahsildar had to explain the difficulties in the matter to the Famine Commissioner and to the Sanitary Commissioner when both those officers came there. Though a work near those villages was proposed by me, the Collector said that the works that had already been opened were enough, and he did not want to open any more works. But when the Famine Commissioner and the Sanitary Commissioner came, they found fault with the Revenue Officers for not opening any work in that tract. People did not like to go to works ten miles away, but stuck to their villages.

Why did they not like to go on the works?—They would rather suffer privations than go to distant works, leaving their homes and cattle.

Did most of the able-bodied men leave some of the infirm members in their homes?—It is not in every house there are infirm people. In a family there may be a husband and a wife and an old woman, and if the husband and the wife went away, the old woman by herself could not look after the cattle; and in such cases I don't think it would be possible for both the husband and the wife to leave their homes.

What about the landless labouring class?—The professional Odders may go and do work at distances. Tank-diggers and others of that sort will go wherever you want them to go, but the ryots will never leave their homes.

Besides Odders, are there others who have no lands and who may go?—There may be some. I cannot give a positive opinion about it. So far as ryots are concerned, it is difficult for them to leave their homes.

Do the coolie class who had agricultural work and who had no holdings of land, keep cows or fowls?—They do keep sheep or cattle. They cultivate with others as cotenants on the *varam* system. Even those people would not go.

You say they own sheep and cattle?—Not many, about one or two. What little they have they do not like to leave. I had to induce many people to go on the works.

(*Mr. Holderness*).—When did you leave the Kurnool district?—In December or at the end of November 1897.

Then you were in the Kurnool district during the whole time of the famine?—Yes.

You say in your written statement that the recent famine was much more severe than its predecessor of 1892-93, because the interval between the two was so short that the affected classes had hardly recovered their condition. Is that the only reason?—There may be others. I was not in the division in the famine of 1892-93. I went to the division just at the commencement of the famine.

Did you observe the difference in the failure of crops between the two famines? Was there any difference in the degree of the failure of crops?—Must be. But I have no personal knowledge of the previous famine.

If you have no knowledge of the previous famine, how can you say that the people were very much affected by the previous famine?—I learnt it from people in my division.

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Was the failure of the crops in the late famine as severe as that in the previous famine?—I think in the late famine it was greater than in the previous famine. That was the general report.

I suppose among the relief workers there was a majority of women and children?—Yes.

Men were in the minority?—Yes.

What happened to men? Why did they not come?—Generally, if you take up the census report, you would find that women greatly preponderate over men. The number of women is greater than the number of men. If you take a family, you would find that there are only one or two male members while the rest 4 or 5 would be females. That is the nature of every house, and that is also my experience. If you go to a house, you will find 3 or 4 women to one man. Men had found employment under well-to-do landed proprietors in removing *nuth* grass and in making other improvements in their fields on higher wages or worked in their own fields.

According to the census, the disproportion between men and women is not so great?—May be. I have not seen the census report. I have simply told you what I have seen in the villages and what has been my actual experience.

Do you think that the explanation lies in the fact that the male members go to Mysore and other places?—They did not go there from that part of the country.

Do you think they were all in the district?—Some of them might have gone to the other places, but I have no information.

Then your explanation as to why women are in so much of excess over the men is that women all over the district are in excess?—Yes. It might be that some might have left their places and gone to Nandikotkur taluk in the early part of the famine.

How far is Nandikotkur? Is that not a long distance for people to go?—It is near the taluk of Ramallakot, just about 4 or 5 miles from it.

Then they went there?—Might have gone there. I cannot say that they went there.

You say that relief wages were not attractive. Did people come in families on works—women and children?—Some came with their wives and some left their wives in their houses.

When women came, did they bring their children with them?—They might have brought them. I cannot positively say that all had brought their children.

In regard to those children who did not come on the relief works, were they relieved in their villages?—Yes. They were.

Was the aggregate relief given to a family considerable; if you take the several members of a family and count up what wages and doles they get, is the aggregate a considerable sum?—It was not so counted. I did not keep an account for every house as to how many people went on the works, and as to how many people received doles. There was no necessity for me to take any steps in that direction. I did not anticipate that any question would arise on the point.

Suppose the aggregate wage of a family had come to R9 or R10 a month, would that be a considerable sum for people in that condition?—If it did come to that, it may be considered sufficient.

Are there people in the district in Government employment drawing R6 or R7 a month, and supporting their families with it?—Yes.

So that R9 will be a considerable sum?—Yes.

You say that famine has reduced most of the classes to poverty. Does it include larger ryots?—Yes. Even larger ryots suffered proportionately. Men who had an income of R200, and who had 20 or 30 cattle have also lost proportionately.

I understand that where crops failed, remissions were being given?—Yes.

So those ryots got off paying their land revenue?—The remissions they got would not entirely compensate for the losses they sustained.

Was the loss of cattle great?—Yes.

Has any census been taken of cattle?—I don't know.

What is your reason for saying that loss of cattle had been great?—I found it to be so in most of the villages.

Have you made any calculation of the number of cattle lost in the villages?—No. I was not required to make any.

Then you say generally that there was loss of cattle?—Yes, generally there was much loss. My remark is only of a general nature.

Did the ryots get advances?—Yes.

What did they do with them?—They spent them in improving their land, in buying their cattle to replace their lost ones, and in buying seed grains.

How was the advance for land improvements spent?—Generally in removing the *nuth* grass.

How did the ryots carry out this work?—Generally they would employ labourers.

Advances were also given for sinking wells?—Yes.

Was that money spent on wells?—I think it might have been so spent. I did not look into the matter.

Was any enquiry made whether the advances taken were spent for the purposes for which they were taken?—No detailed enquiry was made. A special establishment had been appointed for granting loans. There was hardly any time to make an enquiry.

Had you anything to do with the relief of weavers?—No.

Do you know that weavers had special relief?—There was a Deputy Collector who was in charge of special relief to weavers.

He looked after them?—Yes.

You say all classes who were sufferers freely resorted to the kitchen?—Yes.

Were there any caste prejudices with respect to kitchens?—Brahmins would not go to the kitchens as well as Kshatriyas. Even among the lower classes there are different sects who objected to going. Generally higher classes of Hindus would not go to the kitchens.

As far as possible, you would substitute kitchens for grain doles?—Yes. I think that is a better form of relief for the poorer classes.

Has metal been collected on the roadsides in considerable quantities?—Yes.

Will it be ever used?—I don't think it will be unless another road work is taken up, funds permitting.

When a road is taken up for relief purposes, was the whole of it done or only a portion of it? A very little portion.

I suppose then that the roads in your districts present rather an uneven appearance?—Wherever the repair of old roads was taken, that was well done. But wherever new roads were taken up in distant places, the work was not so well done. I had to propose some roads connecting certain of the villages with important stations, and a new work would thus be started for the relief of the people in the adjacent villages. In such cases road work did not make much progress.

They will be started and will not be completed?—Yes.

Where the repair of roads was taken up, was that completed throughout the length of those roads?—Yes. For instance in the Kurnool town they took up the repair of old roads and they were fairly done.

Were any tanks cleared out or made?—Very few. The tank restoration party was working in one or two tanks, but they left the works on contract system.

Was any work done for removal of prickly-pear?—No.

You say that "a high task and low rate of wage are in themselves sufficient tests to prevent persons who are not in real need of relief from joining relief works"—was the task a high one?—It was fairly high.

Was it high all through or at the beginning or end only?—During the hottest part of the season it was rather lenient, but all through it was a fair task.

Why was it lenient?—Under the orders of Government.

You allowed various reductions?—Yes, such as distance allowances.

Will you allow reduction to such an extent that the task in some cases became nominal?—I cannot say. It is purely a professional matter. It was left to the Department of Public Works.

Is not the Revenue Department held responsible?—Not entirely. In matters of a professional nature the Revenue

Department was ordered not to interfere with the Public Works Department.

You gave orders?—We had only to start works and then the work was put into the hands of the Department of Public Works.

Do you think that a minimum wage should be paid to a coolie, however little work he might do? Do you think that is a sound principle?—Yes. If it is due to wilful neglect, he must be fined.

Did many of the gangs receive the minimum wage for their work?—I have not got the figures with me.

Do you remember from your own experience of cases where a gang received the minimum wage for several days for doing a small task?—No. I cannot positively say whether they did or not.

Did you ever hear of a gang preferring to receive a minimum wage and doing a little on the works to doing much and getting a greater wage?—No. They tried to do as much work as possible with a view to earn greater wages.

Most of the gangs were on the B wage?—Yes.

What was the condition of the gang? Did they keep good health?—They were in fairly good heath.

Do you think that they deteriorated in health?—Not much.

Do you think that the B wage is on the whole sufficient?—Yes.

Is it more than sufficient?—I think it is just sufficient.

Did you make any allowance for firewood?—No.

Do you think that any such allowance is necessary?—I think it is absolutely necessary. Without that they cannot get firewood.

In your actual experience you did not make any allowance for firewood?—No.

You found the B wage sufficient?—Yes.

You say that it is absolutely necessary to give firewood allowance and you say that the B wage is sufficient. Therefore what you suggest is something above the sufficient wage?—I still think that an allowance for firewood is necessary. People suffered a great deal for want of firewood when I went on the works. If it was only for one or two days, they could collect twigs. When hundreds of persons work for months together at a place, it would be absolutely impossible for them to collect any fuel in that neighbourhood. Most of the works were on treeless black soil plains.

Would you make that allowance in cash or would you provide them with firewood?—I think one pie or two might be added to their wage.

Can firewood be purchased close by?—It can be purchased. The kitchens and the staff had to purchase it. Demand creates the supply.

(*President*).—What fuel do they generally use in their homes?—Small twigs, sticks, and dried cowdung. But when a large number of people gather upon works, they cannot always get these things. I know from my own experience that they had been suffering a great deal in not being able to get firewood.

You told us that they generally did not cook their food on the works?—Even in their homes they must go and cook. They were not very far away from the works. They were only 4 or 5 miles away. When they were going on the works for some months, how can you expect them to find firewood for a large number of people. In the early stages they might have been able to pick up sticks on their way.

(*Mr. Holderness*).—In the hot weather when these reductions were in full force, at what time did the workers stop doing their work?—That depended upon the distances that they came from. I cannot say at what time they left the works. They might have left the works at 5 o'clock.

Now as to cholum: you mention two varieties, white and yellow cholum. Is there any difference between the prices of the two varieties of cholum?—Yes. White is dearer than yellow.

Is there always a difference or only occasionally?—Generally.

Is white cholum dearer?—Yes.

How would you express the difference?—About a pie or two per seer.

Turning the other way, suppose you get 10 seers of white cholum per rupee, how much of yellow cholum would you get for the same sum?—About 12 seers.

Did labourers eat anything else besides cholum in that division?—They had entirely to depend on cholum and korra.

Did not they use ragi at all?—No.

Was ragi imported into that district?—I don't know.

You did not see any coming in?—To a very small extent they used this grain, so small that it was altogether insignificant.

It is cheaper than cholum?—I think it is.

(*President*).—What is korra?—It is a kind of small grain like ragi or millet.

(*Mr. Holderness*).—In your taluk was a great deal of good done by famine relief?—Yes.

When rains came on plentifully in September, was the usual amount of land cultivated?—I have no statistics to go upon.

As far as you know, was it cultivated?—A great portion of the land was cultivated. You must remember I had no previous knowledge of the division. I saw only one crop and I could not say whether it was larger or smaller than those of previous years.

Were there any complaints of cattle being deficient?—Yes, there were. People were helped a great deal by loans and from the famine fund.

To purchase cattle?—Yes.

(*Mr. Bose*).—On page 2 of your written statement you say "Since the introduction of the free grant of loans by the Government the indebtedness of the cultivators has increased for the reason that the period of repayment and the terms of interest are favourable to those prevailing in the local money market." When you take loans from Government, how does it increase the indebtedness of the country?—The man has to repay his loan when he borrows money from Government; he has to repay it in so many instalments and with interest.

If the Government did not give them money, they would have borrowed it from the money lenders?—Yes. At an exorbitant interest too.

Then what did you mean by "more indebtedness"?—This is also indebtedness. Government does not give them loans gratis.

You say on page 2 "Some concession to enable the weavers to continue their work after the closing of the relief seems necessary." What is the concession?—Something. They cannot borrow. We don't give them loans during distress to enable them to set up their business. We simply gave them wages and got work from them. As soon as the relief is stopped, their work also is stopped. There is the difficulty, as there is no demand for their labour. There is a Deputy Collector who was in charge of the relief operations, and who made this subject a special study. I merely threw this out as a hint on the subject.

I merely want to know what concession you want?—I cannot say that.

(*Dr. Richardson*).—You say "The mortality was I think more than normal," you have no figures?—Yes.

You say "it was large amongst young children and old persons," and you do not attribute this "to the insufficiency of food, but to want of strength to resist the evil effects of the weather, which brought on fever, measles, and such like fatal diseases." You mean that the old and the young were exposed to the ill effects of the weather?—Yes.

How do you propose to remedy it? Would you give them food in their own villages?—I don't propose any remedy. I have not the figures about mortality.

You say that it was large amongst young children and old persons in consequence of exposure?—May be that too.

That is then a supposition with no facts to go upon?—Yes.

You say again "Monotony in food, devoid of vegetables, condiments and sufficient salt, also affected the health." Does this refer to the period before they came on relief works or after they received assistance from the State?—That refers to the whole period of famine.

Does this "monotony in food" refer to what is received in relief kitchens?—Yes. In kitchens they were given one kind of food all through.

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You do not think that was suitable food?—Yes. Some vegetable might be given in place of dholl.

Was salt insufficient?—Yes. It was the complaint everywhere that the ration of salt was small.

You say again "There were no deaths from starvation in my division." You propose to alter the ration given by lessening the quantity of dholl and giving them vegetable instead?—Yes, once or twice a week.

Then you would cut off the nutritious matter in the food and supply in its place vegetable matter. I suspect you would land the people into much worse condition than they were before. You say that "the number of medical officers on famine duty was not sufficient." Were the sick neglected in any way?—For two or three works one medical officer was given. I think it was due to the paucity of hands.

Were the sick neglected as a result of that?—On these works there was no sickness of an epidemic kind.

You say that "There was complaint from some persons about the food being insufficient when the ration was reduced from 50 to 43 tolahs." Why was that reduced?—Under the orders of Government.

Was there any special purpose in doing it? Was it to make the people leave the works?—I don't know.

You say that there was want of vegetable and want of salt?—That was the general complaint. The insufficiency of food in the kitchens and grain doles that I spoke of has reference only to the end of the famine.

You say you would give vegetables. Would you have no difficulty in getting vegetables?—We can get them from big stations—such vegetables as brinjals which can be had all through the year. We may not be able to get superior kinds of vegetables—European vegetables.

You can get vegetables if you pay for them?—Yes.

(*Mr. LeFanu*).—Mr. Holderness asked you, if a family which consisted of 5 or 6 members earned R9, whether they could be well off. Do you think they could live upon it?—In ordinary times they might have been well off, but in famine times they would not. We gave the peons and others small payments; we gave as famine batta to our peons something above their pay.

The highest price of grain in your district was something about 8½ measures per rupee?—Yes.

Is that the highest rate?—It even came to 8 measures. In the Kurnool taluk it was at one time sold at 7 or 8.

If a man had R9 a month, and grain was sold at 8 measures per rupee, how many measures would he be able to purchase for R9?—72 measures.

You say the B wage is not too much for sustenance? You consider the B wage is not excessive?—I think it is enough.

You have described in page 2 what the ordinary life of the working class is?—Yes.

Out of 72 measures which a man can get for R9 he would consume about 30 measures for himself?—Yes.

That leaves him about 42 measures for his wife and 4 other members of his family?—In famine time they generally curtail their meal and they make something like porridge and drink it. They do not take a full meal. They curtail the number of times they take their meals.

Why did you tell Mr. Holderness that a man on R9 was well off?—I thought he was referring to ordinary times. Duffadars and peons are able to manage with R7 or R8 in ordinary times.

Do I understand you to say that you withdraw the statement you made to Mr. Holderness?—In ordinary times R7 or R8 would be enough. In famine times they have to curtail the number of times they take their meals.

In famine times a man with a family of 5 members could not get sustenance on R9?—No. He cannot get it even on R10.

You told Mr. Holderness that some of the subordinates of Government, such as peons, etc., getting R9 or less were able to live upon it. You are a Mussalman, you know what the domestic life of these people is. Do you think they lived in luxury or how did they live?—I cannot say. They ordinarily live a little better than the ryot class in famine times. They like to live in a better way. For instance Mahomedans never drink *Kanjee* of rice. They always want some meat.

How many members will there be in a family?—Three, four or five.

Can they be fed out of the pay that Government gives these peons?—They generally get into debt. They clear the debts afterwards.

What I want to know is whether they are able to live on the Government wage?—No. Even with an addition to their wages by one or two rupees they say it is quite insufficient.

Did you help the peons with your private money?—Yes.

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Mr. S. RAMU AIYAR, Deputy Collector, Bellary, called in and examined.

I put in a written statement of evidence.

As Divisional Officer in charge of the Adoni Division, Bellary district, I had to do with the famine operations of that Division, consisting of Adoni and Alur taluks, from their commencement, *i.e.*, the beginning of November 1896 up to the end of March 1897. Then I was put in charge of the weavers' relief operations of the Deccan districts, and I held this appointment until 13th August 1897.

2. I deal below with the several departures from the prescriptions of the Famine Code, which occurred within my personal experience:—

(1) The execution of Local Fund relief works by the Public Works Department, instead of under the supervision of the Local Fund Engineer and his staff as laid down in paragraph 109. It is, no doubt, impracticable to carry out Local Fund relief works by means of the Local Fund agency, when the operations have reached the stage when the limited Local Fund staff of the district finds itself unable to cope with the work. When relief works are opened in increasing numbers in a district, and more so when distress has declared itself in a number of districts, the employment of the agency of the Public Works Department for carrying out relief works is an absolute necessity. Except when it is anticipated that the distress will be limited to a comparatively small area and population, it is desirable that the works be started from the very outset by the Public Works Department. This is desirable in order to obviate changes of policy, the trouble and labour involved in taking over charge which is necessarily done in a perfunctory manner, and the difficulty of fixing responsibiliy for any particular bad work.

(2) This being granted, the vexed question arises as to what are the relative functions of the Revenue and Public Works Departments in regard to relief works, carried out by the Public Works agency. In the Madras Famine Code, it is laid down that the Public Works officers will be subject in purely professional matters to the general supervision ordinarily exercised by the Superintending Engineer. It is a moot-question as to what are purely professional matters. Is regulation of the task a professional matter over which the Collector is to have no control? Section 107 of the Madras Famine Code implies that, even in regard to tasks also, the control rests with the Collector. As the efficiency of famine relief administration in a district for which the Collector is primarily responsible, depends mainly on the adequacy or otherwise of the tasks prescribed, it is necessary that the Collector should have the final say in the matter.

(3) The next question that arises is, how far the power vested in the Collector in the matter of tasks should be delegated to, or exercised by, his assistants. Under section 52, the duty devolves on the Divisional officers of organizing and administering the different kinds of relief measures in the taluks respectively under their charge, subject to the control of the Collector. The Divisional officers cannot discharge the responsibility thus vested in them, if they have no voice whatever in the matter of the regulation and enforcement of tasks. But it is certainly inexpedient to vest the Divisional officers with any control in this matter when the works are carried out by the agency of the Public Works Department, so that chances of friction between the two departments may be minimized and the Public Works Department officers made entirely responsible for the proper fixing of the tasks and their enforcement.

Revenue Divisional officers should, however, be required to promptly bring to the notice of the Collector any glaring irregularities or defects, which they may have reason to think, exist in the matter of tasks or their enforcement. To do this duty efficiently, they should be given necessary facilities.

(4) *Fining.*—The Code is not clear as to what officers should have control over the fining of relief workers for short work. But the Code provisions were interpreted to mean that it should be under the control of the Collector and his assistants. My opinion is that the power of fining should ordinarily remain with the department which has to carry out the works, subject to the general control of the Collector. Revenue Divisional officers may, however, bring to the notice of the Collector, any particular cases in which fining has been carried to excess, or has not been exercised where it was called for. I would not empower the Department of Public Works officer in immediate executive charge to impose fines to the extent of reducing the wage below the minimum. Such large deficiency in the outturn must be due either to contumacy, or to undue severity of the task, and the question as to whether the short outturn was due to the one or the other cause should be left to the superior officer in charge.

(5) *Check measurements.*—The Code is not clear as to the agency by which check measurements should be done when the works are carried out by the Department of Public Works. Under paragraph 39, Appendix VI of the Code, this duty devolves on Tahsildars. But it is undesirable to entrust them with this duty in the case of works carried out by Department of Public Works. It must be left to the superior officers of that department. In the late famine, check measurements were not properly or regularly carried out. To make this possible as well as to ensure strict provision in other respects, the superior officers of the Public Works Department should have small compact charges, so that it may be possible for them to inspect and check-measure each work ordinarily once a week.

(6) *Mustering coolies.*—It is also in my opinion very necessary to authorize the Tahsildar and the Revenue Divisional officer to muster the coolies. To exclude them from this work on the ground that the Public Works Department's officers dislike such interference would be, in my opinion, removing one of the efficient checks to fraud or negligence on the part of the subordinate Public Works Department's officers in charge of works, who are not above either, and who, from the nature of the case, are exposed to great temptation. This check is all the more necessary when the charges of the supervising superior officers of the Public Works Department are extensive, as in most cases they were during the late famine.

(7) *Payments of wages.*—From sections 112 and 113 of the Code, it would seem that even for payment of wages and supervision of children's kitchens, the Engineer officer in charge of the work is responsible, the Revenue Department being required merely to assist the Engineering Department in these and other matters. In practice, however, these matters were attended to entirely by the Revenue Department. It is true that in order to admit of this being done, without transgressing the provisions of the Code, Tahsildars and Deputy Tahsildars were appointed by the Collector as Civil officers in charge of works within the meaning of section 55 of the Code. But so long as they had other duties to perform unconnected with relief works, the appointment of such officers as officers of the kind contemplated in section 55 was meaningless. I am of opinion that the departure in practice from the provisions of the Code in these respects was necessary, as the employment of an agency separate from that entrusted with the execution of the work, for payment of wages on works carried out on the task-work system, is highly important for minimizing frauds for which such a system affords great facilities.

(8) *Prices taken for fixing wages.*—The rule in section 121 is that the prices to be taken for fixing the wages should be those ruling in the taluk cusba or at the nearest market. But on account of complaints of the labourers that they had to purchase their food-grains in the shops of the villages in the neighbourhood of the relief works at rates dearer than those referred to above, an order was issued that the average of the prices ruling in such villages should be taken. It was no doubt a fact that grain could not be had at villages in the immediate neighbourhood of relief works at the prices ruling in the nearest market or at the taluk cusba. The reason was that, generally in the villages adjoining works, there were only one or two petty shops which, in ordinary seasons, are intended for the sale of miscellaneous provisions rather than grain. The reason for this again is that there is comparatively little demand in villages for food-grains in ordinary seasons, as by far the bulk of the people are either landowners or cultivators who have their own stock of grain, or agricultural labourers who are paid their wages in grain. It is true that some of the poorer ryots and agricultural labourers may run out of their stocks. Even then, they borrow grain on credit from the local grain dealers, on condition of repaying it with interest in kind at the next harvest. Even the village artizans, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, potters, washermen, and the like, had their produce from their *inam* lands or in the shape of merahs in kind paid to them by the village community. Weavers, it is true, have, for the most part, no lands of their own, but there is no considerable weaving industry, except in a few villages in a taluk. Hence the paucity and insignificance of shops selling grain in retail in villages generally. Therefore, when the distress appeared, the petty shop-keepers, in order to meet the unusual demand which arose in the villages, had to purchase grain at the weekly markets held in different places or the taluk cusba, and transport the grain to their villages. So, the prices put on by them were higher. Moreover, a large number of the labourers had to obtain their supplies of grain on credit, as they had no money to buy in cash. When they got their wages, the whole or a portion of it went in liquidation of the debt they owed to the grain dealer, and they would go on again purchasing on credit. For these reasons, it was fair and equitable that the prices at which the grain was sold in the villages in the immediate neighbourhood of the relief work, should be taken into account in regulating the wages. But this was advantageous to such of the coolies as were able to purchase their grain in cash at the weekly markets or at the shops in the nearest town if any. The relief workers were also able to get grain cheaper from persons who did business like hawkers, purchasing grain in the cusba stations, and going about selling it on the several relief works. The question, however, may be raised whether arrangements cannot be made so as to make it possible for all or most of the labourers to purchase their supplies at the weekly markets. The system of paying wages more frequently than once a week, and of paying some gangs on each day and not all, makes it impossible for the labourer to procure a week's supply at the market. But it is not desirable to have the payments at such a long interval as once a week, nor can all the gangs on a work be paid on one day.

(9) *Funds for payment of wages.*—The Code contemplates payments to be made by means of the imprest system. But it may be said that there was a great deal of departure from the rules laid down on this subject, in that, in many cases, the paymasters were not restricted to a particular amount of advance, the reason being that they could not or did not submit their vouchers and get their imprests recouped in time, so as always to have sufficient funds in hand for payment, and therefore, in order to avoid hardship to the relief workers caused by delays in payments, funds used to be supplied to the paymasters on mere indents unaccompanied by vouchers for expenditure incurred up to date, and, in some instances, even without indents.

Again, Tahsildars could not meet the indents for funds received from the paymasters, always from the imprest furnished to them by the Executive Engineer as contemplated by the Code, and they were obliged to resort to the irregular procedure of drawing money on their personal receipts from the balance in their sub-treasuries, and debiting the amounts so drawn to what were called objection book advances. The improvements, which it is possible to introduce in this respect, are indicated under the heading (*d*).

(10) *Programme of Famine relief works.*—The Code intends that works to be opened for purposes of relief should be selected from the sanctioned programme. But, in practice, this was not done. Even where a work included in the programme was opened, such as the collecting, breaking and stacking of metal, and digging and stacking gravel on some of the Local Fund roads, the particulars given in the programme could by no means be depended upon in regard to the number of people and the length of time for which the work was likely to afford employment. My opinion is that these programmes were practically of little use, and many works not provided for therein had to be taken up, without proper plans and estimates. Some improvement in this respect is desirable. The lists of works received from subordinate officers should, in my opinion, be subjected to careful scrutiny in the Collector's office, and

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should not be accepted and included in the district programme, unless the Collector is satisfied that the several works entered therein have been properly investigated by the professional department concerned, that they are really such as can afford employment for relief labour, and that the particulars furnished regarding them are correct and complete. Works have been included in the district programme which, in the late famine, were pronounced impracticable or unsuitable after investigation, which was done only after the advent of the famine. To ensure better and more continuous attention to the subject, revised lists of works may be called for from the officers by whom such lists are submitted to the Collector, more frequently than once a year, say once a quarter.

(11) *Abatement of tasks for distance.*—I have no personal experience of the result of this departure from the rules of the Famine Code in this respect, but, from what I hear, it appears to have tended to unduly lower the tasks, and to enable the workers to finish their work in too short a time. As a result of the easy tasks, I know that persons who had been living by doing sundry processes connected with weaving for coolie at Jammalamadugu and Proddatur preferred to go to the relief work, and as a consequence the wages for weaving processes rose. I did not, however, think at the time that it was an undesirable result. Some women and boys used to attend the relief work, and return home by 2 or 3 P.M., and then assist weavers in the collateral processes connected with weaving. It may be mentioned that ryots in black-cotton soil tracts have often to travel 5 miles or even more from their village to their respective fields every day or almost so during the busy seasons of the year, and make the same journey back again in the evening. Even their female members accompany them on some days consecutively while the harvest is going on or during weeding operations. The necessity for abatement will not exist, if residence is provided at the work and insisted upon. It is true that, if residence is insisted upon, it may be a hardship to cultivators who have cattle to look after. But I understand that, in some cases, a number of people owning cattle entrusted them to one man, generally the man usually tending the village cattle, and he would take them to the nearest forests or hills and pasture them there. When ryots in real need of relief know that residence is insisted upon, they might resort to such devices more largely. But there may be always a residue of hard cases, but in view of the advantages which preponderate on the side of the principle of residence on the work and no abatement of task for distance, it should, I think, be adopted. It is to be remembered that of the persons resorting to relief works, the majority are pure agricultural labourers who owe no agricultural cattle. But adequate arrangements should be made to prevent residence at the work from being repulsive, and to make it sufficiently comfortable.

12. Kitchens attached to relief works.—Section 114 of the Famine Code provides for the employment of nurses to have charge of the non-working children of relief workers. This rule was a dead letter. The idea is impracticable for this reason, *viz.*, that the children being of different villages and divers castes, it is not easy to get a nurse who can be trusted to treat sympathetically children of all castes and of all villages, nor is it easy to induce the rustic children to follow nurses of castes different from theirs, or of a different village. These children were so unaccustomed to see strangers that, when one went up to them, they would retreat crying and would not leave their mothers' side. When these kitchens were opened, the attendance was very scanty, but when the higher authorities severely found fault with the local officers for not exerting themselves as they should in order to increase the attendance at the kitchens, the expedient of making the mothers take their respective children in the morning and evening to the kitchen and remain there till they were fed, leaving their work, was resorted to by the Revenue Department, and the Public Works Department subordinates grumbled, as this practice affected the outturn of work.

It appears that warders were employed in Ramellakota taluk of the Kurnool district in bringing the children, and that they were more successful. It would be desirable to have warders of the several chief castes attending the kitchen, to manage the children of each such caste. Under the term 'Sudras,' there are many gradations of castes who are as much separated from one another as they are from Malas (Pariahs) or Madigas (Chucklers). A *Kapa* or *Bulja* or *Golla* or *Kuruba* is too high to look after *Bóya* children who formed a large proportion of the kitchen inmates.

In Kurnool District, instead of dholl being used for both the meals, it was used for some time only for one meal and the saving utilized in purchasing onions and making *Chetnis* of onions mixed with chilly powder, tamarind and salt.

Latterly ghee also was allowed. Having regard to the nature of the dietary in vogue among the classes who resort to the kitchens, the allowance of ghee is, in my opinion, unnecessary.

13. *Fuel allowance to relief workers.*—This was not provided in the Code. It is, in my humble opinion, superfluous, as, in my experience, the relief workers are not of the class who buy their fuel, and, as a matter of fact, they did not buy it. They used to pick up dry cholum stalks and cotton sticks from fields, or dead twigs of trees, or cattle droppings either on their way to the relief works or back, or during the recess of two hours allowed them.

14. *Grain or cash doles.*—I have no personal experience, but I would avoid as far as possible giving relief in either of these forms, as it gives the greatest scope for frauds.

Loans.

15. (*a*) *Loans for Land Improvements.*—Section 20 lays down that every endeavour should be made to encourage the taking of advances under the Land Improvement Loans Act for useful land improvements and to ensure the prompt disposal of applications for such advances, and the proper utilization of the moneys advanced. Hardly any arrangements were made anywhere for ensuring the proper utilization of the moneys advanced. Special Revenue Inspectors should have been employed in sufficient numbers, not only to promptly enquire into and report upon applications, but also to regularly and systematically inspect lands for the improvement of which the loans were granted, and to see what labour was being employed in all cases. Of all land improvements for which advances were made, those relating to removal of *nuth* grass were on the most extensive scale in the black-cotton soil tracts which were the most affected during the late famine. If the loans had been really utilized to the fullest extent for the purpose intended, they would have furnished employment to a very large number of people. I am afraid, however, that the advances were only partially used and that they were utilized to a larger or smaller extent for subsistence. It is useless to grant advances for land improvements just before the rainy season commences or after it has commenced. In Adoni division, care was taken to grant the advances as early as possible. It is a question whether, in all the affected districts, they were made in right time. Advances not made in time do not serve relief purposes, except it be that they are probably utilized by the grantees for the subsistence of themselves and their families.

I am also of opinion that special conditions are required in the case of loans granted for land improvements as a means of famine relief. The ordinary stipulation fixing a certain period, within which the improvement should be carried out, is not sufficient, as the grantee may do nothing until very near the end of the term allowed, and he cannot be compelled to show regular work from the date of payment. A condition may be put in to the effect that he shall employ necessary labour on the work from day to day during the period within which he is required to carry out the work, the period itself being fixed with due regard to the amount of work to be done.

(*b*) *Degree of success which has attended the measures adopted, etc.*—I am of opinion that the measures adopted were sufficiently effectual, so far as the primary objects of relieving distress and the saving of human life were concerned. But as to economy, I think that there is scope for improvement. I look upon the late operations as a grand experiment made in working the provisions of the Code. The success of the measures adopted depended, to a great extent, on the efficiency and adequacy of the establishments employed to cope with the work, and in this respect, the Deccan districts are most unfortunately situated.

(*c*) *Advice as to the measures and methods of working which seem likely to be most effective in future in these two respects.*—In the foregoing paragraphs I have made such suggestions as have commended themselves to my judgment. I would add the following:—

(1) *Relief works.*—I would, in the case of every work on which at least 3,000 persons are employed, appoint an officer of the Revenue Department of the grade of the Taluk Sheristadar or Deputy Tahsildar, to be in charge of the work. He will have all the duties and responsibilities of the Civil officer mentioned in section 55. He should be held

responsible for payments also, being assisted, however, by a paymaster for every 3,000 labourers under him. He will draw funds direct from the Executive Engineer on the imprest system and submit his accounts to him. The paymasters will have no responsibility in regard to the money. He need not personally attend the payment of every gang, but he should do so at the payment of some gangs every day. The taluk officer will be relieved of the work of accounting for the expenditure on relief works.

The officer in charge should have magisterial powers to try nuisance cases under the Towns Nuisance Act, which may be temporarily introduced into such works. If there are two works within easy reach of each other, the Taluk Sheristadar or the Deputy Tahsildar may have charge of both of them. He should be assisted by a clerk.

(2) *Task table.*—I presume that the present table of standard tasks (Form F, Appendix III) would be revised in the light of the experience gained in the last famine. In the present table, only a single task is prescribed for stone-breaking and likewise for digging gravel, without reference, in the former case, to the varying degrees of hardness or the size of the material operated upon, or the thickness or sparseness of the quarry, or the hardness or the softness of the soil in the latter. The rates of deductions for leads and lifts have not been laid down. It is true that section 107 of the Famine Code provides for modifications of the standard tasks being made with regard to the foregoing considerations by the Engineer officer in charge, subject to the sanction of the Collector of the district. But it seems to me that a detailed table, providing for all such variations, should be made once for all and incorporated with the Code for general guidance. I would suggest that, in the task table, the different kinds and sizes of stones be sufficiently described in order to enable the officers who have to apply the table to identify the stones referred to, and I would furnish with the tables even specimens of such stones.

The work sheet attached to the nominal rolls should be made to show all the particulars referred to above in respect of each gang, so that it may be seen whether the quantity of work to be done has been correctly deduced.

(3) *Size of broken material.*—The outturn of work is necessarily affected by the size of the pieces into which the stone is broken. It should be made a distinct rule that the metal should be of certain size, and that when it is of larger size, deduction will be made from the wage. I have known cases in which the workers were able to show outturn in excess of the task prescribed for B class, by breaking the stone into comparatively large pieces and earn A class wage.

(*President*).—Mr. Ramu Aiyar, you were Deputy Collector in the Adoni Division?—Yes.

Up to the end of March 1897?—Yes.

After that you were put in charge of the Weavers' Relief Operations in the Deccan Districts?—Yes.

In the written note of evidence you do not refer to the Weavers' Relief operations?—No. I do not, because I do not see in the questions appended to the G. O. anything about the weavers' relief. I did not know if I would be right in referring to the relief to weavers.

Will you tell us on what system the weavers' relief operations were carried on?—The Government advanced to the weavers the requisite quantity of yarn, and they estimated the time and labour required for turning out each kind of cloth. They also determined the allowance to be made on account of cost of paste and such like things. Paste was practically the only thing, and when the weaver brought the cloths woven, he was paid his wages and a further advance of material was given him.

In what form was he paid his wages?—He was paid in cash. It was calculated at C class rates. By means of experiments specially conducted for the purpose or by enquiries made before the works were started, or by means of both, certain data were fixed and they were duly reported to the Board of Revenue and the Board and the Government sanctioned task tables; and in accordance with the sanctioned task table, weavers were paid the wages due.

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If they did not do the task in proper time, were they fined?—No sir; because it was to their interest to do the thing as quickly as they could.

They worked up to the task?—In many cases I should say, they went beyond the time allowed; but in some instances they did the work much quicker, notably in regard to the turbans woven in Jammalamadugu. Many weavers brought them beyond the prescribed time, but there were others, about 30 per cent., who brought them sooner than the time allowed for the task.

When they brought them after the due time, they were only paid for the time within which they ought to have brought them?—Yes, that is all.

Where did the Government get yarn from? Each District Collector was left to make his own arrangements in the matter. In Bellary they got yarn from the Bellary Mill. Inferior kinds of yarn were also required and these were to be had at the local mills. In the Kurnool District, yarn was also obtained from the Hubli mills so far as I know, and in Tadpatri, yarn was obtained sometimes from the local mills and sometimes through Messrs. Binny & Co.

When did relief to weavers begin?—In the month of November.

November 1896?—Yes. It was begun on the 11th November at Adoni; a month later in Jammalamadugu and still later in Tadpatri and in the Kurnool District. Adoni and Jammalamadugu were the earliest.

In how many districts altogether was it found necessary?—In all the four affected districts. I had nothing to do with Vizagapatam and Ganjam.

Then the weavers felt the pinch of famine very soon?—Yes sir; prices are the great criterion with regard to them. As soon as prices rose sharply in September and October 1896, the poorer weavers of Adoni felt the pinch.

Did the demand for cloth fall?—Yes, and therefore they began to feel the pinch.

Do all the members of a weaver's family work?—They do more or less, but there are some kinds of work which the Mahomedan weaver women do not do, for instance, the sizing; but in regard to the hereditary Hindu weaver's family, the women and children would do all the various subsidiary processes in connection with the weaving. If they were in a pretty well-to-do condition, they would employ coolies, but otherwise they would do it themselves.

What do you suppose that an ordinary poor Hindu weaver family makes a month in rupees in ordinary times?—Of course it depends on the number of looms they possess. If a man possess a single loom, he might make R6 or 7 a month.

He and his family?—Yes; the wages of the whole family would come to R6 or 7.

That is the net profit?—Yes. I must mention here that most of the weavers do the work under the advance system. There are poorer weavers who have got their own capital, but more often they receive advances from the sowcar. Although they have looms in their own houses, they work for the sowcars.

Those are people who make R6 or R7?—Yes. There are also others who go to sowcars' houses and work there. I include subsidiary processes too when I talk of works required for ordinary looms. I am talking of inferior looms. Of course looms turning out silk bordered female cloths are likely to yield a larger income.

Are they in poorer condition of late years than they used to be or have they always been poor?—My experience does not date back very much. Though I did not specially study the question of the condition of the weavers, their condition does not seem to have been deteriorating so far as my experience goes.

Did they make their own yarn formerly?—No. The weavers themselves did not spin the yarn, but local Kapus, *Malas*, *Boyas* and such classes used to spin yarn, and even now it is being done by them; but since the Indian mills have come into existence the yarn is for the most part got from them. Very low cloths are made from the country-made yarn. It is rather rough, but poor people prefer it.

Did those Malas, Boyas and other people who used to spin yarn, do it at night time?—In the day time after they have done their morning work of cooking and eating, they do it for some hours in the afternoon until the evening, when they have to attend to their cooking again.

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Did these people do agricultural labour?—Yes, the females.

And at odd times they spin yarn?—Yes.

Those cloths that the weavers made in the relief operations have been taken over by Government?—Yes.

Has it been sold yet?—No, sir. The plague has perhaps a good deal to do with it. We did not have a good season this year, as good a season as should have followed a bad season.

How is the demand?—The demand has not come to the normal condition yet.

Is it the ordinary good cloth or inferior cloth that the weavers made?—Inferior.

Did weavers go as coolies on relief works?—Yes, some did.

If Government had not started weavers' relief operations, would not they have all gone on works?—I do not think so.

Did they dislike going on any relief work?—Yes, they did not like it.

Had they any reasons why they did not like to go on works?—The reason is that they are not accustomed to outdoor manual labour.

Are they physicly weak people?—They are not quite equal to breaking metal and that sort of relief work, and therefore their outturn would be necessarily less. A Mahomedan weaver may more easily adapt himself, but not a hereditary Hindu weaver.

Why is that?—There is something in the heredity of the people. A Mahomedan easily adapts himself to any profession.

Are Hindu weavers all of one class?—No. There is a variety of classes among them. They do not intermarry with one another.

They sometimes give up weaving and take to other work?—There may be exceptional cases as there is in every other thing, but as a rule, once a weaver—always a weaver.

What do you think would have happened if special weaver relief measures had not been taken?—Many of the families would have stinted themselves of their means of subsistence. Here I must say that weavers who were weaving female cloths with silk borders were not really affected to such an extent as to drive them to our relief; but those weavers who are not accustomed to weaving female cloths with silk borders, but only rough male cloths or carpets felt the pinch and came to our relief.

When did weaver relief operations come to an end?—I was not in charge till the end of the operations and therefore I cannot say when they came to an end.

Do you think that the relief they got kept them in good condition?—Yes, certainly.

No sign of poverty?—It kept them up.

Were they better off than they are in ordinary times?—I do not think they were better off.

(*Mr. Holderness*).—Have you any idea of the extent of this form of relief in the Madras Presidency?—I have not got the figures showing the extent.

What do you think is the total extent?—I can perhaps estimate the expenditure with regard to the four Deccan districts. It may have been 5 or 6 lakhs.

Do you know how much the expenditure in the way of relief per head per day comes to?—I have not worked it out.

Until the cloth is sold out, I suppose the expenditure per head per day will be heavy?—Yes. May be.

Unless you recover through sales of cloth, this particular form of relief would be very costly?—It is a matter of more or less certainty that we will recover most of our money.

Are you certain that you can sell the cloths?—If the season becomes normal, I think we can dispose of them. We must be prepared for some loss. I am not sure that we shall make a profit or even be able to dispose of them at cost price. I think we will have to make a reduction and we shall be able to dispose of them.

Do you not think that the fact the Government has on its hand a large stock of unsold goods would depress to a certain extent the weavers' market at present?—Unless the Government put on the market a very large quantity of the goods, I do not think it would appreciably affect the market. I would just sell the stock in comparatively small instalments spread over a number of years.

Then you would take precaution not to swamp the market?—Yes.

That is necessary you think?—Yes.

Suppose you had another famine in three or four years, you would have to take further precaution with that stock?—Yes.

(*President*).—Would you spread it over a number of years?—It depends upon the quantity of stock on hand. I am not sure whether it would be necessary in the case of all the cloths which have been woven.

(*Mr. Holderness*).—The actual cost of materials is, I may tell you, ₹7,60,000 and you would have to sell the cloths for that much at least: I suppose the cloths are worth a good deal more than that?—Yes.

Is that not a considerable amount to be put on the market?—Yes.

(*President*).—I suppose in the past year's scarcity, the people did not buy cloths so much as they usually used to do?—Yes.

(*Mr. Holderness*).—You say in your written statement that some of the people on relief works came back to weaving—Do you mean to say that after doing their task they came back to weaving?—I said they came back to do the subsidiary processes.

Did they belong to the weaver's class?—The doing of the subsidiary process is not confined to classes who are by profession weavers. Other people also do such jobs.

You say in your written statement "that some women and boys used to attend the relief work and return home by 2 or 3 P.M., and then, assist weavers in the collateral processes connected with weaving." Were those persons of the weaver's class?—Yes.

By helping the weavers to weave the Government material, they enabled those weavers to turn out a larger amount of work in a given time?—Ordinarily these persons whom I refer to would have helped the weaver that was on our register. They would have helped him in the matter of subsidiary processes.

Indirectly then these people were paid twice?— It comes to that. They worked extra.

You said that the family of poorer weavers made in ordinary years R6 or R7 a month?—Yes.

How much did they make under your system?—I think they did not make quite as much. I have no statistics.

Did the Government come to the conclusion that too much relief was being given to weavers and therefore they should limit the relief to weavers who own only one loom?—That is what I have heard. I was not in charge of the operations then.

Why did they do it?—I really do not know why. In some instances weavers were anxious to weave the cloths without interruption and were able to do so by doing work for an extra number of hours. They applied for advances for more looms than they actually possessed or worked. Such cases came to my notice. This conclusion of Government may have been due to that or something else.

The Government apparently may have thought that abuses were springing up?—It may have been that. I was not in charge when this order was issued, so I cannot say what influenced the Government in coming to that conclusion.

Did some people of the weaver's class go to relief works voluntarily?—I do not know. There were some instances in Adoni. Only a few cases where men accustomed to weaving had gone on relief works. I think they were all Mahomedans. It was comparatively a small number who, accustomed to weaving as coolie weavers, preferred to go on relief works because I suppose they would get better wages.

Did the weavers whom Government assisted do the coarser kind of weaving?—Yes.

Do they require delicate hands for that?—Yes, as compared with manual labour.

Even for weaving rough cloths delicacy is required?—Yes. The character of work is so very different.

Do you think that even the weavers who weave coarser cloths would injure their hands by going on relief works?—Sometimes they will injure their hands, specially in breaking stones.

Turning to your note on other points I see you are in favour of making residence on the works a general rule?—Yes, if residence can be provided.

On what grounds do you say so—Is it from your practical experience?—Yes, from my own practical experience. No residence was provided while I was in charge of the works.

Would you provide residence, if you had to do it over again?—Yes.

You would not make any allowance for distance?—I have said that I had no personal experience in this matter. I think it would be better to ensure the full task being performed by providing residence on the works.

Then you are of opinion that a full task was not always ensured?—Unfortunately I was not in charge of these operations then. I tell you this from what I understand from enquiries and from what can be imagined.

About the price of grain the rule was that the price was to be fixed according to that which was prevalent in the village near the relief works. Very often it was dearer than the prices at the cusbah. And you think that in certain cases these gave the workers an undue advantage?—I have said that those of them who could go to the nearest market or who could purchase from the merchants who are called hawkers, could get it slightly cheaper. I know of cases where they got it at a slightly cheaper rate.

Is there any difference in the prices of white and yellow cholum?—I will tell you what actually occurred. During the last famine white cholum was dearer in the beginning than the yellow cholum. The reason I believe was that white cholum was being largely exported.

It was dearer you say?—Yes.

Later on?—Later on export ceased and the local stock of white cholum was practically exhausted. Then the difference between the two prices became very little. They imported white cholum from the Godavery district.

On what prices were the wages fixed—Is it on the price of white cholum or yellow cholum?—For a short time white cholum was quoted, then yellow cholum was taken as the standard.

Do the people eat ragi in the Deccan Districts?—My experience is that in the Bellary and Kurnool Districts they eat cholum, which is most commonly used, and also to a certain extent korra

Is korra cheap?—It was even slightly dearer, but they grow it and what they grow they eat.

Was ragi used in the late famine?—No, not in my division.

Was cholum the cheapest grain that the people could buy?—Yes. At the time of famine ragi was cheaper.

But you say it would not be bought in your division?—Yes, because people would not take it. Merchants had stocks of ragi, but comparatively there was not much demand for it.

Do you think that the B wage that the relief workers got was sufficient?—I think so.

You would not make any allowance for fuel?—No.

Why?—Because I do not believe that relief workers buy it.

You say as to economy in the measures of relief adopted there is scope for improvement—what makes you say that?—I refer to it because with greater supervision a higher outturn of work might be ensured on the relief works.

Were there more people on the works than there need have been?—Not within my personal knowledge. I do not think there were any. There might have been a few, but I do not think that there was any considerable number of persons worth mentioning who did not want relief, but still resorted to relief works.

Did whole families come on the works?—As time went on they did.

Was the aggregate wage of a family at all excessive in your opinion—the aggregate wage given to a family on the relief works?—I cannot say. There may have been some individual cases where there happened to be a large number of earning members; and in such cases the aggregate may have been excessive. But the average could not have been excessive.

Were women and children much in excess of men?—Yes.

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What was the reason of it? What were the men doing?—Men were still able to find employment at the hands of the well-to-do ryots who utilized the opportunity of cheap labour for effecting improvements to their lands, such as removing *nuth* grass, constructing wells and the like; therefore the more able-bodied preferred to remain on such employment to going on the relief works.

They got higher wages, I suppose?—I know some did. For instance in Adoni I have seen some of the poorer ryots working for 2 annas on this kind of work, when the wage on the relief works was one anna and-a-half.

They were earning half an anna more?—Yes.

While their wives and children were working on the relief works?—I did not enquire into that matter, whether their families were working on the relief works. They might have been possibly so working.

(*Mr. Bose*).—How did the weavers generally carry on their profession? Did they trade with their own capital or were they financed by money lenders?—For the most part they are maintained by money lenders. I would not say money lenders, it is more the cloth merchants.

How did they repay the money which they received from the cloth merchants? Did they in lieu of cash give the cloths turned out by them?—They received materials from the sowcar.

They do not receive cash?—No, they do not receive cash. They receive the materials from the sowcar, and they just weave them and give him the cloths. The subsidiary processes that are required to be done while the weaving is being done by the man, are attended to by the women and children of the actual weaver. The weaver more often gets the advance from the sowcar for his subsistence and works it out. For each cloth woven the wage is fixed at so much per cloth.

He simply receives the materials, weaves them and hands them back to the sowcar?—Yes.

Then it is not a loan that he takes from the sowcar?—No. There are such cases too, but the majority are of the kind I have described. In some cases poorer weavers take loans from the sowcars and do weaving on their own account, and after disposing of the cloth repay the sowcar reserving the profit to themselves.

Suppose instead of the system that you are adopting you make advances of cash to the weavers and ask them to supply a particular kind of cloth, and when the cloth is ready you price it and deducting the advance you made, pay them the balance—would not this have been a simple system to work upon?—There is this thing to remember that you would have to entrust a good deal of money to them.

Is there any special danger of weavers defrauding the Government by not returning the money or cloth instead thereof?—Weavers, I must tell you, are also given to drinking, and I would not entrust them with too much money.

Is not this danger present in the case of advance of materials?—They are afraid. There were a few cases. I know one or two cases. Some of them are gamblers. Some of them pledge the yarn we give them, but they are remarkably few. They are afraid to do it, but cash is a thing which gives them more temptation.

So you think there is special danger in giving them cash?—Yes. I would not adopt that system.

For that reason?—That is one of the reasons.

Any other?—They might use inferior kinds of yarn than what we pay for. It is true that we may appraise it, but the difficulty of appraising it is great.

The same difficulty obtains in your system?—We have always got the sample of yarn that we give.

The appraising difficulty remains the same in both cases?—Yes. In the case of carpets we have to be sure of the colour. As regards white cloth, there may not be objections to this arrangement, but with regard to coloured cloths it is rather difficult to check the colour, if we simply advance them cash and expect them to bring cloths of a certain standard. When there is coloured yarn into the bargain, there is, I believe, more room for fraud. Theoretically it may be all right. You may say there is an appraiser who is expected to do the work of appraising. He might collude with the weaver or he may be careless or he may be incompetent.

Is it the practice here for all the members of a weaver's family to assist the weaver in weaving—children and women?—Yes. They do. Each does a particular process.

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Two men cannot do the same thing at one time?—No.

In your system would you give any wages to children?—We allow wages for subsidiary processes. In our task table we allow it. Every task table is based upon a calculation of the time and labour required for each kind of subsidiary process involved in weaving.

Would not this be cumbrous?—There are only a few processes. There are not very many divers processes. There are only a few processes which are usually known. We have had experiments conducted with that view and found out what time each subsidiary process might take and we tried to find out the average time taken. We pay the man in whose name the loom is registered.

Then he might employ any body he likes?—Yes, there is no restriction.

As regards the disposing of the outturn, instead of selling the cloth in the local market, if you send it out to distant places, would that still dislocate and prejudice the local market?—We must find out where it is wanted.

Suppose you send it to the places where it is wanted?—There are the local merchants who do that work as commission agents for merchants in other parts.

Could it not be so arranged that the cloths accumulating on the hands of Government should be sent out to those places where they are generally wanted and thus disposed of?—Who is to do the business in those distant places for us.

I suppose you can communicate with merchants there?—We do not know who the merchants are. Unless the local officers of Government undertake that duty, I do not quite see how that can be done.

Could not that be easily managed?—I don't see the good of it. When there is a demand there, that would at once be felt in the places where the cloth is manufactured. The local merchants, when it is known to them that there is a demand, will not be slow to purchase it from us. It is because of the slackness of the demand in the places where it is generally in demand, that we do not get any offers.

Is it not generally known in what places the kind of cloth that is made here is generally sold?—Yes.

Could you not by corresponding with the people there manage to dispose of your cloths?—We could do it, but the question is, will they take it on account of the slackness of demand. The moment there is a demand, they do come here and advance, as it were, money to the local commission agents, and through them they get the required number of cloths they want. Those that trade in cloths, either come here or correspond with the local agents here and get what they want.

Is it not possible to arrange the matter in such a way as not to dislocate the local market?—What I beg to point out is this. The dislocation will be the same whether you send the cloths directly to the places in which they are in demand, or whether you sell them to the merchants through whom generally this business is done. I would rather prefer the ordinary course of selling it to merchants who generally buy them. When there is a real demand, the local merchant is sure to go in for our cloths.

Mr. LeFanu.—You said that prices were quoted on the white cholum. Did you mean to say the Tahsildar sent to the Overseer in charge the prices of white cholum?—That was quoted only for a short time.

Have you ever been a Treasury Deputy Collector?—Yes, only for a short time.

Are you aware of the rule that the grain quoted for the price list is always in our Presidency a grain of the ordinary sort?—There are two kinds as regards grain.

In what taluk do you say white cholum was quoted for a time?—Alur.

As a matter of fact, do you know that there was for a time no grain whatsoever in the market except white cholum?—I do not recollect whether there was or there was not enough of yellow cholum.

Are you quite sure there was yellow cholum?—There was I believe.

Then why was it not quoted?—Because in the Alur taluk they were accustomed to eat white cholum. There was no regular order on the subject. It was just in the beginning, and as white cholum was the staple food of that taluk, the price of white cholum was quoted and the wages were accordingly regulated.

How long did this last?—For about two or three weeks. As soon as I came to know of it, I reported the matter to the Collector and got it altered.

You spoke of the subsidiary operations of weaving. Do they take up a long time as compared with actual weaving?—In some cases it may be co-extensive with weaving, and in other cases it may take less time.

You mean it may take an equally long time?—It may take an equally long time or it may take less time.

Are you aware of the Government order which says that the scale of payments to weavers should be so arranged that the weaver should only get paid for the time actually engaged in the subsidiary processes?—Yes.

And for any further time they were not entitled to the wage and they were made to go to the kitchen?—This was after I left.

As a matter of fact, did they go to the kitchen?—They did not.

Would they not go to the kitchen?—They would not.

In paragraph 15 of your written statement, clause (*b*), you say "The success of the measures adopted depended, to a great extent, on the efficiency and adequacy of the establishments employed to cope with the work, and in this respect the Deccan districts are most unfortunately situated." I am not sure that I understand what you are referring to there. In what way are the Deccan districts most unfortunately situated in regard to establishments?—When there is a demand for additional establishments, you cannot get competent hands, or the required number of hands, from the district itself. Of course more or less it must be the case in any district, but the difficulty is far greater here than elsewhere, because even in ordinary times we cannot easily fill up vacancies and much more therefore when there is distress or famine.

Is it because that education is backward?—Yes.

Is service in the Deccan unpopular?—Of course to some extent because there is malaria. People think that the Deccan districts are more malarious than other places.

M. R. Ry. R. N. AROKYASWAMI MUDALIYAR, Assistant Engineer, Public Works Department, Kurnool, called in and examined.

Mr. R. N. Arokyaswami Mudaliyar.

15th Feb. 1898.

I put in a written statement of evidence.

1. During the recent famine, several departures have been made from the provisions of the Madras Famine Code, the chief of which are detailed below :—

Departures from the provisions of the Famine Code.

(*a*) *Classification*—(1) The Code provision that coolies should be classed as professional labourers, labourers (non-professional), non-labourers and weekly coolies was not adhered to. Throughout the greater part of this famine coolies were classed solely with reference to the task they turned out. The Code rules were, however, restored in their entirety just before works were closed. The Code provision should be strictly adhered to, as the alteration was found unworkable since it led to malingering.

(2) With reference to unit-equivalents, boys above 12 and below 16 years, were taken as being equivalent to 2 or 3 child-units, but paid full men's wages. Girls above 12 years were classed as full women and paid full women's wages. These alterations were desirable.

(3) Nursing mothers were placed in separate gangs and classed and paid as 'C' class workers, whereas the Code provides that these shall never be paid less than 'D' wages. The term 'nursing mothers' was not clearly defined—women with children about two years old were included. Separation of nursing mothers from other coolies worked well, but placing them above fining made it impossible to manage them, as no work could be got out of them. Very

light tasks might be prescribed, fines being levied for failure to work them out.

(4) Pregnant women were at first classed along with nursing mothers, but were later on classed as 'B' or ordinary workers. Women in advanced stages of pregnancy alone should be classed as 'nursing mothers.'

(5) Infirm people were often kept on works in 'D' class gangs owing to the want of gratuitous relief. The Code does not provide for this. Infirm people should not be admitted on 'works.'

(*b*) *Tasks.*—The Code tasks were never worked up to, the tasks prescribed being those given in the district task table. The latter were on the whole very fair. The district task tables were prepared by the Executive Engineer, but signed by the Collector.

The actual tasks prescribed depended on several circumstances and to a great measure on whim. The orders on this subject were various. One alteration was to interpret 'Engineer officer' in section 102 to mean 'Overseer,' and 'Collector' to mean 'Revenue Divisional officer.' Going one step further, the Revenue Divisional officer delegated his powers to overseers, who were by a special order authorized to make alterations in tasks themselves without reference to any one. This led to absurd tasks, two instances of which I will note—

(1) The task for breaking metal (easily procurable but hard to break, lead within 100 yards) is 1·3 cubic feet, but on the Bethamcherla works, the Revenue Divisional officer prescribed a task of 0·8. The registers showed—and this was shown to Mr. Higham—that, when the higher task was being given, the gangs turned out the full task. The immediate cause of the falling off of outturn was the abolition of fines.

(2) On the Panyam work, the overseer proposed a task of 2·0 cubic feet for road making complete (metal and gravel by road side, water within 2 furlongs) and the Revenue Divisional officer proposed a task of 19·06 cubic feet, whereas the correct task is 7·25 cubic feet.

(*c*) *Abatements.*—Deductions in tasks were made for (1) distance walked to and from home and (2) for condition of workers. The abatement for distance was $\frac{2M-1}{12}$, if M is the distance from home in miles. This was subsequently altered to $\frac{2M}{10}$. This meant that workers that came from a distance of 5 miles had no work to do. The extreme leniency of the rules was somewhat mitigated by the fact that in practice only the distance walked in coming to the work was counted. Later on the abatement was reduced to $\frac{M-4\frac{1}{2}}{1\frac{1}{2}+8}$, no abatement being granted for the first $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles and an abatement of $\frac{1}{8}$ for every $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles beyond that. For weakness, coolies were classed as good, fair and weakly, abatements of 10 per cent. and 20 per cent. being granted for the two latter classes, respectively.

As long as these abatements were in force, very little work was or could be done. Abatements are necessary only in case of distances over 3 miles and the formula $\frac{M-3}{1\frac{1}{2}\times 8}$ or $\frac{M-3}{12}$ would be suitable. With reference to health, there is no necessity for classing any gangs as 'fair,' classification into able-bodied and weakly as provided in section 96 being adhered to.

(*d*) *Wages.*—The least working wage was altered to 'B' from 'C' and the minimum wage was made 'C' instead of D. In other words, the 'D' wage was abolished and workers were classed as 'A' or 'B.'

(*e*) *Fines*—Were ordered to be levied on individual coolies *only* for insubordination or malingering, but in no case were the fines to reduce the wage below 'C' class. The reduction of task to suit the supposed 'working capacity' of gangs, the abolition of fines and the granting of all manner of abatements reduced 'relief *works*' to a mere name.

(*f*) *Payments.*—The Code provides that the Collector shall make arrangements for supplying the paying staff to the Executive Engineer and that Public Works Department Sub-Divisional officers are responsible for prompt payments. This means that paymasters are subordinates of the Executive Engineer. During the late famine, paymasters were revenue subordinates purely. The Executive Engineer gave the tahsildar a drawing account, and the tahsildar allowed his paymasters indefinite imprests. It was thus impossible for Public Works Department Sub-Divisional officers, who alone were acquainted with all details, to check payments. There was absolutely no control over the payment of arrears of wages due to absentee coolies.

(*g*) *Management.*—The powers and duties of revenue officers were extended, and the duties of officers of the Public Works Department were curtailed and limited to giving professional advice on so-called "Professional matters." From the latter category the following matters were excluded: (1) tasks, (2) provision of hutting accommodation and (3) water-supply and conservancy arrangements, and on all matters not strictly professional—the term professional has never yet been defined—officers of the Public Works Department were precluded from issuing orders without reference to the Revenue Department. All upper and lower subordinates on famine relief works were placed under the immediate orders of the Collector to whom the same powers for punishment were given as those possessed by Superintending Engineers.

In keeping with all the relief measures adopted during the recent famine these alterations were unquestionably humane, but many of them were certainly not necessary so far as the relief of distress was concerned. The interference with tasks by persons who did not understand them, the large abatements which reduced work to a mere name and the abolition of fining which made control and the execution of work an impossibility could not be defended except on grounds of *pure* 'mercy.' These alterations, while necessary in dealing with workers whose health had deteriorated, were unnecessary in the case of the present famine, within the range of my experience, since the health of the people had been well maintained by the early starting of relief measures.

Mr. R. N. Arokyaswami Mudaliyar.

15th Feb. 1898.

2. In the present famine a modified system of piece-work, which included modified tasks for weakly persons (village relief being given to the infirm and non-working dependants), might have been more suitable since the health of the coolies was very good, the usual departmental rates being raised to suit the price of grain. Had it been necessary to keep relief works going later than was actually done, the system of regular relief works would certainly have been altered: first on account of their cost and want of economy; secondly, since it was impossible to get the necessary subordinate staff; and thirdly, since the necessity for starting large central engineering works requiring technical experience would have necessitated an alteration in the powers and duties of Public Works and Revenue officers.

System of carrying out work.

3. The distinction between relief works (workers) and gratuitous relief (non-workers) being once clearly drawn, the former fall within the ordinary duties of Public Works officers just as the latter come within the range of the duties of Civil officers. It is not economical to ask an Engineer officer to administer gratuitous relief, but it is worse than bad economy, not only not to use the experience of Public Works officers fully, but to overburden Civil officers with duties which they cannot very well perform and to which, if they attend at all, it must be at the expense of their own legitimate duties. Since humane intentions are certainly not a monopoly with Civil officers, it is not understood what it is that makes their interference with relief works a necessity.

Duties of Public Works and Civil officers.

4. I would submit for consideration the following scheme of relief:—

Suggestion.

Relief measures to consist of (A) Relief works, solely under the control of the Public Works Department, and (B) Village relief under the control of the Revenue Department:—

(*A*) *Relief works.*—All relief workers should reside on the works and to be classed as (1) able-bodied and (2) weakly. Able-bodied persons will be given full tasks, a reduction being made in the case of weakly individuals. Payment will be on outturn of work to the headmen of small gangs. Workers will be concentrated on large engineering works (which will be the only ones which will be available for the next famine).

(*B*) *Village relief*—Will consist of grain and money doles to the infirm and old, village kitchens, and relief to weavers. This will be under revenue management solely.

(*President*).—You are an Assistant Engineer?—Yes, sir.

How long have you been an Assistant Engineer?—Two and a-half years.

Mr. R. N. Arokyaswami Mudaliyar.

15th Feb. 1898.

Where was your famine experience?—In the Kurnool District.

What charge had you?—I had charge of one of the Famine Sub-Divisions, one of the taluks in the district.

All the works?—All the works in the one taluk.

Whom did you work under?—Under the Executive Engineer, Mr. Johnston.

(*Mr. Higham*).—You say that famine coolies were classed with reference to the task they turned out?—Yes, during the greater part.

Have you had many classes?—A, B, and C were the working classes.

You say that they were put into these classes according to the task they turned out?—Yes.

In practice how many classes did you have?—We had all three classes at first.

If anybody did a task, he was paid an A wage?—Yes.

If they did the C task, they were paid the C wage?—Yes, until the rule came into force that the C wage should not be paid as a working wage.

Then what did you do?—We paid either A or B.

C disappeared?—For some time until the end of famine.

Was there a rule that the C class was to disappear?—Yes.

What order was it?—It was ordered that the C wage was to be abolished as a working wage; C was made the minimum wage.

I understood you to say that C disappeared?—Yes, as a working wage. All workers were classed as A or B.

You mean that the people who did a nominal task were put into C?—Yes, nursing mothers were put into C.

Not given a task at all?—Yes, people turned out only a nominal task. The infirm and the old people were put into class C.

Then C really meant people who had no task to turn out?—Yes.

Nursing mothers were separated from their husbands and their people?—At first they were not separated, but at the end of the famine they were put into the C class gang and paid C wages.

What work did they do?—Nothing at all, or only a nominal task.

How did they employ their time?—In making up heaps or in making slopes, which was easy work.

What did you do with other people?—They were put into the usual gangs, but with reference to the wages they were ordered not to be paid less than the C wage.

You paid all of them B wage, those nursing mothers?—They were paid C wage.

But the Code says they should be paid B wage; that the wage of nursing mothers shall in no case be less than 2 lbs.?—That is the C class.

Is that C wage for a male or a female?—I cannot say.

Where did the children go?—With the mothers.

Big children?—Not big children. Nursing mothers meant mothers with children below 2 years of age.

What is the reason of their being taken out of the working gang?—Because they do not turn out work and they were more a hindrance to other coolies.

You had arrangements for reducing task for persons who were weak?—Yes, but nursing mothers were not classed as weak.

If they would not do the task, you might have reduced the gang?—We had to reduce the task for the whole gang.

Who were in the C gang?—Nursing mothers and pregnant women.

Nursing mothers went into the C gang and in regard to the other people who were weak their class was reduced?—Yes.

Who classed them as weak?—The Hospital Assistant, the Medical subordinate in charge of the works.

When were they classed as weak?—As soon as they came on the works, as soon as he had an opportunity of seeing them.

Is there a Hospital Assistant in charge of each work?—On big works there was one assistant for each. In the case of small ones, two works had one assistant.

In some cases the reduction was as much as 20 per cent. for weak labour?—Yes.

The person who ordered it was a Hospital Assistant?—Yes.

If a person was classed as weak, did he remain weak during the whole time he was on relief work?—It depends upon the Hospital Assistant.

Were these weakly people brought for periodical inspection?—The Hospital Assistant inspected them often.

Then he revised the list of weakly persons?—Yes.

Have you answered any of the questions on the printed paper?—No.

Is this all your evidence?—Yes. I have had a list of questions sent to me, but I did not answer them.

Are there any that you wish to answer?—I can answer any questions that may be put on points I have touched. As to the rest I have no useful evidence to give.

Did you experience any difficulty in the payment of coolies. Were they paid regularly?—Yes, they were, but there were often delays in payment.

How were they paid regularly, if the payment was delayed. Were they regularly delayed?—They were not regularly delayed.

How often?—Twice a week, but sometimes there was only one payment in the week.

Is the muster roll prepared by the overseer?—Yes, by the overseer in charge of the works.

What did he do with it? Did he send it to the paymaster?—Yes, as soon as it was ready.

The paymasters did not live on the works?—They lived in the nearest villages.

Was there one paymaster for each work?—Several paymasters in the case of big works. The rule was that up to the limit of 3,000 coolies, one paymaster was provided, but if the number rose above 3,000, extra paymasters were employed.

What is the pay of the paymasters?—Rupees 40. Sometimes they get R50.

You say that the muster roll is sent to the paymaster?—Yes.

When he paid the money, what is done with the pay sheet?—The paymaster prepared his accounts and sent them to the tahsildar for the recoupment of the imprest.

Was the pay sheet checked by any one after payment?—The only check that was applied to it was in the Executive Engineer's Office by the Famine Accountants.

When was that done?—After it has passed through the tahsildar.

After payments are made?—Yes.

Who made the reductions?—The overseer. All fines were noted by the overseer.

Did the paymaster give effect to the order as to fines?—Not always; there was some difficulty about it. There is an order saying that if the overseer failed to note exactly the reasons for his inflicting certain fines, the paymaster might neglect the fines.

The paymaster had power to disregard the fines inflicted by the overseer?—Yes, if the reasons for inflicting the fines were not sufficiently explained.

How was it possible to make an explanation as to fines on the pay sheet?—That was the order.

Were explanations ever given and were the fines ever inflicted?—All the fines were neglected in cases in which explanations were not given.

Was an explanation ever given?—Yes, the reason for imposing the fine would have to be stated—short work, malingering or insubordination.

If he said merely short work, was that sufficient?—No.

What else had he to do?—He must say that the coolies disobeyed the orders or wilfully neglected the work. The overseer must state something to that effect.

In that case the paymaster would allow the fine?—Yes.

If not, he would not allow it?—He had authority to neglect it.

What was done in the case of absentees?—The paymaster marked the coolie that was absent and sent the roll away, and afterwards he would bring it in the arrears register, where the names of the absentees would be entered.

Did he keep the money with him?—Yes.

To pay them when they came to him?—He paid them whenever they turned up.

He kept the money separately?—Yes.

Were payments made to each individual or in groups?—Orders were that payments must be made to individuals, but in some cases the paymaster to save time gave lump sums of money to the head coolies and ordered them to distribute the money to the coolies. That is irregular.

Have you any power to keep them straight in that matter?—Nothing at all, except reporting them to Revenue officials.

(*President*).—In paragraph 4 of your written statement you propose a scheme of relief?—Yes.

Under that scheme all relief works would be solely under the control of the Public Works Department?—Yes.

Would these be big works?—Only big works will be available in the case of the next famine in the district in which I had famine experience.

Do you think that all the able-bodied people will go to such works, from your experience, or do you think that they will sit in their villages?—They will go if they are pressed.

Pressed by starvation?—Yes.

Before they do go, do you think that many will die?—They would not die, but they would suffer a lot before they left their homes completely.

Do you think they will be able to make arrangements by which their cattle or any property that they might have might be looked after?—What they have been doing till now is that they left the old people or the young people to look after their cattle, and most of the able-bodied men attended on the works.

Do you think they will go to great distances?—Yes.

Do you think they will reside on the works?—Yes, if proper accommodation is provided, and no abatement is given for distances.

You are not afraid of many deaths from starvation under that system?—No.

(*Mr. Holderness*).—In your note you say that there were overseers who by special order were authorized to make alterations in the task. Who were those overseers, where did they come from, were they professional men?—They were Public Works Department overseers.

Had they any professional knowledge?—Yes, the overseers had. In the case of sub-overseers many of them were men with no professional experience.

If these overseers had professional qualifications, were not those qualifications sufficient to keep them from making absurd mistakes in altering tasks?—I don't quite understand you.

If these overseers had professional qualifications why should they make absurd mistakes?—It is not considered in the light of mistakes; they want to help the coolies. They think that when a coolie turns out less than the prescribed task, the coolie is not able to turn out more.

You say that the workers who came from distances of five miles had no work to do. In practice was that the case?—No, it is the limit of 10 miles that was taken; the distance walked back was not counted.

Did this distance allowance reduce the task very considerably?—It did.

At what time did the coolies get away from work?—About 3 P.M.

Did all coolies of a particular gang come from the same village?—Yes. People from the same village were put into the same gang, as far as possible. In the case of coolies belonging to one particular gang all of them went away at the same time.

Did they go back to their homes or did they stay in the neighbouring villages?—Sometimes they were put up in the villages near at hand.

In that case did they get the distance allowance?—They did not, if it were detected that they were living in the neighbouring villages.

And still they got deductions?—Yes.

You say that while these abatements were in force, very little work was done?—Yes.

How do you ascertain it? Is it by measurement?—Because they worked only half the time.

How do you measure it or test it?—The test that I refer to is that a certain task was prescribed. After the giving of the abatement they were able to do that task in a short time, which is only a fraction of the working day. They were able to finish the task in a portion of the time and went home.

Did these abatements make the work popular?—Yes.

Did people come who were not required to come?—Largely. We had a number of petty landed proprietors who were not in real distress.

How do you know they were not in real distress?—That was the general opinion.

When these abatements were done away with and when the task was tightened up, were numbers reduced?—Yes.

Do you think it is in consequence of the higher task?—Yes.

If they failed to do the task, did they get the minimum wage?—They got the minimum wage. The order was that the coolies should not be fined below the minimum wage.

Did some of the gangs persist in getting the minimum wage?—No. Orders were that the minimum wage should not be paid for more than three days.

If they did not do the task?—They should be restored to their original class.

You had very little power to use coercion?—Yes.

Do you think that the abatements reduced the work to a mere name?—Yes, because it was over-doing the thing in my opinion, distance allowance particularly.

Do you think that the B wage was a sufficient wage?—I have not got much material for offering an opinion as to the sufficiency of the wages.

Were the gangs in good condition?—All the gangs except those that were classified as infirm.

I suppose some of the gangs were working for a considerable period?—Yes.

Did they deteriorate?—No.

Was there any evidence that they had saved their money to any extent?—I don't think they were able to save anything.

Do you think they spent it?—Yes, sometimes they were borrowing money owing to the scarcity of grain—borrowing money from money-lenders at a discount. In this way they lost much.

You mean they paid the interest in advance?—Yes.

(*Mr. LeFanu*).—You say that Mr. Ghose sent the order authorizing the overseer to reduce the task?—Yes.

That was on the 10th of May?—It was about that time.

Can you recollect when the G. O. No. 216 was put into force in the Kurnool District, I mean the G. O. commonly known as the omnibus G. O. which reduced the task for distance allowance?—I think about the month of May or June.

Can you say positively that it was put into force before the 1st of June?—No, I cannot say.

You have told Mr. Holderness that after the order issued in July stiffening the task had been given effect to, the numbers fell off. Do you recollect that?—Yes.

Do you recollect that after the rains the season improved?—Yes, just about the same time.

Many people went away to cultivate fields?—Yes.

You told Mr. Holderness that many petty ryots came on works who were not really in distress?—Yes.

Did you personally investigate any cases?—I did not personally investigate them, but I knew of cases.

You mean by hearsay? Did you go to their houses and ascertain their condition?—No, I did not go to their houses and ascertain it.

Then you were not saying it from your personal knowledge?—Yes.

Mr. R. N. Arokyaswami Mudaliyar.

15th Feb. 1898.

Mr. R. N. Arokyaswami Mudaliyar.

15th Feb. 1898.

(*President*).—When did these petty ryots first begin to go on the works?—In the month of July. It was expected that the rains were going to fail almost completely, and there was something like a panic and the talk was that there was going to be a famine for three years.

On that, the petty ryots came?—Yes.

Before that they stayed away?—Yes.

Very soon after, the rains came on?—Yes.

Then they went away?—Yes.

With the exception of those who stayed only for a short time in the month of July, do you think that all the workers on the relief works were in need of relief?—A particular standard must be fixed for what is real distress. Many people had no immediate income, though they had property.

Which they could have sold?—Yes.

What kind of property?—Sundry jewels, cattle and things like that. They had no immediate income.

Were not cattle sold largely at a loss?—No, there were no buyers.

Then the cattle were very much used?—No, for want of fodder they were deteriorating.

Do you think that jewels were not sold much?—They were not sold.

What do you attribute that to?—Because they were able to get a fair wage on the works.

At the Council Chamber, Fort St. George, Madras.

FIFTEENTH DAY.

Wednesday, 16th February 1898.

PRESENT:

SIR J. B. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I, (PRESIDENT).

SURGEON-COLONEL J. RICHARDSON.
MR. T. W. HOLDERNESS, C.S.I.
„ T. HIGHAM, C.I.E.
RAI BAHADUR B. K. BOSE, C.I.E.
MR. W. J. H. LEFANU (*Temporary Member for Madras*).
MR. H. J. MCINTOSH, *Secretary*.

The HON'BLE MR. G. G. ARBUTHNOT, Chairman, Madras Chamber of Commerce, called in and examined.

The Hon'ble Mr. G. G. Arbuthnot.

16th Feb. 1898.

(*President*).—Mr. Arbuthnot, you are Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce at Madras?—Yes.

Is there in ordinary years any import of grain into Madras?—Yes, there is moderate import. It is not done on a very large scale. Import exceeds export as a rule.

Where does the import come from?—There is a small import from Calcutta. There has been none from Burma until lately. This year it is quite a new feature. There is a very steady import coming from that place.

When did that begin—the import from Burma?—To the best of my knowledge it is within the last few months, the latter part of last year.

Prices began to go up, I suppose, in September or October?—They had been rising steadily before that.

I mean 1896?—I do not think there was any material rise until the beginning of 1897.

You say the import from Burma began much later than that?—I should say it is only within the last six months.

That was the rice, I suppose?—Yes.

Is there any export trade in grains?—There is export to Ceylon as a rule. When I said Madras, I had in view the Madras Presidency. From the West and South India through Negapatam to Colombo and Ceylon.

To feed the Tamil coolies, I suppose?—Yes.

There is no export to Europe?—Not of late years. There used to be a small export, but it has entirely died away.

You say they used to export to Europe?—There was a small export of raw rice.

I suppose that died away because it has been killed by Burma?—Apparently the local demand has been growing in the same way, to a considerable extent, as with oilseeds and ground nuts. The local consumption has increased of late years to a very large proportion.

From that it would rather appear that the increase of the production of food-grains is not keeping pace with the growth of population?—The export was on such a small scale that it could hardly be taken into serious consideration. It may be partly due to the fact that the sailing ships required a certain amount of dead weight, for which only rice was available as a cargo, and they used to take it almost at a nominal rate.

I suppose you had very little to do with the Deccan districts in the way of business?—Cotton is the chief thing.

I see that between September and November 1897 the prices of dry grains doubled?—Really!

Have you got any opinion as to whether it was a reasonable and natural rise or whether there was any combination?—I have never heard of any combination, I have no grounds to suppose that there was any combination. I should hardly think it is likely.

When the scarcity began, was the grain trade in any way active?—It was not active. So far as the year 1877 is concerned, European merchants were much interested from an early date of the famine, but this year the volume of business has not been sufficiently active.

You were not in India in 1877-78?—Oh yes.

Was there a large import of grain?—Enormous. The whole beach was one mass of bags of rice.

Where did it come from?—Almost entirely from Calcutta. In those days Burma rice was imported from Saigong. There was great prejudice on the part of people to eat it.

Was that trade in private hands or in the hands of Government?—The Government imported grain largely, my firm acting as Agents for Government. We had the entire control of the Government imports.

Did the fact that the Government were importing through the agency of your firm prevent the private merchants from importing?—Not at all. It did no harm. In the first instance, it secured the attention of the public to the necessity for it, and it resulted in everybody taking to it.

Do you say the Government imported the grain and transported it to the affected districts?—Yes.

Do you remember whether they sold the grain or distributed it?—They mainly distributed it in the different camps. After a time, when the competition of private trade was thoroughly established to the same extent, the Government had in its hands eventually a large amount, which it sold in Madras.

Was it by auction or to private merchants?—To private merchants.

Was there much loss on it?—I should say not a considerable loss. I do not think the loss was very great.

After the famine was over, prices kept up in a remarkable way?—There were heavy rains and there was a great drop. Prices gradually rose after the famine was over, so much so that the prices were higher than they had been at any other time before.

Can you say what the prices were in 1877 as compared with the prices of last year?—I am afraid I cannot say. I know roughly what the prices then were. I was not really interested from a mercantile point of view in prices last year. The average raw rice which was largely imported was sold at between R8 and R10 a bag.

How much does a bag consist of?—164 lbs.

Are merchants who were engaged in importing at that time, supposed to have generally made good profits?—At first large profits were made, but afterwards there was a loss owing to the fact that rice could not be sent up-country. It was all accumulated at Madras, the Railway authorities having been quite incapable of dealing with the traffic in demand.

How did the late scarcity affect the Madras import trade in other commodities?—I think it has affected it to some extent. High prices were felt by all classes. I have not got the figures with me, and I have not studied the figures for import. They are available.

Are there any particular articles imported into Madras which show indications of prosperity or the reverse of people?—All cotton and Manchester goods show good times. I should suppose that ornaments with the natives of the country are the chief test of the nature of the times. In good times they spend their money on ornaments.

You cannot say that in respect of cotton cloths or gold or silver ornaments there has been any change?—I am sorry to say I cannot give any information.

Has there been in your observation within the last 15 or 20 years anything like a permanent rise in the price of food-grains in Madras?—I believe there has. I have not got figures. I have always understood there was.

Do you know whether there has been any rise in the wages of labour in Madras?—I should think not. There has not been any rise with the class of mercantile clerks with which I am specially concerned, and in our factories in different parts of the country the rise has been very slow, if there has been any at all. I have been told that there has been a considerable rise in the pay of horse-keepers.

Was the Burma rice, which was imported last year, imported by native firms or by you?—By native firms. I believe a large amount has been imported and found its way to Hyderabad through Coconada.

This sudden rise in food-grains, such as occurred last year, has caused an immense amount of suffering among the poorer classes in the country. Do you think that it would be practicable for the Government to take any measures which would have the effect of lowering those prices? Would it be possible for the Government to do something in that direction? Would you suggest something?—I am afraid I cannot suggest anything. I do not see how under ordinary circumstances the Government could interfere. I think there are exceptional cases in which the Government could interfere with great advantage, but in the ordinary course of things I do not see how it could.

I suppose, except in cases similar to that of 1877-78?—Yes.

You said that it is generally understood that there has been a permanent rise in the price of food-grains within the last 15 to 20 years. Is that attributed by general opinion to particular circumstances either in connection with the currency or any other thing?—I can hardly say anything on that point. I think it is partly owing to the fall in the value of the rupee and partly from the present currency. The fall in the value of the rupee has a tendency to increase the price of goods that are exported. Prices even of food-grains were guided to some extent by the prices of products for export, sold for gold.

(*Mr. Holderness*).—I understand you to say that in 1876 the Government did good by importing?—That is my opinion.

How, by stimulating others to import?—Yes. In the first instance imports proved of great value in being sent up-country, before there was a general rush of import through natural channels.

Did Government issue any orders re-assuring the trade as to what would be done with the grain imported?—They did so, but my memory does not enable me to say what they did. I recollect that they did something. I cannot exactly say what they did. I believe they issued a special notification to say that they would be most careful not to interfere with private trade.

There was a conflict of opinion between the Government of India and the Government of Madras as to the policy adopted in this matter?—Yes.

The Hon'ble Mr. G. G. Arbuthnot.

16th Feb. 1898.

The Government of India directed the Government of Madras to issue a certain order to re-assure the trade?—I suppose it was done in that way.

Can you tell me if prices are still high?—They are. I cannot give figures. I only know it in a general sort of way. We give a famine allowance to all the clerks who receive low pay in our offices. I enquired a few days ago whether the time had not come when we could dispense with it. I ascertained that the prices were as high as ever.

Can you explain why they are still high?—I suppose there is a great depletion of stocks which makes people unwilling to sell any new stocks of grain that are coming in. I was referring to a small mill of our own. Our Agent wrote to us saying that he is confident that the growers of rice would prefer to hold back their grain, and it was expected that the prices would rule very high for the whole of next season. He is recommending us, rightly or wrongly, not to wait, but to buy the paddy at the current price.

You say it is due to depletion of stocks in consequence of the recent bad year?—Yes.

I suppose the surplus producing districts in the Presidency are the Delta Districts of Godavery, Kistna, and Tanjore?—The Southern Districts are the great grain producers.

How did they bring their surplus into the Deccan? Is it by export from Madras or by rail?—To the best of my belief it was taken from the south of India to Colombo and Ceylon, and not to the Deccan. It is only Coconada and districts north of Madras that trade with the Deccan. All that goes by rail.

By canal also have they not got navigation?—There is a canal by the coast. I do not think there is a canal to Hyderabad.

Cannot Godavery and Kistna bring it by the Buckingham canal?—Yes, to Madras, but not to go to Hyderabad.

I think it might go from Kistna to Madras and then be sent by rail to the Deccan?—I think it goes by rail. However, I am afraid I cannot speak with certainty.

About the month of September, the prices were normal as far as your opinion goes?—Yes. I am specially referring to the south.

Did they rise rapidly?—Yes. The south-west differed from the west of India. They did rise very rapidly. I certainly have a clear recollection of being able to purchase paddy in the very early part of last year at prices which were not much above the normal. I cannot say exactly when they rose.

The information we have is that prices rose very rapidly in October and November, and then rains came in November and they collapsed. Did that come to your notice?—I have a general recollection of the fact that prices fell after the rains you speak of, but I have not myself any business connection with the prices. I was not interested in them from a business point of view, so I cannot say what it exactly was.

You did not hear of people buying in October for the chance of the rains holding off?—I have not heard of that being done. I only returned to India in the latter part of November 1896.

Are there any measures that Government could take to increase the production of food-grains in this Presidency? Do you think you can suggest anything?—I am afraid I cannot suggest anything. It is a very wide question.

Is there nothing that specially occurs to you to press on the Government?—No.

Will the East Coast Railway, when completed, have any effect on the grain trade or the prices in this Presidency?—It is difficult to say in advance. Of course it will, because we will be in immediate touch with Calcutta.

To what extent will that affect prices?—I cannot say.

Does grain come from Orissa to the Madras Presidency?—I do not recollect it doing so in late years.

You say it is impossible to say beforehand in a general way what effect the East Coast Railway will have?—Yes, I cannot say.

Suppose there is famine in Madras, the East Coast Railway would help you?—Yes.

The Hon'ble Mr. G. G. Arbuthnot.

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Vice versâ, if there is famine in Orissa and no famine in Madras, prices in Madras would rise?—Yes, but Madras has very little grain to send. I do not think that dry grain would be enough to be sent up.

Deltas grow rice chiefly?—To some extent.

(*Mr. LeFanu*).—I think that although your transactions with Government in 1876-77 might have extended for several years, it is really one transaction?—It was not generally known at the time, but there is no reason why it should be a secret now, that from the beginning we were appointed by the Government as their Agents—we importing grain on their account.

It was supposed that the transaction was only with reference to 20,000 tons?—That is quite a mistake.

You must remember that twenty years ago we had not all these railways, all these telegraphs, and local traders had not by any means the same facility as they have now?—Undoubtedly.

At that time it was quite possible that the trader in the remote districts, the Ceded Districts, might not know the prices ruling in Madras?—There is a general growth of knowledge now; but you must remember there was the telegraph even in those days.

Have not telegraphs extended enormously?—I should not say enormously.

Every new railway brought a telegraph station?—I do not think in Madras new railways have been gigantic.

Take for instance the railway from Bangalore to Anantapore and up Guntakal through Kurnool, and on to Bezwada, a whole string of telegraph lines have been put up?—There were telegraph lines even before.

Supposing that communications between the distant traders were not so good, then the position of the Government in importing grain would be more excusable then than it would be now?—I think it might be more beneficial then. 'Excusable' is hardly the word to be used.

The President asked you about the East Coast Railway. It is not within your recollection that the prices in Ganjam were much cheaper within the last two years than now, rice specially?—At the present moment they are exceptionally dear. My recollection is, I may be mistaken, that during the five and twenty years there has been a steady tendency to rise.

Were they not much cheaper in Ganjam than they were elsewhere?—Yes, cheaper than other parts.

Have you noticed that since the introduction of the East Coast Railway the effect of it has been to equalise the price?—I have not noticed it myself.

I will give you an instance. In the distress of 1891-92 Mr. Peeble's or your firm was kind enough to throw a little rice into the district on account of famine when the traders were exploiting the market. I think he brought that rice from Ganjam?—That I can't say.

Mr. H. Scott.

16th Feb. 1898.

MR. H. SCOTT, Representative of Messrs. Dymes & Co., Madras, called in and examined.

(*President*).—What firm do you represent?—Dymes & Co.

What is your business?—Our business is almost all cotton exporting.

Cotton comes from all parts of the Presidency?—Mainly from the Ceded Districts, Tinnevelly, and Kistna.

Not much from the Deccan?—Oh, yes. A great deal.

Has it been affected at all by the high prices that began in October 1896 and continued during the scarcity?—The cotton crops were then a failure, and we had difficulty in getting labour.

Did you observe that the cotton crop was a failure?—The last cotton crop in the Deccan, in the Ceded Districts, was a failure.

That one in 1897?—Yes.

You are now the Vice-Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce?—Yes.

Has the subject of scarcity or famine come up in a general way before the Chamber of Commerce?—No. The grain trade is entirely in the hands of natives. European firms have practically nothing to do with it.

You have not heard that the grain trade has been particularly active in Madras?—Only by what I saw around, I should say it has been.

Has there been much import of grain?—There has been a very large import in the time of scarcity.

Within the last two years?—I am speaking of the scarcity of 1892. I have not looked up the figures for the last year.

Where did the imports come from?—Calcutta, particularly, I think.

I suppose there is considerable difficulty in landing grain?—I do not think there is very much, except that there is certain danger of bad weather. Bags sometimes get exposed.

Do you know whether there has been any particular falling off in any import or in any merchandise which can be attributed to this scarcity or famine?—All export trade last year was very much affected by scarcity.

You are not concerned in the import of cotton cloths or anything of the sort?—Yes, to some extent.

Does the demand appear to be affected?—There has been a very poor demand for some time.

Has that been attributed to scarcity?—If you ask the native dealers why they are not able to give orders, they tell you that their up-country agents write that the times are so bad that they cannot afford to buy.

Mr. Abdur Rahim Ahmud.

16th Feb. 1898.

MR. ABDUR RAHIM AHMUD, Representative of Messrs. Ebrahim Sooleman & Co., Madras, called in and examined.

(*President*).—You represent Ebrahim Sooleman & Co.?—Yes.

Does your firm deal in grain?—Yes, in grain and other things.

In ordinary years is there any import of grain into Madras?—Yes.

In ordinary years what kinds of grain come in?—Raree rice from Calcutta is imported about the months of August, September and October.

What quantities come into Madras in ordinary years?—About 30 or 40 thousand bags.

Did grain come in from anywhere else?—No. We got Rangoon raw and broken rice which is used by the Madras people for making what is called *chilla*.

A cake, I suppose?—Just like a cake.

At what prices do they generally come in?—About R200 to R230 for 100 baskets, each basket containing 72 pounds, and the price of the same article last year was R300.

As regards the export of grain in ordinary years, where was it exported to?—To Colombo. Sometimes we send boiled rice to Rangoon, but this is only a very little quantity. Rice from this Presidency is exported to Rangoon for the use of people who have gone there from this place.

What grain goes to Colombo?—*Samba* rice.

Is that for the Tamil people?—Yes.

Dry grains like cholum are never exported or imported?—Not for ports from here. Last year they were sent to Bellary, Cuddapah, and other places.

How did this scarcity which has occurred in the Deccan in 1896 affect the prices here in Madras?—Nothing. They used to get their supply from Coconada, Bezwada, and other places.

Has the trade in other commodities been affected at all by the Deccan scarcity?—No.

Is your firm in any way concerned in the import of piece-goods?—Not here in Madras. We deal in piece goods at Rangoon.

How do people compare this scarcity in the Deccan with the scarcity in 1891-92 ?—I was not in this Presidency in 1891.

Was there import of rice from Burma last year ?—Yes.

Where has it gone ?—To Bangalore and other places and some to the Deccan and Hyderabad. The consignor was asked to send it here, and the people who got it here acted as forwarding agents and sent it up by rail.

You say it was ordered from Bangalore and Hyderabad ?—Yes.

Has there been any unusual activity in Madras in the last two years ?—Only in 1896.

Is that because of the failure of the crops ?—Yes.

Where was the grain bought ?—I purchased it in Madras, kept it and sold it when there was a rise in price.

Did you purchase it here and send it up ?—I resold it here and in Bellary.

You do not know whether grain went to Northern India ?—I did not hear anything about it.

Have you been yourself to the Deccan ?—No.

(*Mr. Holderness*).—I understand you to say, you bought grain and sold it here and in Bellary ?—Yes.

Where did this grain come from ?—I bought it from the market here. It would come from the neighbouring villages generally in the months of January and February when they reap the harvest. They sell the grains at almost any rates for paying the kist.

When did you buy ?—In the month of January.

When did you sell it ?—I did not sell it till the end of April.

You mean before scarcity ?—Scarcity had already commenced.

I think you bought in January last year and sold it in April last year ?—Yes, about that duration.

Before January did you buy any grain ?—No.

Do you remember if there was any speculation in grain before January ?—Yes. I think that the merchants from Tanjore and other places bought rice and kept it in stock with the intention to sell it at high prices.

To sell it where ?—In Madura and other places.

What prevented them from going on with this ? Did prices fall ?—They sold and made profit. They did not keep it to the last moment when the prices went down.

At first they rose and then fell in December when rain came ?—Prices fell in September and October when the first rain came.

Did people lose plenty of money ?—Yes, there was loss to many. At that time there were 30 wagons of jaggery and rice on the platform of the Bellary station immersed in water. People came there and went away crying seeing the state in which those bags were. I was not there, but my agent at Bellary wrote to me about it.

Is there always a great demand for grain in Bellary ?—Yes. *Mr. Abdur Rahim Ahmud.*

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Did you sell steadily there ?—Yes, I sold 15 per cent. cheaper than the market.

Why ?—There is my agent there. I had instructions from the Head Office in Kathor where they directed 16 or 17 thousand rupees to be used in charity, to buy and issue grain at cheap rates.

Did you sell it on a large scale ?—About 300 bags.

Sold it in Bellary ?—Yes.

You did not send grain up there to make profit ?—No.

Anything you did in Bellary was in the shape of charity ?—Yes.

Were you the only one that supplied grain in that way or did anybody else do it ?—I don't know.

Why were you interested in Bellary ?—I get my goods from Bellary, where I have my agents.

They said prices were high ?—Yes.

Did you bring down the prices ?—No. If a man was really poor instead of giving him 8 seers we gave him 11 seers per rupee.

Did the bunyas combine to keep up the price ?—Yes.

For a long time ?—Yes. As long as they liked.

Would not they allow an outsider to come and compete with them ?—Yes. They have suffered in that way.

Was there great scarcity of food in the Presidency or was there plenty of food ? Have you had grain to buy ?—We could always buy grain. We were not short of grain.

If any district was short of grain, would it have got it from here ?—Yes.

If in Anantapur or Bellary merchants ran short of grain, they could have bought it from the local bunyas ?—Yes.

Were they ready to do so ?—Yes.

Had they money ?—No, but there were some people who could help them.

Who helped them ?—There was the Branch of the Madras Bank.

M(r. LeFanu).—The bunyas trade to a large extent on borrowed money ?—No merchant does business all on his own capital. No trade can be carried on without the help of other people's money.

Their capability to hold stock would be governed to a certain extent by the claim of persons who had lent money ?—Yes.

How did merchants store up grain ? Did they keep any granaries ?—No. They kept them in gunnies.

How long can grains like ragi or cholum be kept well in bags ?—About 8 months.

Is that your own experience ?—Yes.

KANIA LALL, of the firm of MOHAN LALL and KANIA LALL, called in and examined.

(The witness gave his evidence in the vernacular.)

My firm is engaged chiefly in the grain trade. We deal in grain of all sorts. We import every year to a certain extent from Rangoon. Mostly broken rice. Last year we did not import so much as usual, as it all went from Burma to Northern India. There was no great necessity for importing into Madras last year: the necessity was greater in Upper India. *Kania Lall.*

16th Feb. 1898.

Up to the failure of the rains in 1896 prices were very cheap in the Deccan. In November and December 1896 a good deal of grain was exported from Bellary and Cuddapah to Upper India. We bought in October when prices were cheap and exported to Upper India. There was a good deal of grain in Cuddapah and Bellary both with the ryots and the merchants. Had there not been this export to Upper India, prices would not have risen so much in Bellary and Cuddapah.

Stocks are now low in Bellary and Cuddapah.

As a rule, there is no export of grain from the Madras Presidency to Upper India. Last year was the first time I have heard of such export to Upper India.

MR. KARUPPA CHETTY, Representative of Messrs. Karuppa Chetty & Co., Madras, called in and examined.

(The witness gave his evidence in the vernacular.)

(*President*).—What firm do you represent ?—I live in Muthialpet and I belong to the firm of S. P. V. Karuppa Chetty & Co. *Mr. Karuppa Chetty.*

16th Feb. 1898.

What do you trade in ?—I get grain from Rangoon and sell it here. I do this always and this is the only trade for us every year. I get rice, beans and other dry grains from Rangoon.

What do you do with these grains ?—We used to sell them in this place. As for beans, etc., most of it is sent out, but some portion of it is used in Madras. It is boiled and eaten by the coolie classes (grains like big *Karamani*).

Mr. Karuppa Chetty.

16th Feb. 1898.

Has that trade been affected at all by this failure of crops in the Deccan?—No. Our trade was not affected. It was as usual.

Who consumes the rice from Rangoon?—That rice is consumed in Madras and is not exported to other places.

Had you any trade with the Deccan?—No.

Do you remember the famine of 1877-78?—Yes, I recollect it.

What was the difference between that and the scarcity of last year?—The famine of 1877 was very great and severe, but we did not feel the severity of this famine so much, because there has not been much difference in the prices of grain.

Was there a large export of grain from Madras to Bellary, Anantapur, etc., last year?—I don't know.

Surgeon-Major W. F. Thomas.

16th Feb. 1898.

SURGEON-MAJOR W. F. THOMAS, District Medical and Sanitary Officer, Cuddapah, called in and examined.

I put in a written statement of evidence.

Race.—Anglo-Indian.

Age.—Forty-five years.

Profession.—Surgeon-Major, Indian Medical Service, Madras.

Name.—William Frederick Thomas, M.D., F.R.I.P.H.

Residence.—Cuddapah.

Opportunities of forming an opinion.—Was District Medical and Sanitary Officer, Cuddapah, during the famine of 1896-97 in the Cuddapah district.

(*a*) *Departures from the prescriptions of the Madras Famine Code which have occurred in the Presidency during the recent famine.*—In the Madras Famine Code, Chapter I, section 9 (2), it is stated: "the average pay of a labourer on a relief work may be taken at 1½ annas." Now I maintain this was not carried out for some months, due (1) to a wrong classification of workers, and (2) to inadequate wages. In my opinion all workers should be classified according to age, that light tasks for weak and debilitated coupled with the wage according to the age classification should be imposed, and that C and D wages should be abolished. In the Madras Famine Code, Chapter 8, section 120, the diets specified fail to meet full requirements for correct nutrition. No allowance for wastage is made (by husking and cleaning). There is a deficit in purchasing the bare rations below the A wages, whilst in all a margin for fuel does not exist; still less is it possible to obtain the diet on the average daily wage. In the diet scale specified there is no margin to cover the villager as against cusba (taluk head-quarter) prices. Fines and deductions made a great effect on total nutrient value of a day's wage. There is an absence of vegetables in the diet. The C wage should be abolished for tasked labour. D wage is absolutely unsuitable. It was found that food-grains lost 10 per cent. by wastage.

In Chapter I, section 9 (4), it is stated: "In the selection of works, attention should be given in the first place to the irrigation works"; but as a matter of fact there are not many schemes for irrigation works, and in consequence the somewhat useless task of quarrying and stacking metal and gravel was the order of the day. There were in all thirty-two famine relief works (camps) in this district, and out of this number twelve works were devoted to irrigation (*vide* table submitted). Blights which affect the whole district or every crop in a division of a district are unknown. In every year blight attacks one crop or the other, for a season favourable to one will be unfavourable to another. Certain crops, such as cholum and ragi, often suffer severely by insects which invariably attack them in years when there is a failure of rain, while others, such as horse-gram, oil-seeds, and sujja, will be affected by a fall of rain in excess of what is ordinary. The Cuddapah-Kurnool canal enters the district about the 152nd mile from the head sluice, and runs through the Proddatur and Cuddapah taluks. It stops near the old Cuddapah cantonment. I would propose to continue the canal to the Pulicat lake, running it by the side of the Penner river. For this purpose it will be fed from the Penner by means of anicuts, one of which has already been constructed near Pushpagiri in the Cuddapah taluk.

The Code provisions were departed from in regard to the classification of gangs. There were none in classes C and D and all were classed in B. Even the weakest were so classed and given light tasks.

Males between 12 and 16 were treated as boy adults and given three-quarter task of an adult while receiving the full wage of the adult. Similarly, females between 12 and 16 were treated as women and given three-quarter of a woman's task with the full wage of a woman.

Nursing mothers and women in advanced stages of pregnancy were treated as equivalent to one and a half units for tasking, there being no reduction with regard to their wages.

Children under 12 and above 7 received not less than half the wage, though the Code fixes the minimum at one-fourth.

Under section 107 of the Famine Code, Divisional Officers and overseers in charge were empowered to modify tasks to suit circumstances.

Section 106 of the Famine Code relating to "fine" was amended twice. Rule 8 of Appendix VI was modified and half a day's wage was allowed for half a day's work. For late attendance a special rate of fine not exceeding quarter day's wage was prescribed instead of the Code provision by which no concession was permissible except proportionate reduction of wages for the whole gang for short work.

The price of grain adopted for the calculation of the wage was that prevailing in the nearest village, the provision in the Code being that it should be that of the cusbah of the taluk or of the nearest market.

In regard to weavers, the rules in Appendix VII have been entirely departed from. Instead of buying cloths from weavers and advancing materials and money, advances of materials have been made, and when cloths were woven and returned, wages were paid according to a task table which was prescribed with reference to the result of actual experiments.

Under section 135 of the Famine Code, *gosha* women relieved by grain doles should be required, in return for the relief given, to perform some suitable work, such as grinding grain for kitchens, spinning cotton and winding silk. None of these being practicable, relief was given without exacting any work.

Chapter III, section 24, clearly defines the position of Collectors as Agents of Government. This is as it should be to prevent friction between the Famine Commissioner and the Collector on the one hand, and the Collector and the District Departmental Officers on the other hand.

Statement showing the number of several relief camps opened in the district in chronological order of their starting.

Names of the work.	When started.	When closed or amalgamated.	Maximum number of coolies on	
			Date.	Number.
1. Proddatur-Jammalamadugu road at Bollavaram .	4th Nov. 1896 .	26th Aug. 1897 .	17th Aug. 1897 .	5,785
2. Pulivendla-Muddanur road at Rayalapuram . .	7th ,, ,, .	12th Sept. ,, .	11th June ,, .	5,578
3. Proddatur-Jammalamadugu road at Goriganur .	9th ,, ,, .	30th Oct. ,, .	9th Aug. ,, .	2,629
4. Jammalamadugu-Muddanur road at Mullambhavi, Vemaguntapulla.	11th ,, ,, .	15th ,, ,,	8th May ,, .	1,906
5. Sunkesula tank work	22nd Feb. ,, .	16th Mar. ,, .	23rd Feb. ,, .	751
6. Yerraguntla-Vamipalli road at Kodur . . .	9th Mar. ,, .	11th Sept. ,, .	26th May ,, .	4,801

Statement showing the number of several relief camps opened in the district in chronological order of their starting—continued.

Names of the work.	When started.	When closed or amalgamated.	Maximum number of coolies on.	
			Date.	Number.
7. Kondapuram-Simhadripuram road at Sidivelagala	13th Mar. 1896	6th Oct. 1897	27th July 1897	7,324
8. Simhadripuram-Muddanur tank	23rd „ „	31st July „	7th June „	3,396
9. Yerraguntlapalli-Vamipalle road at Gangreddipalli.	23rd „ „	6th Oct. „	8th „ „	4,964
10. Simhadripuram-Kondapuram road at Anantapuram.	29th „ „	14th „ „	26th July „	4,556
11. Jammalamadugu-Nosam road at Gundlakunta	29th „ „	22nd „ „	14th „ „	3,033
12. Settivaripalli tank	5th April „	24th July „	19th „ „	4,183
13. Lingala tank	5th „ „	8th Oct. „	26th „ „	2,452
14. Peddasettipalle channel	19th „ „	2nd Aug. „	23rd June „	1,295
15. Jammalamadugu-Oak road at Gollapalli	19th „ „	12th Oct. „	19th July „	3,506
16. Chepad project at Gopavaram	22nd „ „	28th Sept. „	19th „ „	3,929
17. Chinnadandlur channel	29th „ „	5th Aug. „	15th „ „	2,545
18. Chepad project at Rajupollum	30th „ „	25th Sept. „	26th „ „	3,793
19. Pulivendla-Muddanur road at Tonduru	7th May „	7th Oct. „	26th „ „	3,309
20. Peddapasupala channel	12th „ „	6th „ „	19th „ „	5,695
21. Road work at Gollalazadur	24th „ „	11th „ „	28th Aug. „	5,261
22. Cuddapah Town work	25th „ „	30th Sept. „	27th July „	6,149
23. Yerragudipad-Kokkatam road	30th „ „	18th „ „	21st „ „	4,181
24. Bagadipalle feeder road at Thalla Proddatur	31st „ „	16th Oct. „	6th Aug. „	3,377
25. Yerraguntla-Vamipalle road at Marripalle	10th June „	5th „ „	28th July „	4,453
26. Sivapuram tank	16th „ „	28th Aug. „	19th „ „	3,946
27. Dhurvur-Gudipad road	23rd „ „	19th Sept. „	26th „ „	4,005
28. Rayalapuram-Simhadripuram road at Balapanur	25th „ „	17th „ „	20th Aug. „	3,181
29. Pydekalva channel	25th „ „	9th Aug. „	29th July „	2,127
30. Jammalamadugu-Muddanur road at Mundanur	13th July „	24th Oct. „	2nd Aug. „	3,520
31. Mydukur-Ponumamilla road at Bhumayapalle	24th „ „	20th Sept. „	10th „ „	4,960
32. Samudrampalle channel	9th Aug. „	14th „ „	23rd „ „	1,526
Maximum strength of relief workers one day				107,132

(*b*) ***Degree of success which has attended the measures adopted, considered primarily with regard to the relief of distress and the saving of human life, and secondarily with regard to economy.*** – As will be seen in the following table, the rainfall of 1895 and 1896 and the early part of 1897 has been a failure and this brought about a failure of harvests in this district during 1896-97, particularly so in the taluks of Proddatur, Jammalamadugu, Pulivendla and Cuddapah. The total area affected was—Jammalamadugu 616 square miles, Proddatur 478 square miles, Cuddapah 764 square miles, Pulivendla 701 square miles; total 2,559 square miles, with a population of 460,455. Two or more harvests in succession failing over a large extent of country induced distress among the smaller landholders, the landless classes, and field and other labourers and petty artisans, who having no stores of grain are dependent on their labour, the demand for which slackens at such seasons, for the means of purchasing their daily food:—

Table of rainfall.

Months.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.
	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.
January	0·00	0·00	3·34	0·07
February	0·59	0·00	0·00	0·02
March	0·00	0·00	0·00	0·08
April	0·15	0·05	0·12	0·00
May	1·87	3·98	2·82	1·22
June	2·20	0·74	3·36	0·58
July	7·87	4·34	1·67	4·37
August	10·91	4·47	5·73	7·69
September	4·97	8·29	3·70	10·23
October	9·46	5·95	0·00	4·83
November	1·41	0·47	4·31	1·93
December	0·00	2·25	0·18	1·46
Total	39·42	30·54	25·23	32·48
Number of rainy days	84	81	64	65

Average rainfall, 31·56 inches.

Blights which affect the whole district, or every crop in a division of a district, are unknown. In every year blight attacks one crop or the other, for a season favourable to one will be unfavourable to another. Certain crops, such as cholum and ragi, often suffer severely by insects which invariably attack them in years when there is a failure of rain, whilst others, such as horse-gram, oil-seeds, and sujja, will be affected by a fall of rain in excess of what is ordinary.

There were in all thirty-two famine relief camps in this district, and with the exception of the nine camps noted below the general physical and health condition of the workers was on the whole very good. I saw no cases of scorbutus or of actual starvation. There has been no deterioration of physique among the workers, for the first principle was to save life and to maintain health and strength and to this end all other considerations were subordinated. Cholera and small-pox made their appearance to a very slight extent in the various camps. There were in all 42 cases of cholera, of which 10 cases proved fatal; and there were 31 cases of small-pox, of which 1 case proved fatal.

(1) *Rayalapuram.*—In the Pulivendla taluk the distress reached the well-to-do persons who were able for some time to make shift for themselves. Signs were not wanting of deterioration of physique amongst those of the more respectable classes who were at last forced to come on relief. There has been a marked increase in the number of men on relief and the disproportion between men and women began to disappear at a later stage of the existence of this camp—an additional test of the reality of distress.

(2) *Peddapasupula.*—At my first inspection I found 152 workers in a weak and anæmic condition; this condition being chiefly met with among boys, girls and young women.

(3) *Gopavaram.*—From the first the general physical condition of the workers was considered bad. Three per cent. of the strength of the men were in poor condition. The general physical condition of the women was considered worse than that of the men, for I found quite 30 per cent. of the women in a low physical condition. This state of things was considered as an index of distress in the Proddatur taluk, which had in all eight famine camps. The physical condition of the children was considered below par. This camp presented the worst collection of men, women and children I have seen in any camp.

(4) *Cuddapah Town.*—The physical condition of the workers has been, on the whole, fair. About 5 per cent. were suffering from anæmia, debility, dropsy, malarial fever and enlarged spleen—all the usual complaints of Cuddapah town.

(5) *Bollavaram.*—The physical condition of the workers from the first and for a long time had been bad, though not a single case of scorbutus was detected.

(6) *Yerragudipad.*—I found nearly 5 per cent. in a bad state of health, suffering from anæmia, debility, dropsy and enlarged spleen—the usual complaints of Cuddapah.

(7) *Chinnadandlur.*—The general physical condition of the workers was pronounced bad, about 4 per cent. were in a low physical condition.

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(8) *Lavanur* (*Anantapuram*).—At my first inspection the strength was 2,883, and out of this number 192, or nearly 6·5 per cent., were in a weak, anæmic and debilitated condition, while the general physical condition of the workers was fair. A large number of very old men, women and cripples were present.

(9) *Regaddepalle* (*Talla-Proddatur*).—At my first inspection the strength was 1,711, and out of this number 131, or nearly 8 per cent., were in a weak, anæmic and debilitated condition, while the general physical condition of the workers was considered bad. A large number of very old men and women were present. I considered the health and physical condition of the workers of this camp to be taken as an index of distress prevailing in the neighbourhood, and considered these were just taken in time to prevent them getting into a worse condition.

Light task and generous wages were productive in bringing about a better state of things. Taken as a whole, I consider the relief workers have been sent back to their usual avocation in life in a much better state of health and physique than they were at the commencement of relief works.

On the appearance of cholera in villages supplying workers, the District Medical and Sanitary Officer and his medical staff visited the affected places to render all assistance in their power, and to advise the people to observe simple rules of sanitation and to render medical aid. It speaks well for the sanitation of the various camps that, considering there were in all 32 famine camps with a maximum strength of 107,132 relief workers, and that cholera in an epidemic form was prevailing in this district for nearly seven months, that there were only 42 cases of cholera with 10 deaths. In this connection, it should be borne in mind that the physical condition of the famine stricken and the nature of their environment are such as to present less chances of resistance to the cholera, or any other pathogenic microbe, than may be expected of a population in a normal state of nutrition and living under ordinary hygienic conditions.

Every camp had medical aid provided for it. Two dispensary sheds were constructed in each camp, one for men and one for women. A few camps had also "maternity sheds." Every provision was made for the care and treatment of patients.

There were in all 6 in-patients and 18,491 out-patients treated in the famine dispensary camps, with an average daily sick of 94·69. Civil Medical Form No. 1 shows in detail the number treated under the various diseases. The so-called "Famine diseases" are—dysentery, scurvy, debility and anæmia, diarrhœa, dyspepsia and ulcers. The numbers admitted into the famine relief dispensaries in the Cuddapah district for the above named diseases are—dysentery 271 (equal to 0·2 per cent. of strength of relief workers), scurvy 2 (equal to ·002 per cent. of strength of relief workers), debility and anæmia 79 (equal to ·07 per cent. of strength of relief workers), dyspepsia 94 (equal to ·09 per cent. of strength of relief workers), ulcers 4,008 (equal to 4 per cent. of relief workers), but a very large number of these ulcers were the outcome of accidents.

Consolidated return of the Famine Relief Camps at Cuddapah district for 1896-97.

Number of beds available . . { M. / F. } *Nil.*

In and Out-Patients treated for the various diseases with their results.

	Diseases.	In-Patients. Total treated.*	Number cured.	Number relieved.	Number discharged otherwise.	Died.	Out-Patients. Attended in person.	Attended by proxies.	Total.	Total, in and out-patients.
General diseases.	Small-pox	...	...	...	...	...	31	...	31	31
	Cholera	1	...	...	...	1	42	...	42	43
	Dysentery	...	...	...	...	...	271	...	271	271
	Malarial fevers †	...	...	...	...	...	1,194	...	1,194	1,194
	Primary syphilis ‡	...	...	...	...	...	20	...	20	20
	Secondary syphilis ‡	...	...	...	...	...	101	...	101	101
	Gonorrhœa §	...	...	...	...	...	159	...	159	159
	Scurvy	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	2
	Worms	...	...	...	...	...	199	...	199	199
	Debility and anæmia	...	...	...	...	...	79	...	79	79
	Rheumatic affections ‖	...	...	...	...	...	2,546	...	2,546	2,546
	Tuberculous diseases ¶	...	...	...	...	...	29	...	29	29
	Leprosy	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	10	10
	All other general diseases	...	...	...	...	...	294	...	294	294
Local diseases.	Diseases of the nervous system	...	...	...	...	...	547	...	547	547
	Do. do. eye	...	...	...	...	...	2,353	...	2,353	2,353
	Do. do. ear	...	...	...	...	...	628	...	628	628
	Do. do. nose	...	...	...	...	...	66	...	66	66
	Do. do. circulatory system	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	3	3
	Do. do. lungs	...	...	...	...	...	23	...	23	23
	Other diseases of the respiratory system	1	...	...	1	...	381	...	381	382
	Diarrhœa	...	...	...	...	...	157	...	157	157
	Dyspepsia	...	...	...	...	...	94	...	94	94
	Diseases of the liver	...	...	...	...	...	24	...	24	24
	Other diseases of the digestive system	3	3	...	...	...	1,556	...	1,556	1,559
	Diseases of the spleen	...	...	...	...	...	68	...	68	68
	Other diseases of the lymphatic system	...	...	...	...	...	55	...	55	55
	Goitre	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Diseases of the urinary system	...	...	...	...	...	35	...	35	35
	Soft chancre	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Other diseases of the generative system * *	...	...	...	...	...	46	...	46	46
	Diseases of the organs of locomotion	...	...	...	...	...	47	...	47	47
	Diseases of the connective tissue	...	...	...	...	...	348	...	348	348
	Ulcers	...	...	...	...	...	4,008	...	4,008	4,008
	Other diseases of the skin	...	...	...	...	...	832	...	832	832
	All other local diseases	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	7	7
	General injuries	...	...	...	...	...	34	...	34	34
	Local injuries	1	1	...	...	...	1,985	...	1,985	1,986
	Poisons	...	...	...	...	...	207	...	207	207
	No appreciable disease	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	10	10
	Total	6	4	...	1	1	18,491	...	18,491	18,497
	Average daily sick	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	94·69	94·69

* Should not include those that continued under treatment from the previous month, except for the first month of the year when those remaining at the last month of the preceding year should be included.

† *Malarial fevers.*—To include malarial cachexia and ague cake. Non-malarial fevers to be entered against 'All other general diseases.'

‡ *Primary and secondary syphilis.*—To include all affection, general or local, due to the syphilitic virus.

§ *Gonorrhœa.*—To include all affections, general or local, due to the gonorrhœal virus. The entries against 'Primary syphilis,' 'Secondary syphilis,' 'Gonorrhœa' and 'Soft chancre' will therefore include all venereal diseases.

‖ *Rheumatic affections.*—To include 59 Rheumatism and 778 Neuralgia. Rheumatic fever to be entered against 'All other general diseases.'

¶ *Tuberculous diseases.*—To include 'Scrofula' and 334 Tuberculous Phthisis.

* * *Other diseases of the generative system.*—To include buboes due to soft chancre.

Note.—This form is applicable only to Lunatic Asylums and Famine Camps.

The following table exhibits the mortality and actual causes of it; and this bill of mortality will furnish the only criterion that every effort was put forth to save life. There were no deaths from starvation :—

Disease.	Number.	Remarks.
Small-pox	1	Most of the fatal cases occurred amongst infants and young children.
Diarrhœa	3	
Pyæmia	1	
Epilepsy	2	
Cholera	10	It will be noted that there have been no deaths from so called "Famine diseases."
Ague	1	
Convulsions	1	
Simple continued fever	1	The three deaths from diarrhœa and the one death from debility occurred in very young infants.
Sunstroke	2	
Debility	1	
Total	23	

Eighty-eight inspections were made by me showing an average of nearly three inspections for each camp. As I had received assistance in my routine duties at head-quarters, I was enabled personally to inspect all the localities in which relief operations were conducted, and to give my time and energies to the supervision of the sanitary and medical arrangements connected with famine relief camps in my district. Particular attention was paid to the kitchens. I made it a special duty personally to supervise and direct the medical subordinates in their work.

Relief was tendered promptly and before the people began to lose strength from want of food; and needful steps were taken to induce all destitute persons able to work to resort, as early as possible, to relief works.

During the hot weather months, while the distress was severe, the saving of life and the maintenance of health and strength took precedence of everything. When distress decreased and the rains had fallen, and prospects were assured, greater heed to the need for economy was considered the first duty, relief workers did not remain any longer on the works than was necessary, and so returned to their homes and ordinary avocations, and so closing of relief works in this district was not premature. The famine in this district is over, and about 110,000 persons have been tided over a period of want, both of employment and of food, and have now returned to their normal occupations in health and strength. It will be found that our measure of sympathy with our distressed fellows, when the distress was severe, and our promptitude in closing relief when the distress was over, will bear favourable comparison with those of other Provinces of the Empire.

With regard to Kitchens.—All that were in need and had no objections to eat in kitchens were admitted and fed. There were no deaths from starvation. The food given was sufficient in quantity as long as the rations prescribed in section 122 of the Famine Code were given. But when this was reduced to the scale given in section 120, after receipt of G.O. No. 473, dated 18th June 1897, there was a cry everywhere and men, women and children asked for more. The majority of the people who resorted to kitchens were Malas and Madigas.

In the case of central kitchens, they were kept in charge of ill-paid subordinates, who could not be expected to be honest. Consequently there was room for misappropriation under various pretexts; the chief of which was overstating the number fed. In order to secure economy, better class of men should be appointed as kitchen superintendents.

Grain-doles.—The work of distribution was satisfactory on the whole. Relief was given only to the deserving people, and that in time. People who were unable to attend kitchens owing to distance, caste or other valid objections were admitted to this form of relief.

In the case of the above two, the administration of relief was successful with due regard to economy.

As regards relief works, however, they were made as comfortable as possible to the labourers, even more comfortable than their homes. The labouring and the landless classes who were in need of employment, were all provided, and when the hot weather commenced, the stringency in the conduct of relief measures having been a little relaxed owing to the extreme heat of the Ceded districts, the smaller pattadars, who by that time had exhausted their stocks, joined the works. But as all persons were admitted to work without exception, there were on the works some pattadars, who were not really in need.

With the advent of rains, however, greater rigidity was enforced, when only the really needy were on the works.

If, therefore, there was any sacrifice of economy, it was only during the hot season when several concessions were allowed under orders of Government, experience having shown that such concessions could not have very well been withheld with regard to the interests of the relief workers.

(3) *Advice as to the measures and methods of working which seem likely to prove most effective in future in these two respects.*—A special chapter in the Famine Code should be devoted to the sanitation of famine relief camps. To this end I submit the following :—

Our first care is the importance of limiting, as far as possible, the careless disposal of excreta, and arrangements made for the correct conservancy of night-soil on famine works. Towards this end a recognized place for defæcation should be marked out, and means employed to ensure that such sites be uniformly used—measures that would ensure disposal of fæcal matter without handling to be employed, and this can be arranged for by the use of the movable trench system, as nitrification proceeds actively only within the first 18 inches of soil and that, indeed, the most active change occurs within the first 6 inches from the surface; consequently movable trenches, 1 foot deep, 9 inches in breadth and 15 feet long with tatty screens be constructed, and after defæcation the person concerned should cover the mass with dry-earth derived from the excavation; so that it should be neither offensive to sight nor smell. Water for ablution be brought by the famine worker in the lotah from the works. On the appearance of cholera in villages supplying workers, the District Medical and Sanitary Officer and his medical staff should visit the affected places to render all assistance in their power, and to advise the people to observe simple rules of sanitation and to render medical aid.

Every care be taken to secure that water-supply sources should be so arranged as to prevent contamination by any method. Where wells are used, the abolition of the use of the steps be insisted upon, and some form of pulleys be fixed at the surface level, and a general guard be stationed at the well. Where flowing water (rivers) is used, portions be marked off by flags for drinking purposes, the drinking place being fixed up stream. In some instances numerous pot wells must be sunk in the sandy bed. Wherever possible, casks, mounted on wheels and drawn by men, be employed. It should be insisted on that head coolies be responsible for seeing that the water for their respective gangs be kept correctly covered as soon as water had been withdrawn by any person. On no account should workers be allowed to dip their own utensils or hands into the storage vessels. A special small-pox shed and a cholera shed be constructed in each camp.

To prevent the possibility of the recipients of grain doles receiving relief of more than one kind fraudulently such as receiving grain doles on the appointed day in the village and again food in kitchen or wages in a weak gang on the work, it is proposed that the reddy of each village should send out to the officer in charge of the work and to the kitchen superintendent a list of persons admitted to relief by grain-doles; in the subjoined form—

Name. Sex. Age. Father's name.

A similar list should be sent when names are struck out.

The scale of rations in the Famine Code leaves no margin for purchase of fuel. An allowance for this purpose must be made. C and D wages never to be admitted. The conditions essential to the hygienic suitability of food are

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(1) that it should contain all the elementary substances which the body itself includes, (2) that these should be combined into certain forms which experience has shown to be necessary to efficient nutrition, (3) that the total quantity should be sufficient for the wants of the body, according to varying circumstances of exertion, climate, etc., and (4) that the classes into which science and experience have taught us to divide aliments should be present in certain definite proportion to each other. Many Physiologists have attempted to determine by observation and experiment the quantity of nitrogen necessary to health in different circumstances. The results agree as closely as could have been expected, considering the complexity of the problem; and the following numbers may be taken as sufficiently accurate for practical purposes. The unavoidable internal work of the body of an adult human being, that is, the movements necessary for respiration, circulation and digestion, require a minimum of 138 grains of nitrogen in 24 hours for their maintenance. In a state of idleness of mind and body the least amount compatible with health may be stated as 200 grains for a man and 180 for a woman; anything below these quantities being "starvation," especially if any work is to be done. In A wage, given 2¾ lbs. of grain (say rice), the amount of nitrogen in this diet amounts to 178½ grains (at 68 grains per lb. of rice). The quantity of nutriment necessary to healthy life varies with sex, age, climate, individual peculiarities, nature of the food and degree of exertion. Women on the whole require less food than men, but the difference depends rather on the last mentioned cause than on sex. Cold climates and cold seasons demand more food than hot, chiefly on account of the greater expenditure for the maintenance of animal heat. More exertion also will probably be made. Indian dietaries should be arranged with regard to this principle. The quantity for male European adults is said to be from 34 to 46 ounces of what is commonly called "solid" food and 50 to 80 ounces of water. The A wage contains 42 ounces. The quantity of food necessary in any particular case fluctuates according to the degree of exertion. An average adult at average work requires from one-twenty-sixth to one-twentieth of his own weight of food, including drink, in 24 hours. Given the average weight of a famine relief worker to be 90 lbs he would require 3·4 lbs of food (including drink at 5 pints per day).

(*d*) *Other recommendations or opinions thought likely to be useful in future famines.*—Workers classified according to age. Light tasks for weak and debilitated. Milk recommended for nursing mothers and children when found necessary. That Famine Code, chapter VIII, section 120, should be more explicit.

The above diets fail to meet full requirements for correct nutrition. No allowance for wastage (by husking and cleaning). There is a deficit as to purchasing the bare rations below the A wage, whilst in all a margin for fuel does not exist; still less is it possible to obtain the diet on the average daily wage. There is no margin to cover the villager as against cusbah prices. Fines and deductions made a great effect on total nutrient value of a day's wage. There is an absence of vegetables in the diet. The C wage should be abolished for tasked labour. D wage is absolutely unsuitable. That food-grain lost 10 per cent. by wastage. As regards wages, no distinction to be made between men and women; and children of twelve years of age to be counted as children and not as adults. The individual workers composing a gang are first classified with reference to their age, and the task of the gang is then fixed with reference to the number of units it contains.

Boys of twelve years of age should be counted as children and not as "adults."

Many of the workers come from a distance of four miles and thus have 8 miles walking to and fro; and their task imposes on them an equivalent of 9 miles walk *plus* a load every time they walk. Some deduction for mileage, therefore, should be made from their labour task. This is only necessary in case the relief workers do not live on the relief works. The initial expense of building huts, etc., for relief workers to live on the works; the extra staff that will be needed to supervise a big relief camp, will largely increase the general expenditure; and will be more and above to what will be needed to pay workers a distance allowance.

Small sheds for pregnant women in case of accidents be constructed.

(*President*).—Dr. Thomas, I think you are the District Medical and Sanitary Officer, Cuddapah?—Yes.

During the whole time of the famine?—Yes.

You have known Cuddapah long?—I was sent up there at the beginning of the famine, and I am still there.

Have you served in any other districts in Madras?—Yes, I have served in other districts.

For how many years?—I have 19 years' service.

Your recommendation is that workers should be classified according to age?—Yes.

How do you propose to carry that out?—All over 16 years of age I should count as adult males and as adult females. I would make no difference between males and females. Under 16 and above 12, I should give them three-fourths the wage of an adult. Between 7 and 12 I should give them half the wage of an adult. In all three classes, I would make no difference between the sexes.

Below 7, what would you do?—I would put them into kitchens.

Supposing kitchens were not available, what proportion of relief would you give them?—I should keep them in their own homes and give them about one-fourth the wage of an adult. That depends not so much upon the sex as upon exertion in my opinion.

You say that in the Code wage no allowance is made for husking and cleaning, that the Code does not say whether grain is husked or unhusked. What do you mean?—As a matter of fact, in camps in Cuddapah unhusked grain is distributed. I made an experiment at a camp called Gopavaram and found that on account of the grain being unhusked there was a loss of 10% and the same was at once reported to the Sanitary Commissioner.

You say that in the Code no allowance is made for husking. You say later on that food-grain lost 10% by wastage?—Yes.

How is it found?—I gave a certain quantity of grain, say cholum; I weighed it out afterwards. I took it to the kitchen and after it had gone through the process of cleaning, and was sufficiently powdered for boiling purposes, I again weighed it and found it 10% less in weight.

Will you please describe the process of husking cholum?—First of all we put it into a big mortar and pound it, so that the outer shell is entirely removed by that process. Then it is winnowed by a sieve. After the winnowing process is over, the grain is used for cooking.

In the case of ragi is the process quite different or the same?—The process is quite different, for there is the grinding between two stones. It is a sort of mill process. It is passed through very fine muslin and ragi comes out in very fine powder, which is then prepared as food.

You say the treatment of ragi takes much longer?—Yes, much longer.

Did the people use ragi much in the late scarcity in the Cuddapah district?—Only to a very little extent, cholum being the chief article of diet.

Have you any knowledge of Northern India?—No, I have never been there.

You say that children under 12 and above 7 should receive not less than half wage, but the Code fixes the minimum at one-fourth. Do you think the Code minimum is too low?—Yes.

Is that the result of your experience?—Yes. From the 1st November up to the 7th February I made my observations watching the effect of the low ration on the children who were originally given the ¼ scale of dietary, while most of the adults were shown in the C or D class. I noticed a distinct deterioration of physique. I am the only District Medical Officer who brought to the notice of the Famine Commissioner that I disapproved of the C and D wages as being unsuitable for workers. In the same way there was a certain amount of deterioration among the children, being the result of the low dietary of ¼ instead of ½ which the Government was pleased to sanction.

Are you speaking of the children at the kitchen or at the works?—I am only talking of children who were put to work between the ages 7 and 12, and I am not talking of children who were at kitchens.

Only a small part of the Cuddapah district was affected?—Yes. Only 4 taluks out of 11. The whole district is divided into 11 taluks and the total area of the district was 2,556 square miles, while the affected area was 1,328 square miles, just about half.

Why was the rest of the district comparatively unaffected?—Certain of the soil was much richer. For instance, Pulliampet taluk was richer. The rainfall in Badvel and

Siddavattam taluks was much larger than that of the other 4 taluks.

Outside the taluks that were affected, was there much privation among the poorer classes?—No privation.

Did any people from the rest of the unaffected part of the district come to the relief works or come to the kitchen?—Very few from Badvel taluk or Pulliampet taluk came to the works. I noticed when we opened works in the Cuddapah taluk itself a few came from Rayachoti, but the proportion was exceedingly small.

Did prices vary much between the affected taluks and the unaffected taluks?—They did. In the affected taluks the average price of rice was about 5·2 seers a rupee, cholum was 8·54 seers and ragi was 11, while the average price in the unaffected taluks was rice 9, cholum 13, ragi 14 to 15.

That is a great difference. Why did not traders carry grain into the affected districts?—The means of communication are not as good as they might be. The transporting of grain from the further ends of the district to the affected taluks raised the prices.

There was scarcity in 1891 and 1892?—To a slight extent.

Did that affect Cuddapah?—Yes, sir. I have just got a table to show this. In 1891 and 1892 the average price of rice was 9·3, whereas in 1896-97 it was 5·2. Cholum in 1891 and 1892 was about 16·3 and in the present famine 8·54. Ragi in 1891 and 1892 was about 24 and this year it was 11.

Then this year's scarcity was much more severe?—Yes, it was, sir.

Was that on account of greater failure of crops or on account of export to Northern India?—Due chiefly to the deficient amount of rainfall. The north-east monsoon of 1895 was almost a failure and the north-east and south-west monsoons of 1896 were almost the same. The two monsoons in 1897 were also a failure, though the south-west monsoon in the month of September began to make up for deficient rainfall.

You say there were 32 famine relief camps in the district?—Yes, that was the maximum number at one time.

Were they very near each other?—I think on an average there was a distance of 6 miles between the adjacent camps.

What classes came on to the relief works?—Chiefly the labouring classes of people who could not get work elsewhere.

Were they mostly women and children?—At the commencement and starting of the relief works, the proportion of women and children was greater, but as distress progressed, the disproportion between men and women became less.

Do you know why men did not come first?—Several reasons were given. Some of them said that they had to stay at their own houses to protect the cattle, to protect the very feeble of the household and to protect what little property they had at the time, and also that to a certain extent some were able to do work as diggers.

Were kitchens attached to relief works?—There were kitchens for children and the infirm who were present on the relief works. They were distinct from central kitchens.

How many central kitchens had you?—I do not remember the exact number.

They were opened as village relief?—They came under village relief.

What sort of people attended village relief kitchens?—Malas and Madigas.

Caste people refused to go?—Yes, they refused to go.

You had nothing to do with the distribution of grain doles?—No, sir.

Had you sheds at the relief works for people?—Yes.

Did they use the sheds as permanent residences?—Very few indeed; it was more the exception than the rule.

What is your opinion about the nursing mothers? How are they to be treated?—I should not bring them on works at all, but keep them in their homes and put them on village relief.

Up to what age of the child would you call them nursing mothers?—Up to the sixth or seventh month.

Did the people eat on the works or eat at their homes after returning from their works?—My own observation has been that many of them brought food with them, say, cholum cakes, and at them ate the time of interval between 12 and 2. After the work was over, they went to their villages and cooked their food.

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Did you see any cooking on the works?—I did not see any cooking on the works, except that I saw a small number who lived near the works. But that is an extremely small number as compared with the total.

Some officers have given evidence before us, recommending that in case of a future famine there should be a few large works to which all able-bodied men, women and children should be referred for relief, the infirm, the very old and the young and the blind being relieved in their villages. Do you think able-bodied people would go to a distance on the works?—I think if you take them away from their homes within 25 or 30 miles, they would. I do not know if they would go further. They are averse to leaving their villages.

Labouring classes?—Yes.

Will small pattadars go too?—They will, sir.

That is your theory, I suppose, but you have not seen it tried?—I have seen on our village relief works people coming 7, 8, 9 or 10 miles. Some of them stayed there. I can mention 2 or 3 works where a few lived. The number will be about 100.

You say there ought to be a margin for the purchase of fuel. Do you think people would buy the fuel in the villages or would they keep the allowance to themselves?—I think they would buy the fuel. It is not easy for a large number of people to go about picking up fuel.

(*Mr. Higham*).—Will there be only one class for children?—There will be three classes:—Children between 7 and 12, grown up ones between 12 and 16 and children above 16.

You say that all females between 12 and 16 would only be given ¾ths of a woman's task?—Yes.

Is that done throughout the district?—Yes.

Were there any orders to that effect?—I am not aware of any.

I have heard of a ¾ths task being given to girls between 12 and 16. Were they tasked differently?—Yes. They had ¾ths task and got full wages. I saw a great many registers in the Cuddapah district, but there were no arrangements made for tasking the girls differently.

(*Mr. Holderness*).—Do you consider all the wages below the A wage insufficient?—A and B.

You accept A and B as sufficient?—Yes.

You would still make some allowance for fuel?—Yes, I would.

You call wages A and B generous?—Fairly generous.

I mean you use the word "generous." You say "light task and generous wages were productive in bringing about a better state of things." You say that A and B brought about this better state of things?—From November to December there were the C and D wages, when there was distinct deterioration.

When A and B were given, was that sufficient?—Yes.

If that is so, why should you want to give them a further allowance for firewood?—When I say sufficient, it is sufficient as a scale of dietary.

Looking at the question practically, did A and B workers retain their health?—Yes.

Not only retained but they improved?—Yes.

Is there any necessity from a practical point of view for giving an allowance for firewood?—Why not. Our view of helping them is not only to maintain them in good health, but also to give them something more if possible than A and B wages. They absolutely got nothing over.

You think they did not save?—I don't think they saved.

You add that villagers had no margin against cusba prices?—Yes, from the very beginning.

Later they got it?—Because instead of adhering to the Code which says that the wage should be calculated according to the cusba, it was calculated according to the price ruling in the nearest village, which made a difference. Village prices were generally a little higher than the cusba prices.

You say that village prices are generally higher than the cusba prices?—Yes, they must be.

Why must?—Because the merchant has to recoup himself the expenditure he incurred in the transport of grain from the head-quarters of the taluk into the interior villages.

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Is there no grain dealing between the villagers themselves. Does not one villager sell grain to another?—Yes.

Does not he get it from the fields?—Yes, to a certain extent.

In that case there is no cost of carriage?—Yes. But during the time of distress the fields did not yield anything.

Then you say there was no grain?—Yes, very little if there was any.

Did any portion of the coolies go to the cusba to buy grain?—No.

That would be too far?—Most of our coolies were away from the head-quarters.

Have they not Sunday holidays?—Yes.

Could not they go on those days?—That will be too far to go. There were few relief works at Jummalamadugu, Proddatur and Pulivendla.

Were the majority of works far away from the cusba?—Yes.

You say that your relief workers were as comfortable as possible, even more comfortable than in their homes. Do you think the labourers were more comfortable on the works than they were in their homes?—Yes.

When you say that C and D wages were given to labourers at that time, were fines frequently imposed?—Not much.

Was the task a heavy one?—No. The task was not heavy, but the people did not receive their full wages. According to the classification, there were a few who were put on A and B, but a large majority got the C and D wages.

They got the C and D wages in full and they were not subject to deductions on account of task?—No deduction was made.

Men were in a minority?—Yes, in the beginning.

Were these men earning wages at home?—I am not prepared to give an opinion on that.

Do you think that the collective earnings of a family were larger than what they got in ordinary years?—I don't think so.

How much would it amount to in a family of 5 members if they were all on the works?—I should put it down to 8 or 9 rupees.

Do you think it excessive?—By *no* means excessive.

Are there people in Government employ drawing less than that?—Our taluk peons get R7 a month, but they get famine batta.

I think there are peons on R6?—I think some are on R6.

What is the wage of a horse-keeper?—It varies between R6 and R7.

Did horse-keepers and peons send their children on to works?—I know they did, particularly so in the Cuddapah town, which was the only place where anyone can form an idea.

You say that a man earning R6 or R7 a month was sending his children on to the relief works?—Yes.

And his wife too?—I don't know that. Generally the wife of a syce is a grass-cutter and she would get some allowance for it.

Was there any exceptional mortality in the district?—In the famine year there was, but in my own opinion it was not due to famine.

What is the mortality when compared with the normal?—The average death-rate ratio per mille for the district being 22·1, for the year 1897 it has been 25·89, increase of nearly 5·7.

Increase of nearly 5·7?—Yes, due to a great deal of cholera for seven months in a severe epidemic form.

If you deducted the cholera mortality, would the mortality be normal?—Almost normal.

Did you see any unusual symptoms of illness or sickliness amongst the people?—I did not.

Was scurvy frequent?—I have not seen a single case of scurvy in the whole famine.

Have you seen emaciated babies?—Not in the Cuddapah district.

Have you had any orphans left on your hands?—Not one.

Do you know anything of the weavers? Had you anything to do with the special relief to them?—Nothing. In my ordinary duties I went to see their physical condition.

Did you get any weavers on the works?—I did not notice them.

(*Mr. Bose*).—Do village people generally buy fuel?—Yes, they do so to a slight extent. They do not depend entirely upon picking sticks though they certainly do it.

In villages?—Yes.

Do they generally get much in that way?—Yes, a certain quantity they pick up, but the rest is supplemented by purchase.

(*Dr. Richardson*).—You said just now you had seen no case of scurvy. I notice that in one of the paragraphs of your note you say that among the numbers admitted into the famine relief dispensaries in the Cuddapah district there were 2 cases of scurvy?—I had not seen them myself. I had a monthly statement submitted to me. I gave my subordinates as a guide the leading symptoms of scurvy, so that they might let me know as soon as they discovered any case of that disease. There was one in the month of June at one of the camps which was noticed by one of my subordinates and the same man noticed another in the month of July. I went over there to see them after a fortnight, but I could not detect any trace of it. I gave my subordinate the benefit of his diagnosis and reported them as scurvy, though I had not personally seen them myself.

You say there were 32 famine relief camps in the district, and in 9 of these people in bad condition were admitted. Were they in bad condition before they came on the works or after they came on the works?—Before they came on the works. The normal condition of the people of Cuddapah is unhealthy.

Then you did not mean to say that they deteriorated in health after coming?—Certainly not.

Their ill-condition would not have been prevented even if the relief works had been taken in hand earlier?—No.

Was the medical aid provided sufficient during the famine?—Quite sufficient in my district.

You saw no case of death from starvation?—Not a single case, nor has any been reported to me.

Nor any case of what are called famine diseases?—No, I made a note that there were 3 cases of diarrhœa, but they were all children under 14 days of age, all little ones.

Not only were the measures taken sufficient to prevent falling off in health or mortality, but you say they have returned to their normal occupation with health and strength. You say that they were in bad health when they first came on the works, so far as 9 works were concerned, and they returned in good condition?—Yes.

You also give reasons for considering the C and D wages as insufficient?—Yes.

You say that in your opinion they should be struck out altogether as at present constituted?—Yes.

You say that the people in receipt of those wages steadily fell off?—Yes, I do.

You recommend milk for nursing mothers and children?—Yes.

Would you prescribe them milk in famine?—You can give them tinned milk.

You cannot give fresh milk?—No. It is not easy to provide it.

(*Mr. Holderness*).—You recommend that in future children should be classed as children and not as adults?—Yes.

Have they been classed as adults as regards wages?—Yes, those that were between 12 and 16.

How would you class these?—As ¾ths adults.

Then they were over-classed in the late famine?—Yes, they were given full wages instead of ¾ths wage.

In that way they were over-classed and generously treated?—Yes.

(*Mr. LeFanu*).—You told Mr. Holderness that people were more comfortable on the works than they were in their homes?—Yes.

What do you mean to convey by that?—I mean every comfort was given to them. In hot weather they were protected from the sun in being provided with shelter. The water-supply was looked after. Their conservancy arrangements were properly made. None of these arrangements do they get in their homes.

In their homes they have their shelter?—Yes.

Conservancy is a matter of indifference to them?—That may be, but we made it better for them.

Mr. Holderness may be under the impression that they were provided with iced whisky and soda—They had a better water-supply.

Were you with the Sanitary Commissioner when Mr. Higham went to Cuddapah?—No.

You know that the Sanitary Commissioner showed Mr. Higham about half a dozen cases of scorbutus in a kitchen in Cuddapah?—I heard he did. That is only Dr. King's opinion. I think I am in a better position to give my opinion. Dr. King has only seen the camp once, but I have seen the camp a dozen times.

I think you told Mr. Holderness that you approve of the distance test?—Nobody has asked me about it.

I believe it was the President who asked you whether the people would go to a distance and live on works. How long after the commencement of the distress would they go?—They would not go at once.

How long after?—They would wait for a month or two and at the end of that period they will go.

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What distance would they go to?—25 or 30 miles.

Would they take their wives and children with them?—Yes. Necessity would force them to do it.

Old fathers and mothers?—Very likely they would.

Where were you in 1877?—At home as a student.

In 1891-92?—On regimental duty.

You said that the difference in the mortality during a normal year and the present year was accounted for by cholera?—Yes.

Is the remaining mortality just the normal?—Yes.

Was not fever mortality very much less than usual last year in the Cuddapah district?—It is about the same.

Can you say as a fact it was or was not?—It was.

Can you quote the figures?—I cannot; I have not got the figures.

Mr. R. W. D'E. ASHE, Senior Assistant Collector, Ganjam, called in and examined.

Mr. R. W. D'E. Ashe.

16th Feb. 1898.

I put in a written statement of evidence.

I should like, in the first place, to make a few remarks about this district, Ganjam, and its peculiar circumstances.

There are two principal races—Telugus and Uriyas. The latter predominate in the north, the former in the south. But they are mixed throughout.

The Uriyas are full of prejudices and very obstinate. The Telugus much less so. The Telugus help each other more. I do not think that Telugus who object to relief works from caste ideas will be left so helpless as to come on relief in any considerable numbers.

Perhaps some of class C workers—goldsmiths, carpenters, etc.,—may ask for grain doles. I do not think they will work.

The Uriyas are not so charitable, and many of them want aid, but will not work.

Also the Uriyas object to kitchens and to residence on works.

The Telugus have taken up these Uriya ideas to a large extent.

Some low classes absolutely refused to work.

I now give my evidence divided into the heads indicated.

A.

DEPARTURES FROM PRESCRIPTIONS OF THE MADRAS FAMINE CODE.

I.—Works.

1. I think test works were intended, if successful, to be abandoned and labour centralised at relief works. This was practically impossible in Ganjam owing to the dislike of the people to leaving their villages.

Knowing this we did not construct sheds till late in the day and then they failed utterly. I only heard of one instance of a few people stopping at works.

2. A district task-table was compiled. It worked excellently. I have no remarks to offer on this.

3. Boys of 12 to 16 years were treated as equal to 2 units, but given full wages. This is right and fair I hold. Experts say they need the food and they work better than adult men. Adult men are the worst workers. I believe they did not like the small difference between their wages and a woman's. At times I think they certainly lived on their women's earnings. The Waltair Famine Conference passed a note on this.

4. The general tendency to reduce tasks went too far, I think.

5. Distance allowance was given. It gave rise to some difficulties and irregularities. It does away with any hope of residence on works.

6. A wage was given to labourers for dependants. This must depend on action with regard to kitchens in general.

7. After a time wages were calculated on ½ rice and ½ ragi instead of ½ rice and ¼ ragi.

This gave rise to a great increase in workers. I think the correct medium would be about ½ to ¾. Also "other items" were taken into calculation, not grain alone.

I am altogether against "other items." It increases trouble at the time and in audit to a vast extent. The people do not want "other items." They exchange them for grain or opium or tobacco. They put the oil in their hair. I would use only food-grains and salt in doles and calculation.

8. The price in the nearest village was substituted in calculation for the price in the cusbah. It is very hard to ascertain the village price. It is not worth while. I advise one price for each taluk.

9. The D class was abolished and C much reduced. I think the C class was the really absent one. At the same time fining was much restricted.

I think the order about fining was open to two interpretations. It is not impossible that the wrong one was taken. At any rate, overseers complained bitterly of their impotence, and I have seen coolies openly idling, as they knew they would get D wages. It may be inferred that the coolie was more satisfied with D wages than he had any right to be. I think these restrictions were wrong.

10. *Gosha* and soi-disant *Gosha* women would not do any work.

II.—Grain doles.

1. "Other items" have been already mentioned.

2. At one time ragi could not be procured and we had to work on rice alone. It did not matter as the prices were the same. But why should we limit ourselves to two sorts of grain. If we had been allowed to give samalu, etc., prices of rice and ragi would, I think, have fallen.

3. I may remark that some people refused either grain or money.

III.—Kitchens.

They were not a success. None but Panchamas, practically, attended, and even they refused most obstinately at first.

It is to be observed, however, that they attended far more freely at the zemindars' kitchens; and quite freely, of course, at chuttrums.

B.

DEGREE OF SUCCESS OF MEASURES ADOPTED.

Life-saving.

I met no cases of death from starvation, except in the pages of the local native organ.

But famine asserted itself in two ways: (1) deaths from cholera or choleraic diarrhœa, and (2) small-pox. The number of famine babies born—

(1) Choleraic diarrhœa or cholera made fearful havoc. One work (Konchana) was, I believe, deserted for a time owing to this.

Mr. R. W. D'E. Ashe.

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I recollect four cases in camp. Two died.

Its appearance was due to bad food taken in preference to Government relief and bad water—the dregs of tanks; its virulence to the fact that famine had brought the people below the proper and normal power of resistance.

(2) If a pregnant woman is not well fed, I believe, her child will prove a famine baby, and from the healthy appearance of mothers of famine babies, I am inclined to think that a mother may scarcely feel the pinch that is so fatal to the prospects of her child. But this is a question for experts. The meagreness of the child may be due to disease.

However, I do not see how cholera mortality and famine babies can be avoided. The people will often not come to relief (other than gratuitous) till they reach a stage when the mischief is done. I think the fact may be accepted.

With regard to economy.

I would rather leave economy on works to Public Works Department officers. I do not feel qualified to speak beyond expressing the opinion that task-work is not so economic as piece-work. But here the question of rainy days and slack supervision comes in.

As to grain dole economy, I have had many well-founded complaints about village officers, and grave grounds for suspecting Circle Inspectors.

I think the system—especially when Government names grains—keeps up prices.

Moreover, I do not think it is at all economic with hill tribes who are accustomed to solopo.

As to kitchens, the village officers and caste heads are opposed to them. Grain doles give them more power.

They are not economical at all. As a rule, they are poorly attended, and practically the whole cost of construction is lost, as miserable prices are realized for the materials.

But they are the only satisfactory form of relief. We can tell who eats the food.

C AND D.

Suggestions.

I have alluded to the peculiarities of the district. It would be of great interest to compare our system with that of Cuttack or other Uriya countries in Bengal.

The problem is, I think, to keep the Uriya alive, whilst asserting our notion of what relief should be, as opposed to his, and paying some regard to economy.

I would like to cite the worst instance I know—the Samanthyas of Ichapur and Sompet; they are a mixture of Savaras and Uriyas, principally the former.

They refused to work; they refused to go to kitchens; they refused to let their children go; and when we gave their starving children doles, they ate the doles and carefully kept their children in a suitably starving state. Mr. Crole has alluded to a similar case in this district.

The Uriya objections are three:—

(1) Objection to kitchens.

(2) Objection to residence on works.

(3) Objection to works at all.

We may either give in on all points, which appears to me a most dangerous precedent; or we may fight them, probably inflicting a little loss of life upon them.

If we decide on fighting them, I would suggest the following measures for consideration:—

Residence on Works.

I think test works should be only such as are suited for central works, or such as will naturally soon exhaust themselves. The people do not understand leaving a work near the village for one further away. But if the near work is finished, it is different. For the central works, I would have them hutted from the beginning and given slightly more favourable rates than small local works.

Objection to all Works.

We really should not give in to this. I recommend great severity with classes like the Samanthyas. I hear some of them, towards Ganjam, did work ultimately after refusing for a long time.

Some sort of special legislation is needed where they starve their children. No Magistrate could convict of anything of course. Our only hope would be to remove the children forcibly to kitchens or homes. I can cite an instance.

Perhaps a male kitchen kept under Government superintendence with Samanthya cooks might succeed, and similarly a women's and children's separate one.

Objection to Kitchens.

I believe there is no ground for this in Hindu Law. But it exists. I recommend separate enclosures for different Panchama classes, and to allow them to cook for themselves.

I made an experiment about this with good results. I used rice only. Another experiment was made by the Head-Quarters Deputy Collector, also successful.

However, caste people will not come. I would suggest the supply of funds to chuttrums to be supervised within by a Brahmin. Grantees inspected within the chuttrum by any Brahmin officer and outside by any officer. Admission, of course, on note from Circle Inspector or higher officer. The difficulties are not insuperable, I believe.

The whole object is to do away with doles, of course.

But if they must be given, I recommend money doles given by Circle Inspectors. Each Circle Inspector to be a Government servant with not more than 25 villages in his charge, and pay not under R50.

Taluk relief officers should be appointed early; if they cannot be procured, lessen the taluk officer's routine duty and let him devote himself to famine alone. Let taluk relief officers and Circle Inspectors have as little scriptory work as possible.

If we are to yield to the Uriya, which, I trust, we shall not do, I can only suggest the entire abandonment of kitchens and a vigorous carrying out of the above money dole idea. It is more easy to execute, less liable to fraud and fraudulent liberality, and more simple in audit. Besides, I think, it is not so conducive to high prices.

Government depôts are very necessary, I think, partly for distant localities, partly perhaps as a threat.

I think the Waltair Famine Conference is right in its suggestion about the position of Revenue and Public Works Department officers.

In this district panchayats for grain dole inspection must be paid, and are little use at that, I believe.

Inamdar village servants should be put on doles.

(*President*).—Mr. Ashe, you are the Special Assistant Collector at Ganjam?—That is a mistake; I am the Senior Assistant Collector.

Were you there during the whole time of scarcity?—Yes. When it began I was Assistant Collector, and I was put in charge as taluk relief officer of Ganjam and Kallikote. The Acting Senior Assistant Collector got ill and I was put in charge of his division, and when he died I got charge of the division.

Kallikote is the extreme north of Ganjam?—Yes.

Scarcity arose from the failure of the south-west monsoon in 1896?—There was no second monsoon practically.

Was the country affected rice country?—Principally rice.

Is rice the staple food of the country?—Rice and ragi.

Did ragi too fail equally?—Not so much.

At what time is ragi reaped?—About July or August.

The country affected was more or less along the sea?—Chiefly. Gumsu is protected by the Rushikulya project.

When was the Rushikulya project opened?—I think it has been working for the last three years. It is not complete yet.

What river does it take off?—There is a large dam at Russalkonda to a lake five miles in extent, and another is to be built at Surada.

And the rest of the country in Ganjam was not much affected?—I do not think so. The Malayas proper about Russelkonda were not affected, but only a very small proportion in the whole of my division. In Mahandragiri and Singarasa, the Savaras starved considerably and suffered much.

Who are the inhabitants in these Malayas?—Principally Khonds and Savaras.

Are the Savaras people like Khonds?—Khonds are supposed to be Dravidians, but the Savaras are Tellurians.

The Telugus and Uriyas are quite distinct?—Yes.

They do not intermarry?—I do not think they intermarry.

Was it ever proved that people would not go to works at a distance?—Able-bodied men who were not able to get relief were told by me to go to works about ten or fifteen miles distant, but they would not go. The Uriyas objected to having to stay away from their villages. The Telugus had not objected so much, but I think they have taken it from the Uriyas.

Do Uriyas give any reason?—*Mamool*, I think.

Prices began to go up in October, did they not?—I think it was later than that when the rise was marked.

Do you think there were stocks of grain in the country?—Not so much. I think they were less than they used to be. I think the railway has something to do with it. We are an exporting district altogether, as a matter of fact.

Is export by sea or land?—Chiefly by sea. They used the railway very often as far as Ganjam and shipped from there. A great deal goes from Gopalpore, a port of Berhampore.

Do you think that the railway caused them to keep less in store?—Yes, I am inclined to think so.

You know how they store grain? I am talking of puttadars?—They have pits in the ground and coil them with ropes.

When high prices were ruling, did puttadars hold up what they had, or did they sell it?—All through the famine they held up what they had. It was principally the merchants who had it.

I am talking of puttadars?—I think the merchants took from them what they did not consume themselves.

Was there any combination between grain-dealers to keep prices up?—I think there was, but I could give no good reason for it, but that prices went up in a most extraordinary way and they objected to importing grain; on the whole merchants did not take energetic steps to import grain as much as one would expect, when prices were high.

What grain was it that was imported and where did it come from?—Rice and ragi, and I cannot really say where they came from.

Did any come from Orissa?—Some from Orissa.

Very little this year, I suppose?—Yes, I have not got much experience of any of the other years.

You say that the adult men do not like the small difference between their wages and the women's wages. Do you know what is the difference between the wages of a man and a woman?—I think I may say roughly that a woman's wage would be about one anna six pies or one anna nine pies, while a man's wage would be two annas or two annas three pies.

Do you think that the Telugus and Uriyas would do piece-work better?—They like piece-work better. There is less "scamping" about piece-work I think.

You say that at times men lived on their women's earnings. Is it that men stayed away and women were sent to the works?—Yes.

You say wage was given to dependants. You mean dependants on works?—Yes.

Were they children or old people?—Principally children.

Had you kitchens on the works?—We had at most of the works.

Were young children sent to the kitchens?—Children of the lower castes went there, but those of upper castes would not go at all. By upper castes I mean upper portion of the lower castes. People like Haddis and Dandasis who have no caste at all objected to sending their children to the kitchens.

What is the reason given by them?—They say they would lose their caste if they went to a relief kitchen. Among them, one who goes to a relief kitchen is called Chatrokhya, which is a term of abuse. That is as bad a term as one can use.

You say in paragraph 7 of your written statement, "after a time wages were calculated on half rice and half ragi instead of ½th rice and ½th ragi." When was it?—As far as I recollect it was in April. I think it was at the end of April the order came.

You say this gave rise to a great increase of workers?—Yes.

You say it is very hard to ascertain the village price. I suppose in villages there are only one or two shops?—Yes, but very often a good number. Sometimes you cannot get anything in the village and you have to go to another village.

Who are the so-called *Gosha* women; what caste do they belong to?—I mean women of the lowest caste. The Uriyas object to their women being seen and to their doing any work.

In talking of grain doles you suggest samalu; what is it?—It is a light grain which comes in September. The crops of samalu came in while the famine was going on. If we had been allowed to use the samalu, the prices would have been generally considerably lower than what they were.

You say under the same head "people refused either grain or money." What people are you thinking of?—I am thinking of one case I met. He was a low class man belonging to the fishermen section. He looked very starved, and I asked him whether he would go to the kitchen; he said "no." I asked him whether he would have grain dole or money from Government and he said "no"; and I then asked him whether he would have any money from myself; he said "no." He said, "if I cannot get a loan elsewhere I will come and take money from you as a loan." That is due to a pure spirit of independence. Some of them are in that way, but most of the people are perfectly prepared to take grain doles.

Did zamindars generally keep kitchens?—The zamindar of Attagada and Kallikote had kitchens.

Were all comers provided with food at kitchens?—Yes, but the higher castes did not come to the kitchens. It is only the lower classes that come. At Chuttrums, all Brahmins were fed, but it is not quite the same as a kitchen. At Chuttrums there is no test of want.

In what month was it that cholera made severe havoc?—I think right through the famine. I think it was from March to September. The first case was in April and the last case was in September or October.

Did large numbers look as if they were in low condition owing as though to their being underfed?—People on the works looked generally pretty well, and also at the kitchens, but some particular sections of the population looked bad.

Were they the sections kept away from the works?—The Samanthyas looked starved.

Who are Samanthyas?—I think they are principally Savaras. They live in hamlets.

What is their usual character—very quiet?—Yes, they are quiet people, but they are idle. I had not seen them before, but the officer told me that they always looked starved. They were wretched when I saw them.

Did they suffer particularly from cholera?—I got cholera figures for the whole district, but I cannot give them to you for taluks. I took the figures for the three official years preceding the famine. The mortality for this period was 200. The figures for 1896-97 are 14,000.

You give it that cholera or choleraic diarrhœa is due to bad food taken in preference to Government relief. What was the food that they generally took?—I know that some people were using solopo, which is the interior of the bastard sago, and that is a very poor food. I think the cholera was due in part to the bad water they were using.

Do you think that the Uriyas and the Telugus are particularly superstitious and full of caste prejudices about eating?—I know no other population to compare them with. This is the only district that I have been in. I think the Uriyas are more backward than the Telugus, who are much more enlightened.

Are they suspicious about the motives of Government?—I think they were.

Did you hear of any stories as to the motives attributed to Government?—The only thing I heard was that there was a general feeling that the Government was determined to get all their works done at the lowest rates, and they were awfully shy and ran away from the villages where I went to give them gratuitous relief.

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(*Dr. Richardson.*)—What means did you take to protect the water, which you say was very bad? Did you try permanganate of potash?—Yes, that was largely used.

You said that the figures for cholera were 14,000. Do they refer to the whole district?—Yes, for the whole district.

The population of the affected tracts was over a million?—Yes. That is about eleven times the ordinary mortality.

You do not connect cholera directly with famine?—Most decidedly.

As the cause and effect?—Yes. If people were at a proper level of resisting power, and if the food used had been absolutely like that of a good year, I think cholera would have gone off very slightly.

If the things used by the people were bad, they would generate cholera?—There may be something in that, and also cholera might have been imported by pilgrims; but there can be no doubt that the people's resisting power was lowered.

What is it that gave rise to cholera?—That I cannot say. That is a matter for doctors.

(*President.*)—Did you observe a great number of famine babies?—Not many. I observed four. Really famine babies looked more like frogs than human beings, while the mothers were strangely strong looking and stout.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—You said that you saw only four or five famine babies?—Yes.

In ordinary years would you have seen them?—I think I would not see them in any other than a famine year.

Was your attention directed to anything like that?—If there were any such things, I should have noticed them.

In July you had from 70,000 to 80,000 on village relief and on works you had 40,000 to 50,000. Do you think that gratuitous relief was overdone?—I am inclined to think that it was overdone. I cannot see the objection of the people to go to relief works. If people are no longer able to go to relief works, it is only then we must put them on gratuitous relief.

Did you check the gratuitous relief list as much as possible?—Yes.

Who put them on the gratuitous relief?—The Circle Inspectors.

Do you think they have put them on gratuitous relief too early?—Yes. They put on gratuitous relief persons who should not have been put on gratuitous relief at all. They should have been sent to the works. I think the Circle Inspectors have been corrupt in the matter.

What ration did you give in the matter of gratuitous relief? Was it the D ration?—Yes, but it was altered afterwards.

Ultimately you gave one pound of flour. Was it in grain?—One pound of grain and the remainder was made up of other items.

Did you give them separately or did you give them their grain equivalent?—We gave them, besides grain, tamarind, salt, and chillis.

Was it not troublesome?—Yes, certainly.

How was it done?—The grain was measured out, while pulse and tamarind were weighed and salt was measured and given. People were generally satisfied with that arrangement.

You had a contractor for each local area?—Yes. A contractor would take four, five or even more villages. It depends upon the man's capital.

You say that you do not like the "other items," and in the case of gratuitous relief you would abolish them altogether?—Yes, except salt.

Then you would give them in grain equivalent?—I should give the grain itself.

In Bengal when a man or woman is put on the gratuitous relief, the allowance given is one pound of grain. Do you think that too low in the case of Ganjam?—I think it is small.

But you can never say absolutely in the matter of grain doles whether the person to whom the grain is given eats it all?—It is impossible to say how much a man eats, but I should think that one pound is too low. Whether the recipients were in absolute want or had something to fall back upon, I cannot say.

Is that not another difficulty?—Certainly, but I fancy some of them had other resources.

On your relief works on what class were most of your gangs?—B.

Had you any C or D?—We had them first, but subsequently we did not have them. We had only very few in C.

There were some D at first?—Yes.

Did you come to any conclusion as to the sufficiency of the D ration? Did D gangs deteriorate?—The D ration was abolished. But up to the time when the D ration was in use, the workers appeared to be in poor condition.

Do you think it was the result of the D ration or were they put to the D gang because they were weak?—I cannot say positively what it was due to. I had not a sufficiently long time to observe these gangs.

As to B ration do you think it is sufficient?—Yes.

Do you think the collective earnings of a family more than reasonable?—They had more than what they got in ordinary years. I think they earned more than what they would generally get, taking the children also into consideration.

Having regard to the relative dearness of grain do you still think that they got a higher wage than in ordinary years?—Yes, I should say so. But the question depends upon the dependants. If they refused to bring dependants they would have to feed them, but if they did bring the dependants with them, they had the opportunity of getting better wages.

Did they bring the dependants?—Some did and some did not. Some of them refused to bring their dependants. That shows that the wage which they earned was quite sufficient.

Were you able to get good tasks out of them?—Yes, but not with regard to a great many, because they were idling.

Was it in the earlier stages or after the order came out limiting fining?—Chiefly after the order limiting fining came out.

Before the receipt of the order had you to fine?—Yes, very often.

If you did not fine you could not get the work done?—It depends upon the overseer who drives the men. If he knows how to drive them, he would not resort to fining.

When the order came out, did the people accept the D wage voluntarily?—Yes.

Did you notice it yourself?—Yes, but I have not had much experience. But several times I have seen men deliberately idling.

Was the distance allowance given also?—Yes.

To any great extent?—Largely.

Were there complaints on the part of officers that it was interfering with proper work?—They said it was rather difficult to get people to work in the same efficient manner as they were doing when there was no distance allowance.

Has the work done by these relief workers been useful?—Almost all our works have been in the direction of quarrying gravel. We used them for roads. We have a large stock of metal for roads. The principal water-works were in connection with the two branches for the Rushikulya canal.

Is the road-metal useful?—Yes.

You did not make any tanks?—We worked at a few village tanks, but the number is comparatively trifling. One large tank was cleaned.

Did you repair any roads?—No road work, except to lay a path in Mahendragiri, simply to give work to the Savaras. That is comparatively small. It was about five miles.

You say, "I think the Waltair Famine Conference is right in its suggestion about the position of Revenue and Public Works Department officers." What was its suggestion?—As far as I recollect, the officials of both the Revenue and the Public Works Departments were to be considered as being under the Collector who was the responsible head and the leading officer of the whole "show." Under him came the Executive Engineer, then the officer of

the Public Works Department, while the Revenue Divisional officers, that is to say, men in my position, were allowed to go round for inspecting the works, but not to issue orders on the works. They were to go simply on the works for inspecting them and report whatever they noticed to the Collector, who would issue orders. We had absolutely no friction between ourselves and the Public Works Department in our division; not one case.

Who would be the Divisional officers, in addition to yourself?—We have got the district divided into four divisions—the Principal Assistant Collector's division, Chicacole; the senior Assistant Collector's division, Berhampore; the Head-quarters Deputy Collector's division, Ganjam; and the Deputy Collector's division, Gumsur.

There are four in all. In each sub-division there would be other officers besides those you mentioned. There would be deputy tahsildars. They had power to inspect?—Yes.

They could not issue orders?—None of us could issue orders.

Did that work well?—That is what we practically did. Mr. Taylor did not wish us to interfere with the engineers.

Did overseers consider themselves under you or as subordinates of the Public Works Department?—They invariably showed us courtesy, gave us the opportunity of examining the works, and when I found it necessary to issue orders they obeyed me. But I very rarely did do it. Only when I observed obvious irregularity, I issued orders; but I never ventured to alter the task. If I thought that it was necessary that the task should be altered, I reported the matter to the Collector.

Did the Superintending Engineer in any way interfere?—I think he once wrote to Mr. Taylor, but he never came round.

You say that you would prefer money doles to grain doles because it would not be conducive to high prices. Can you explain that?—I think if the people are given money and allowed to spend it as they like, they would probably buy a grain other than the prescribed grain if it could be got at a lower price, and that would probably have the effect of keeping the prices down.

Do you mean to say that the giving of grain doles forces up the price by bringing the Government on the market?—When we say that only two definite grains will be given to the people, say cholum and ragi, and that people were going to be fed on those two grains, it is obvious that the prices of these two grains will be kept high. This will not be the case if the people were given the money and allowed to spend it as they chose.

There was an order of the Government of Madras directing that you should calculate the wages according to the prices ruling in the villages and not according to the cusba rates. Was that matter attended with any difficulty?—It is very hard to ascertain the prices of the grain. There is no shop there, and even if there are one or two shops, they may say anything.

If you took the cusba rates, would they be higher?—The difference is not worth considering.

Scattered over the districts are there not periodical bazars once or twice a week in different places?—In some large towns there are market days, and in various places on the road there are fairs. *Mr. R. W. D'E. Ashe.* *16th Feb. 1898.*

So that people can make their own arrangements?—Yes, there is one weekly holiday which they get on the market day.

So that they could go and buy?—Yes.

Fixing the wage according to village rates, do you think it gave the workers an unfair margin?—It gives them higher prices than those that rule in the cusba.

So that there is liberality on your side?—Yes, I think so.

You say that you had very little experience about weavers?—I may say that relief was intended only for destitute weavers, but subsequently all weavers were admitted.

Nearly two lakhs have been spent in your division on relief of weavers. Do you think that some of that money need not have been spent?—Yes.

Did any weavers ever come on relief works?—I have never seen any.

(*Mr. LeFanu.*)—You mention that an alteration was made by substituting for cusba prices the prices in the village?—Yes.

As a matter of fact did it not strike you that it is what the Code ordered, and that the order was simply issued in accordance with what is contained in the Code. The Code says that the wages should be calculated according to the prices of grain ruling at the cusba taluk, or if the work is distant from a cusba taluk it should be calculated according to the market rate. Because at the beginning people were calculating wages according to the prices at a cusba it was thought necessary to issue an order altering that procedure. Were you not aware that is what the Code ordered?—I think it was usually the price at the cusba.

Does not the Code say that in regard to works distant from the cusba the prices of the nearest market should be taken into account?—Yes.

You noticed specially the condition of Samanthyas. What class of people are they?—They are cultivators.

Are they caste people?—You can hardly call them a caste-people.

Were you in Chatrapur in the latter part of the famine?—Only a couple of days.

Did the Collector show you a gang working at a quarry near Chatrapur which was in a bad condition?—Yes; near the railway station, not far from it. I went over there with Dr. Thomson.

What month was it?—In August or September.

If you saw the gang I am referring to, what caste did they belong to? I mean those who were wearing gold ornaments in their noses?—Probably Reddikas. The Telugu Reddikas came freely.

Did not the Collector draw your attention to the fact that they had to come from long distances?—No. As to the Railway gang I must say it was in bad condition, I thought; but I watched Dr. Thomson going over it very carefully, and he passed all but one.

At the Council Chamber, Fort St. George, Madras.

SIXTEENTH DAY.

Thursday, 17th February 1898.

PRESENT:

SIR J. B. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. (*President*).

SURGEON-COLONEL J. RICHARDSON.
MR. T. W. HOLDERNESS, C.S.I.
MR. T. HIGHAM, C.I.E.
RAI BAHADUR B. K. BOSE, C.I.E.
MR. W. J. H. LEFANU (*Temporary Member for Madras*).
MR. H. J. MCINTOSH, *Secretary*.

SURGEON-LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. H. LEAPINGWELL, District Medical and Sanitary Officer, Vizagapatam, called in and examined. *Surg. Lieut-Col. A. H. Leapingwell.* *17th Feb. 1898.*

I put in a written statement of evidence.

(*a*) *Departures from the prescriptions of the Madras Famine Code, which have occurred in the Presidency during the recent famine.*

The medical and sanitary rules laid down in Chapter XII of the Famine Code were followed with the following exceptions:—

(1) There were no poor-houses.

(2) Competent medical officers were not available to aid in the selection of applicants for gratuitous relief (*vide* paragraph 161, Madras Famine Code).

(b) *The degree of success which has attended the measures adopted, considered primarily with regard to the relief of distress and the saving of human life, and secondarily, with regard to economy.*

There can be no question that the measures adopted were successful in relieving distress and saving life, but no prac-

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tical measures of relief can prevent an increase of mortality in famine years.

The relief afforded by famine camps and kitchens was sufficient for all those who were not prevented by caste or other scruples from taking advantage of it.

Mortality.—Table A shows the mortality for the years 1896 and 1897 and the average of the five years (1891 to 1895 inclusive):—

TABLE A.

Average for five years.	Total deaths.	Ratio of deaths per mille.
1891 to 1895	33,097	17·0
1896	30,224	15·5
1897	47,546	24·4

Table B shows the same excluding cholera:—

TABLE B.

Average for five years.	Total deaths.	Ratio of deaths per mille.
1891 to 1895	32,386	16·6
1896	29,650	15·2
1897	42,438	21·8

To what extent the increased mortality during 1897 was caused by want of food, it is difficult to form any estimate.

For a considerable period the supply of water was scanty, and when rain fell it is only reasonable to infer that the tank supplies must have been more impure than usual, owing to the surface washings after so prolonged a drought.

Fevers too are known to be more severe after long drought.

Putting aside the influence of food and water, the year would appear to have been unusually unhealthy, judging from the amount of sickness among Europeans—men, women and children.

Some allowance should, I think, be made for improved registration. The frequent visits to villages and enquiries by officials and others in connection with the famine should tend to keep the registrars up to their work.

When the death-rate of what may be called the "famine period" (from October 1896, when the monsoon failed, to the end of September 1897, when famine relief ceased) is contrasted (Table C) with that of the same period in the previous five years, it will be seen that for 1896-97 it is 21·06, against 20·77 in 1891-92 and 19·23 in 1894-95. In the former year the north-east monsoon failed and prices were high, but in the latter there was an abundant rainfall and grains were cheap:—

TABLE C.

Table showing total mortality and ratio per mille from 1st October 1896 to 30th September 1897.

	1891-92.	1892-93.	1893-94.	1894-95.	1895-96.	1896-97.
Total deaths . .	40,381	29,089	31,986	37,369	32,216	40,925
Ratio per mille .	20·77	14·96	16·92	19·23	17·04	21·06

Table showing mortality for same periods, excluding cholera, and ratio per mille.

	1891-92.	1892-93.	1893-94.	1894-95.	1895-96.	1896-97.
Total deaths . .	37,159	29,035	31,801	37,368	31,747	36,468
Ratio per mille .	19·12	14·94	16·31	19·23	16·34	18·75

The death-rate for the same period, *excluding cholera*, was actually less in the famine period 1896-97, than in the same period of 1891-92 or 1894-95.

Relief.—Some ordinary works were opened in November and December.

Test works were started in January and failed, but when tried again in the first week in March, attracted labour.

The number gradually increased till July (at which time prices of grains were at their highest), and then declined till the camps and kitchens were closed at the end of September.

I was present with the Collector at the opening of the first camps. There was nothing in the general appearance of the people to suggest a famine camp. The percentage of those who might be considered in poor condition was very small. The women coolies greatly out-numbered the men.

Sickness.—Up to this time the mortality had been below the average. This, without doubt, was due to the dry season. It was not until May that there was any marked increase in sickness.

With the setting in of the south-west monsoon the mortality rapidly rose. This time, from June to September inclusive, is always the unhealthy season in this district.

Even in the District Jail, with food, water and sanitary arrangements under control, the sick rate invariably rises at this time.

Cholera was prevalent throughout the year; the greatest number of deaths occurred in July.

The question may arise as to whether these deaths were really due to cholera or to "famine diarrhœa." From the cases I saw myself, from the reports of the medical subordinates, and from the suddenness of outbreaks in many places, and the equally rapid disappearance, I can say that cholera was undoubtedly the cause of the great majority of cases so designated.

The famine camps and kitchens were comparatively free. On the occurrence of cholera in any village the coolies attending the work from that village were given doles and not allowed to enter the camps till the disease had disappeared.

In considering the loss of life due to the failure of the north-east monsoon in 1896 and the ensuing famine, it should be noted that there was an actual saving of life in the first instance, or, in other words, deaths which would have occurred in 1896 were postponed till 1897.

Again, it is possible that very many people died in 1897 who would, but for the scarcity and the unhealthy season, have survived till a later period. Consequently, there is every prospect of a death-rate below the average this year, if the season and prices are favourable.

In 1890, and again in 1891, the rate per mille of deaths was 17·3. In 1891 the north-east monsoon failed, and in 1892 there was scarcity. The death-rate for 1892 rose to 21·4, an increase of 4 per mille, but fell the following year to 14·2, thus giving an average for the three years of 1891, 1892 and 1893 of only 17·2.

(c) *Advice as to the measures and methods of working which seem likely to prove most effective in future in these two respects.*

(d) *Other recommendations or opinions thought likely to be useful in future famines.*

When test works show that distress exists, village relief by Government should, I think, be started simultaneously with camps and kitchens.

(*President.*)—Dr. Leapingwell, you are a Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel in the army?—Yes.

You are the District and Sanitary Medical Officer, Vizagapatam?—Yes, for the last 5½ years.

Only a small part of the district was treated as affected?—Yes, as seriously affected. It is on the coast.

Were relief works found for all the people living in the seriously affected tracts?—There were kitchens.

Were kitchens established all over the place or only in certain portions?—In the most affected parts and also in other parts which were not seriously affected. There were on the whole 51 kitchens.

When did distress begin to appear?—In November. There were some ordinary works which were opened to relieve the distress, which was beginning to show itself by high prices.

How did distress become evident?—By the number of beggars in the town and the high prices that were ruling.

Were the relief works attended by a large number?—Not by a large number. There was some difficulty at first in some cases to get people.

Were those ordinary works done on piece-work?—I am not sure about it. They were under the Local Fund Department.

Test works were started later on?—Yes, later on; in January.

You say that nobody would attend?—They could not get any one to attend at the beginning.

They were opened again in March?—Yes.

Then were they largely attended?—After a few days many did come. Mostly women.

Did you hear any explanation given why there were mostly women on the works?—I heard that the men did not consider the wage sufficient. There was only a difference of one pie at that time between the wage of a man and the wage of a woman.

Do you know what the difference is in normal seasons between the wages of a man and a woman?—I cannot say. In ordinary years a woman receives R2-8 per month for carrying water in Waltair, and I think the man gets double that, *viz.*, R5.

When were the kitchens started?—When the first relief work was opened. No one came for some days then.

Eventually were they attended?—Yes. Very well attended later on. Children, old people and beggars.

Children of what age attend?—Those able to work and over seven were allowed to go on works, but there were some in poor condition over that age but not many; they were all young children.

Were the children over seven fit for work referred to the relief works?—Yes. Many of them preferred to work, and did not attend the kitchens.

Were the kitchens at a long distance from the works?—Every relief work had a kitchen close at hand, but there were many kitchens at a distance from relief works.

In those outlying kitchens were the children above a certain age fed, or were they referred to the works?—I cannot say.

They were in charge of the Collector and his Assistants?—Yes.

How many times are the people fed at the kitchens?—Twice a day, at 9 A.M. and 5 P.M.

Were they obliged to eat their rations in the kitchens?—Yes.

Not allowed to take anything away?—No, it was not allowed.

I suppose they were all low caste people?—Yes. Provision was made in every kitchen for pariahs and for caste people. There were a large number of pariahs and low caste people. I must say there were large numbers who would not eat with pariahs, but what their caste was I cannot say.

Did you go round and inspect the kitchens often?—Yes, I saw them.

Did you receive complaints of any kind?—I do not remember receiving any complaint at all. For the first two days they gave 16 ounces of flour as the equivalent of 20 ounces of grain. I told them that there should not be more than 10 per cent. wastage. Then they gave 18 ounces.

Is that the full adult ration?—Twenty ounces of grain were allowed. They were going to allow a wastage of 20 per cent., but after that an order was issued that it should be 18 ounces. It was served out as flour, and not in grain.

What flour was served?—Ragi flour.

Was it ground?—Yes, ground in the kitchens.

Do you know how the grain was bought from the local bunyas?—It was bought from local contractors.

On the works was the Code ration given?—I think practically the B wage was given, certainly after the commencement.

Was there any local discussion as to whether the C or B wage was sufficient?—I don't remember hearing anything.

What was the ration for children?—That varied with their size, from quarter to half of the adult ration in the kitchen.

On the works?—It was money payment, but I forget the exact amount.

Did you come to any conclusion as to the sufficiency of the ration on the works?—Those who were in poor condition improved while they were on the works. I did not see many in poor condition. The elder people, of course, looked poor.

Do you think that the people who came to works had other sources of their own to depend upon?—I think some probably had. I have made enquiries in some villages and got particulars from some of them. Some declared they had not anything. Two pariahs had their children in the kitchen, while the husband and the wife attended on the works. I was speaking to one man the other day who had a pair of ear-rings on worth about R6 and a pair of very good clothes. The tahsildar valued them at R6. He had his children in the kitchen. He did not part with anything during the famine. He said that his children did not get enough in the kitchen, and as they were very hungry in the middle of the day he used to give them something. They took ragi in the morning and rice in the evening. They always ate rice once a day mixed with ragi.

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Have you served in any other parts of India?—I was once in the Central Provinces and also in Burma.

Are you able to compare the people of the Central Provinces with the people of Vizagapatam?—I cannot. I remember that a regiment of Madras Infantry which went to the Central Provinces improved immensely while it was there. They got rice money but they lived on wheat.

(*Dr. Richardson.*)—You say improved immensely?—Yes.

Was it at Kampti?—No, at Jubbulpore.

(*President.*)—When did cholera begin?—There was cholera in the district throughout the year, specially in May, June and July. In July it was at its worst.

Was cholera in any exceptional degree fatal?—It was not above the average. It was about 50 or 60 per cent.

At the end of your written statement of evidence you say that "when test works show that distress exists, village relief by Government should, I think, be started simultaneously with camps and kitchens". Can you explain that recommendation?—I think there must be a considerable number of people who cannot come to the kitchen. If the preservation of health is to be the first thing, it seems to me that it is most reasonable to have village relief at the same time. From enquiries made, I think that in almost all villages there are people who would not go and nothing would induce them to go on works.

Is it 'could not' or 'would not'?—Would not. By 'would not' I mean to refer to caste. They were *physically* able to go.

There were some who could not?—Yes. There was a case of a carpenter in a village who refused to go on the works. He and his wife and three children were receiving doles, and they said that they would never go to the works. The tahsildar told me that the carpenter would not go on the works. He was employed for a short time in the camp making pegs when the camp was started, but after that he would not go to the camp where he was put on stone-breaking, so village relief was given to him and his family.

Is it a sort of professional pride?—They said they would not go, as it would be against their caste to go and break stones.

If excuses of that kind were admitted and village relief was started simultaneously with relief works, there would be a great many people who would obstinately hold on to village relief?—I think the headmen ought to be responsible for seeing that those who ought to go and will not go do go on the works.

(*Dr Richardson.*)—Is registration very defective in your district of Vizagapatam?—Yes, especially in the zemindari tracts.

I see the ratio of deaths per mille is 16·6. Is that not absurd?—Yes, it is absurd; but it simply serves as an index for comparing any two years.

In 1897 you say it rose to 21·8. Do you think it is due to actual increase in mortality or is it partly due to the improvement in the registration of vital statistics?—There is no doubt it is partly due to the improvement in the registration.

During that year more care was taken to hunt up and to keep the people concerned on the *qui vive*?—Yes. Enquiries were more often made by the officials.

That kept them more up to their work?—Yes, as regards deaths, because deaths were always being enquired into.

For how many months did famine last in an acute form. You say that the work did not attract labour up till March?—Yes. In January test works failed to attract.

Then practically scarcity set in in an acute form in March?—I should say so.

When was it at its highest?—In July.

Then altogether the famine in your district does not seem to have lasted more than six months?—I should say not. The prices are still high.

Surg.-Lieut.-Col. A. H. Leapingwell.

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Were the C and D diets used?—I did not see anything, but I saw the kitchen ration.

You mentioned casually that the parents of some children said that the food was not sufficient?—Yes, but judging from the way the children fattened themselves at the kitchens, I should think it was amply sufficient. The people, especially children, improved.

The C wage was not used?—I think it was used a little as the result of fining.

Do you consider that the kitchen ration is sufficient?—I should think so, judging by the results. Many of the people who were sent to kitchens improved in condition, and judging from that point of view I should think it sufficient. I have heard it stated that they had other things on which they depended.

Can you say how many deaths were recorded from the so-called famine diseases among the relief workers, that is to say, from dysentery and scurvy, etc.?—I did not notice any case of scurvy. I used to look for it in the kitchens.

Had you hospitals attached to the relief works?—We had some, but with regard to others we had not. There were not enough of Hospital Assistants, and the men we had used to visit two or three places. But the people did not care to come over even for surgical diseases to the hospital except to take medicines as out-patients. They were coming in as patients, but they did not live on the works but went home.

Was any case of scurvy brought to your notice among your in-patients or out-patients?—I saw none.

Personally you saw none?—I saw none. I was surprised not to see it.

Was there much emaciation among children before they were sent to kitchens?—Many children looked poor in condition. I saw very few of those who are really called famine people.

Did you see some?—Yes.

What do you attribute this emaciation of children to in the cases you saw?—I should say undoubtedly that it was due to improper or insufficient food.

Were the mothers already on relief works?—No. They brought their children with them.

That is to say, the children were emaciated before the mothers received relief?—Yes.

Was the season from March till September 1897 unusually unhealthy?—It was. Among the Europeans there was a great deal of fever at the head-quarters, and it was high in the month of July.

Then it was general and not confined to famine relief workers?—Certainly not. Europeans suffered a good deal from fever.

What do you attribute the outbreak of cholera to. Is there any special cause to which the outbreak of cholera was due?—I think it was due to scarcity and bad water. In 1892 it was the same, when we had the same scarcity as we have had now. There was a good deal of cholera then. Cholera was prevalent for two months.

You say that the month of July was an unhealthy season?—Yes. We cannot prevent people from getting wet, and they did not take the trouble to avoid exposure.

Then you take it that sickness during that period is unavoidably due to causes over which we have little control?—Yes.

Was the medical assistance sufficient. Were there sufficient medical officers to look after the people?—The orders were they should send into the nearest hospital people who were willing to go and to be admitted as in-patients.

Had you any cause to think that patients who were at a distance suffered from want of medical aid?—I know of no case.

You have no good evidence to say that any individual died from starvation?—I know of no case.

Then you say, so far as preservation of health and saving of life is concerned, you think relief was effectually sufficient?—I think so. There is no doubt that the death-rate has increased by poor living.

Owing to hard times?—Yes.

As they do generally?—It is just the same always. If we cut down the rations they suffer.

They have less resistance to disease?—Yes, I suppose so.

To what do you attribute the improvement of the health of the sepoys when they went to the Central Provinces from the Madras Presidency?—The regiment I referred to had been stationed in the town of Madras for five years. The duty had been heavy and during the latter years 1876-77-78, prices had been high.

Is it due to climate that they improved?—I thought that it was due to the weak ration they had here. At Jubbulpore they were able to live on wheat and put by something of the rations that were allowed to them.

Their physique improved?—Yes, immensely in a few months.

Do you say that it was due to the fact that the ration allowed to sepoys here was insufficient?—At that time the sepoy was underfed, because there were many dependants hanging on him. They fed themselves. No extras were given.

The ration was sufficient for him and not for the hangers on?—Yes.

(*President.*)—What was your experience in Burma?—There the sepoys used to club together and sell much of their rations, living on the least amount possible.

At the kitchens women got the same rations as men?—Yes.

Children above 12 got the same rations as adults?—Yes.

Was that strictly carried out?—Yes.

There are certain directions in the Code about special diet to young children. Was it necessary to carry out those instructions?—Very rarely. Sometimes it was very difficult to get milk, and even if milk was available it was of inferior quality.

(*Mr. Bose.*)—Should village relief be given to able-bodied people who could earn their wages by daily labour but who would not go on the works?—I don't care to answer that question. I should say "yes," if you look at it from the point of view of saving life. If a man is unable to go to a kitchen or to a relief work, I think he should be provided for in some other way. When I say unable, I mean unable from caste reasons.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—Dr. Leapingwell, I think you stated that men would not go on relief works because the wage for a man was almost the same as that for a woman?—That was the reason I heard.

Did you hear what the Collector said on the subject?—I did not.

The Collector says, "I have also very grave doubts why the wage is not more attractive than it ought to be for women. There are plenty of women in distress to whom the opportunity of earning a wage is a benefit, but it is equally certain that very many of them are attracted merely by the fact that the famine wage of B class is from one to three pice higher than the ordinary female coolie wage of the district at the season anywhere else than in large towns. There were scores of women on the works whose husbands were not there and were getting pay elsewhere. The proportion of women in anything but good condition is very small"?—That was true.

You do not know what was the wage of a man and a woman ruling in the district at the time?—I do not know. I saw a woman on the relief works who had some jewellery on her and who looked in very good condition. I found that her husband had two pairs of bullocks and was carting grain to Godavery, and she apparently was on the works for the whole time. The father-in-law lived in the house cutting grass for the cattle.

That is a case of doubtful necessity?—Yes. She said that she did not sell anything. She went on the works to get a living, while the husband was engaged in carting grain at a distance.

In April the Collector wrote that the relief workers were in the best condition and spirits?—Yes. They seemed to be well enough.

You stated in reply to Dr. Richardson that famine did not become acute till March or April?—Yes.

Do you think that it ever became acute in the district?—Undoubtedly. I noticed that the wood-sellers who used to come to the town every day looked very much emaciated, I raised the pay of the water-women under me because their condition was very much reduced.

They lived chiefly on ragi?—Yes, ragi mixed with rice.

Was ragi ever as dear in this district as it was in districts further south?—I do not know. The average price was 14. I think at one time it went down to 11 or 12.

It did not rise till June, when it was very high?—Yes.

You said that persons who could not come to kitchens ought to be gratuitously relieved at their homes. Would you draw distinctions between persons who would not come and persons who could not come?—Yes, I would.

If a person said that his caste prevented him from going to the kitchen, would you think it a sufficient reason for putting him on the relief list?—I think you should, if you are to save life and prevent suffering. I know very little about caste, but I am told by natives who know about it that certain people would not go on the works, and if they do not they will be slowly subjected to starvation.

They would not go to the kitchens?—They would not. They would not even go on the works. This is what I merely heard in going round the villages enquiring.

Will they accept cooked food from other persons?—Yes, from Brahmins.

You had Brahmin cooks?—No, we could not get them.

Do you think if you had Brahmin cooks more might have come?—I do not know. I should think more would have come.

Are there some castes who refuse to work?—The tahsildars told me that there were.

If there was no carpenter's work available in the case you referred to, do you think that you ought to have put him on gratuitous relief?—Yes. After the statement made by him that he would lose caste by going to the kitchen, he should be put on the village relief. I am only speaking from the point of view of saving life.

Don't you think that 21 is low mortality for India?—That is not a reliable figure. Registration is bad; it is merely an index for showing the comparative rise. In 1891 and 1892 taking the period from the failure of rains from October 1891 to the end of September 1892, the death-rate, omitting cholera, was actually higher than this year. Taking the period from the failure of the monsoon till the end of famine in 1891 and 1892 the ratio per mille was 19·12. Again in 1895 we had plenty of water, but for some reason or other the death-rate went up.

Do you think that in late years in this particular district, distress was caused by high prices or the failure of crops. Do you know whether the crops failed to any extent?—The crops failed in Vizagapatam and Bobbili. The paddy was about a foot high and dried up afterwards.

For all adult persons there is a good labour market or an outlet for labour elsewhere?—I think so. A good many go to Burma.

To the Godavari district?—Yes.

Then the people who wanted assistance were unskilled labourers, women and children?—Yes, I should think so.

Surg.-Lieut.-Col. A. H. Leaping well.

17th Feb. 1898.

(*Mr. LeFanu.*)—In comparing the sepoys' behaviour in Burma and here are their rations the same?—Oh, no.

You said that the sepoy sold his rations in Burma, because he got it in addition to his pay?—He did in those days.

Here he does not get his ration at all?—He does not.

The Collector has said, as Mr. Holderness told you, that the famine wage was three pice higher than the ordinary wage. Did you hear that?—I did not know it was three pice.

The price of grain being double of what it used to be in normal seasons, is the increase of three pice equivalent to double the price of the grain?—I should think not. I should say that they were still worse off, if the increase was only three pice. In good years double the quantity of grain can be purchased. In 1895 it was 29 or 30 seers the rupee.

Do you think that three pice would make a large difference?—No. I said it was more a matter of pride.

You said that in the early stages workers did not go on our works. Did you refer to Local Fund works?—Yes.

Were any ordinary works done on contract?—I saw none of these works. I was told that the ordinary works in November and December were for breaking metal.

Was it a test work?—No. It was merely to give employment. I do not think that any test work was conducted.

You sometimes gave milk in the kitchens?—Yes.

Did you not also sometimes give oil?—I never recommended it. I remember that when oil was given it was rubbed on the skins of children.

You have been kind enough to tell Dr. Richardson about the increase of mortality. You attribute it partly to improved registration?—I think so.

But you do not say anything as to the falling off in the birth-rate. If the registration were made accurately, the birth-rate would increase instead of falling?—I think in time of famine, births would be neglected altogether. I think there is no doubt that there has been a large falling off in the birth-rate, especially in the few last months.

Is not the fall in the fecundity of the poorer classes one of the marked signs by which the periods of distress are known?—I think so. I only know it from reading reports.

You said that the health among Europeans was less good this year, but do you remember that the European population of the district is very small?—I was only talking of Waltair.

(*Dr. Richardson.*)—I understood you as speaking of Vizagapatam at large?—No.

The Reverend Mr. J. Cain, Church Missionary Society, Dummagudem, called in and examined.

Revd. Mr. J. Cain.

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I put in a written statement of evidence.

The area of the part of the distressed district we had to deal with was small, and the population probably about 6,000. It was the part of the Bhadrachalam taluk lying to the north of Bhadrachalam. The population of the taluk, 42,336, consists of Sudras, Kois, and Panchamas, with a small sprinkling of Brahmins and Vaisyas and Hill Reddis. The people who suffered the most were Kois and Panchamas. The Kois who thus suffered live in villages away from the banks of the river, and their cultivation is on more or less high ground, with a light soil resting on kunkur. Consequently a deficiency of rainfall is most disastrous to their crops. The average rainfall for September is from 9 to 11 inches, but in September 1896 it was only 3·8, for October it is generally 3, but in October 1896 it was *nil*. Consequently the cholum crops on which these people live were a total failure. In November 1896 the Acting Tahsildar visited all the villages personally, and reported the true state of affairs, and the Special Assistant Agent drew up plans for relief, which were fully approved of by Government. But when he proposed to carry them out some two months later his schemes utterly failed, as the Kois refused to work at the Government rates. It is said that the Kois had been got at by subordinate officials, who had no desire to be bothered with the supervision of relief works, and the Kois were told that it was a scheme on the part of Government to get a lot of work out of them for little pay. There had been no famine here before; in 1877 there was severe distress in certain villages, but about ₹1,000 spent in the purchase of grain, which was most carefully distributed, relieved the worst cases. During the past twenty years more land has been taken under cultivation and the supply of jungle roots is now small. Old Kois, who remember the 1833 famine, say that there were so few people then that they were easily kept alive on roots and fruits. The Kois are not a hill tribe, but a jungle tribe living in villages greatly varying in size. They are improvident when they have grain, but for the greater part of the year they are hardworking, although their cultivation is not of the most intelligent kind.

Major-General Haig, R.E., hearing in December 1896 the state of affairs, set to work and raised money and sent us at once ₹1,000. As we knew famine must come, we set to work and bought up grain and imported ragi from the lower district, as the price of cholum was more than double than usual. In days gone by we have frequently purchased it at ₹25 per candy and at times for ₹20, but in January 1897 it was ₹50 and upwards. As we well knew the condition of each village around us, we only relieved the most necessitous cases. Many Kois had begged for work, and before the Special Assistant Agent started his test work we employed from 200 to 300 Kois, Christians, and Panchamas—in the repair of a neglected tank on zamindari ground, which from time immemorial had been repaired by the ryots themselves. Koi women had never been accustomed to do earth-work, rough and rude though they are, but they were quite willing to work at the tank. The rate of wages was the ordinary coolie-rate, and the work done was carefully measured before payments were made. This was a clear proof of the utter falsity of the statement that Koi men and women will not do earth-work. They are not skilled labourers, but neither is the ordinary coolie.

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One advantage of the tank-work was that it was within three miles of their homes. After all the rough work had been done and some R800 spent in wages, the Government took over the tank. As the distress was deepening, the Madras Committee of the Famine Relief Fund wrote to me and to Mr. Ward, Forest Department, for a statement of the condition of the people, and our letters so convinced them of the need of relief works that they forwarded them to the Collector of the district, who came up immediately and started relief works and gratuitous relief. Eventually a Deputy Collector and certain Revenue Inspectors were sent up. A Civilian was also placed in charge of gratuitous relief operations lower down the river, and Mr. Ward rendered invaluable aid there, but of that part we saw nothing. As the supply of cholum was almost *nil*, the Collector wisely determined to use a large part of R2,000, a grant from the Madras Relief Committee, in the purchase of grain for sale at reduced rates to Kois and Panchamas. There were four depôts, and for the first month we had charge of the Dummagudem depôt. These relief measures saved the lives of hundreds, and prevented grain riots of a most serious kind, with all their demoralizing effects. The Deputy Collector and his Circle Inspectors visited the surrounding villages most carefully and tested the gratuitous relief cases. There was never any charge brought against any of the subordinate officials, as the strict supervision of the Deputy Collector prevented any misappropriation of grain or money. Relief works consisted in clearing out the bed of a canal 2 miles long, removing the deposits of silt below the locks, deepening a supply channel from a tank, building a groyne in the river. These were superintended by an Assistant Engineer, who had no proper gumastas under him, consequently there was nothing like piece-work. Upwards of 1,500 persons did this work at famine rates of payment. It would have been far better to have put this work under the Deputy Collector with the Assistant Engineer to help him, or for the payments for work to have been made by the Deputy Collector, leaving the Assistant Engineer time to supervise the work thoroughly. At first small allowances were made to the workers for their dependants, then these were withdrawn, but after a letter of mine to the *Madras Mail* these were restored. There were no relief camps and no kitchens. Until the Government relief works were fairly started we alone aided the poor people, and after they were started we had to give relief to any who were sick and unable to work, mothers with new-born children, etc. Until the Government stopped all relief measures in October, we gave all our daily relief in grain.

It has been suggested, as the area is small, in the event of another famine to give grants of grain to the Koi headmen of each village and make them responsible for the welfare of the people of their villages. All to whom I have mentioned this proposal smile at its "sweet simplicity!" and say that it would profit the headmen and no one else, unless the Government were prepared to hang the headmen who neglected to feed their people; such grants of grain would not benefit the persons most in need.

The Kois in ordinary years support their own poor, and in previous years we have not had more than two or three each month, begging at the bungalow. Until the gratuitous relief was started we had more than 100 per day. The Kois are too proud, as a rule, to beg from outsiders. Gratuitous relief at given centres prevented them breaking up their homes, but there should have been more centres. Others besides Kois received gratuitous relief, but all belonged more or less to agricultural classes. Very few have any stocks of grain, and therefore nothing to fall back on. Usually the Upper Godavari taluks export a large amount of cholum to the Lower District: in 1897 it had to be imported, even into the Cherla and Albaka Taluks of the Central Provinces. The merchants in and around Dummagudem were afraid to import cholum for fear it might be left on their hands, so if the Collector had not imported it there would have been nothing for the majority of the people to eat. The Godavari was unusually low from February to June and the import of grain from the Lower District very expensive. As seed-grain was scarce we imported paddy seed from Bastar, Central Provinces, and gave to about 150 poor families at the rate of 20 to 30 seers of seed. To the same number we gave konda jonna seed, and, later on, the later jonna seed. Grants of money were given to others by the Deputy Collector from Indian Famine Charitable Relief, but the supply of seed-grain was limited, and there is very little doubt that at least half of this amount was spent in the purchase of food-grain. As the cultivators were unable to pay off the advances they received in 1896-97, they are now obliged to do so. If we had made the stipulation that they should return to us the seed-grain advanced this harvest they would have had but little left. To about 80 families we paid the hire of one or two bullocks as soon as the early rains fell. This was preferable to making them a present of animals which might be seized and sold by their creditors. Soon after the early rains began the relief works were closed and gratuitous relief given freely. Without huts at the scene of labour it would have been difficult to carry on relief work, so the liberal gratuitous relief was economical, but very demoralizing. Up to about 1,200 thus received relief until late in August, when the numbers were reduced summarily, and half of those who came in for the weekly dole were sent home empty-handed. I had nothing to do with the Government gratuitous relief excepting in the absence of the Deputy Collector, when I superintended the payments.

It is very difficult to say how many died of starvation, as the returns are made up in a very unsatisfactory manner. There were deaths indirectly due to privation, as some of those whom we relieved seemed unable to digest their food and gradually faded away. Mothers were unable to give milk to their children. Cholera broke out whilst the works were in progress, and most probably nearly 200 died of that epidemic. Unfortunately a number of the corpses were just thrown into the Godavari. But the people were far more willing to take medicine than in the epidemic of 1885, and thus many lives were saved. Out of our Famine Fund we supplied rice to all the patients to whom we gave medicine from our dispensary. As soon as the rains fairly set in, dysentery prevailed from the use of indigestible green stuffs by those who had an insufficient supply of grain, and we had to supply rice with the medicine.

The shop-keepers made large profits on the sale of rice, all of which was imported before the very hot weather set in. Common rice from Bastar, which usually sells at 16 seers to the rupee, was sold at one time at 7½ seers. We proposed to buy a candy of rice (800 seers), and distribute it to very poor people on the Queen's Jubilee Day, but we found that if we did so the merchants would raise the price and thus the benefit to the few would be an evil to the many.

The village weaver class were unable to find purchasers for their cloths. To relieve them we bought altogether about R1,000 worth of cloths and gave them to the sick and destitute. The importation of cloths has seriously reduced the income of the weavers, and many of them are becoming merely agricultural labourers.

It would be well if certain schemes were drawn up to be undertaken in case of another famine, and small tanks might be put in order in the meantime, more especially as it would be most disastrous to the morals of the people, if they thought that they would certainly receive liberal gratuitous relief in another famine. In this famine there was not sufficient time to draw up such schemes. But I think that too large a proportion of the help was drawn from the Indian Charitable Relief Fund. It has struck me that the Forest Department might be asked on such an occasion to provide some extra employment for the people living near the forest reserves.

A proportion of the labourers walked five to six miles each day to the relief works, but when heavy rain came on they had to stay at home. It would have been much better to build sheds outside the village for those who remained at night; as when cholera came the houseless coolies thus attacked helped to spread the epidemic.

No relief works were undertaken by the Nizam's Government across the river, so that a number of people came over for work; but the distress on that side was not so acute, and in some of the villages the poorer people forcibly invited the better off cultivators to open their grain pits. A number came over and tried to obtain gratuitous relief, but very few succeeded, and some fifty or sixty remained as beggars until the early crops came in, when we managed to ship them over to the other side of the river. A certain number of coolies came from the Upper Godavari taluk, Central Provinces, where relief was not given until later on in the year. Even there those ryots who had grain pits were invited to open them and sell their grain at a cheap rate; and those who could were asked to lend working bullocks to ryots who had lost theirs.

The above are the chief points which have struck me as most worthy of notice. If I had had any idea beforehand that I might be called upon for my opinion, I should have been able to write a more satisfactory letter.

Revd. Mr. J. Cain.

17th Feb. 1898.

(*President.*)—Mr. Cain, you belong to the Church Missionary Society?—Yes.

Your scene of work is at Bhadrachalam?—No; Dummagudem, 16 miles from Bhadrachalam.

In the Godavari taluk?—In the Upper Godavari taluk.

What part of the Central Provinces do you border with?—With what is called the Cherla taluk.

For how many years have you been working in that part?—On and off 25 years.

Is it not an unhealthy country?—At times there is a great deal of fever.

Where did the European officials live?—At Rajamundry, 150 miles away. I ought to say that there is a Forest Officer living half way down the river, Mr. Ward, but the officer in charge of the taluk lives at Rajamundry.

Distress was due to the absence of rain in October?—Entirely. The crops till the rain stopped were very fair indeed, and there was great promise of a good harvest; but as the rains stopped suddenly, the crops withered. In fact they did not even come to ear.

What were the crops that failed?—Chiefly the cholum. There is not much rice here. The important crop that failed was cholum.

Were the rice-fields protected by irrigation to any extent?—The rice-fields that are worth speaking of are under tanks. Kois are not dependent on rice. The early small rice was a failure. It does not give them much food in ordinary years. It would not give them more than a month's supply of food, but even that failed.

For how long does cholum give them a supply, if there is a good crop?—They live entirely upon it.

The whole year?—Yes. The Kois as a rule don't like rice. They say it is not strengthening enough.

Have they not anything in the way of a spring crop, the crop that ripens in many parts of India in the month of March or May?—Nothing after January. They have what they call an early crop about August. That is the fire and axe cultivation on which Kois are so much dependent. It gives them three weeks' food and sometimes not even that.

What crops do they grow?—Small millets. They also grow what they call hill cholum, a very tall variety.

That is *podu* cultivation?—Yes.

Did you anticipate famine when there was failure of crops?—We knew it must come because there were no stores of grain.

Do people never keep any stores?—Kois seldom have an extra supply. I know of only two Kois who were said to have grain pits, and no more. One of these rejected all help from the Special Assistant Agent who came up and proposed test works.

Did those who held up grain bring it out for sale?—They kept it. They were too much afraid to bring it out.

Is it carelessness or the improvident temper of the people not to store up grain?—I do not think the crops are large enough. It is true that the Kois are very improvident. Any person going to their threshing floors with a basket can easily obtain grain from them by begging. People who go with cloth sell it to them at extravagant rates so long as Kois have grain. There are certain people who live by bartering with the Kois. It is not an uncommon thing for the Kois after a few months to go and buy back from the very people the grain which they have foolishly bartered.

Is it the neighbouring villagers that go out with baskets?—It is chiefly women who take out their baskets.

You say that about January the Special Assistant Agent proposed to start works?—He came up later than that. He came up for *jamabundi* at the same time. I think it was the beginning of March. He had drawn out his plans before, soon after the Acting Tahsildar had reported on the state of affairs.

Did people refuse to work at first?—The Kois at first refused. They did not understand the nature of the work.

Were they asking for relief at the same time that they refused?—Yes. They had been asking all the time. We were having applicants for relief every day, and we gave doles to the very worst in condition, so that when Government started relief works they should go to them; but as soon as they refused to go on Government relief works, we stopped the doles. We saw that the crisis must come, and we thought that the best plan would be to hurry it on.

Then what happened?—Things drifted on and looked very black. We did not know what would happen. We knew that our friends could not supply all that was needed. At that time the Secretary of the Madras Branch of the Indian Charitable Relief Fund wrote to me for a succinct account as to the state of the taluk when it was known that Kois refused to work. They asked me to consult with the Forest Officer, Mr. Ward, who lived at the other end of the taluk. Accordingly I wrote what I thought a very cold-blooded letter, minimising rather than exaggerating the state of affairs, and sent it on to Mr. Ward, and he added a few lines, and on that the Madras Committee thought that it was advisable to draw the attention of the Collector of the district to the real state of affairs, and their letter brought him up.

Then what was done?—He looked round and examined as far as he could the state of affairs, made out a list for gratuitous relief, and began a kind of test work in the canal. At first the Kois were loath to come, the rate of payment being low, they thought that it was a dodge on the part of Government to get a great deal of work for little money, and they were not quite sure of the intention of the Collector as he was a new to them. They are a timid people and are always afraid of new gentlemen. Gradually, however, the numbers increased, till at last they reached 1,500. I did not often go to the relief works and look into the numbers, because they were then out of our hands. Our work all the time was what I might say supplementing the Government relief wherever we found it necessary.

Where did these 1,500 people come from? Did they all come from the town?—There were many poor people from Dummagudem; there were a large number of women who had never carried a basket of earth on their heads; there were a number of Panchamas and there were also Kois. Kois were not accustomed to earth-work. When we gave relief before the relief works were started, Mrs. Cain used to go among the crowds of applicants and select those who should receive relief. We had at the same time a number of persons around us who knew the villages around and who could advise us as to which people were in need or which not.

You say that merchants at Dummagudem were afraid to import cholum. What kind of merchants? Are these small shop-keepers?—Yes; they were afraid for two reasons: they said that grain would be left on their hands, and that unless Government began relief work early, the whole of the country would be plundered—a fear which was afterward shown to be reasonable by grain riots at Polaveram.

Are the people of Polaveram ryots or Kois?—Chiefly Kois. I think over 300 were sent to prison on that occasion; that means 300 families were left helpless.

Are people of Rampha Kois?—The principal people are Reddis, but a certain section are Malas. The whole of the Malas earn their livelihood by trade, that is to say, by collecting forest produce from the hill ryots. These hill Reddis are hill people who live in small villages: sometimes only two or three houses in a village.

Kois lived in bigger villages?—Yes. I have never seen a hill Reddi yet who ploughs. Kois generally have plough-bullocks. The hill Reddi generally carries on *podu* cultivation.

You say the hill Reddi goes in for *podu* cultivation?—Yes.

What is the religion of these hill Reddis?—I think it is more a form of demonology.

For Kois also it is exactly the same, I suppose?—Yes.

Do you know whether relief work was given in Hyderabad?—None, sir, except what people look for themselves. As pointed out in certain villages they went to the headman of the village and asked him to open the grain pits. I do not think it occurred in more than six or eight villages.

In the Cherla taluk of the Central Provinces was relief work started?—No. Relief was eventually given. Early in the rainy season a number of headmen who had grain were invited by officials to open their grain pits and sell it at a cheap rate.

Did they do it?—Oh, yes, they did it.

What was the result of withdrawing the allowances to dependants?—We had numbers of women and children applying for relief because they said that the grain given to their husbands was only sufficient for their husbands.

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Were not women also on those works?—In many cases they were not. They could not always break up their homes and leave their houses.

What have they generally in their homes to look after? Cattle, small brass pots and household utensils.

Is it a country where a considerable number of cattle are kept?—Yes, considering the size of their villages.

Do people keep goats too?—Very few.

Did the Collector organize any kind of village relief? I think you said he did?—He himself started a gratuitous relief fund.

On what system was it organized?—He enquired into what he thought the necessities of the case in regard to those who applied to him for relief or who were recommended to him.

You mean in each village?—He had not himself time to go out. Being a Collector he has a very large district in his charge. He could not go round to all the villages and make out a list, but he began a list, and the Deputy Collector who was put in charge added to it when necessary. We checked our own list with it, with the view that there should be no overlapping of any kind.

In villages some people got relief from the Collector and some from you?—Yes, sir. But when the Government opened their relief, we sent everybody we could to it. We thought it was the aim of the Government to do it. We preferred to give relief in special cases. There were people from Bastar territory, Central Provinces, and some from the Nizam's Dominions; and these could not be put on the Government gratuitous relief list, and we could not see them starve before our eyes, and so we had to help them.

Were there many from Bastar and the Central Provinces?—Not very many. It is very difficult to say where they really came from, because they would give the names of some village in British territory, and unless we kept men to go and find out whether they were persons living in the villages mentioned by them, we were liable to be deceived. I do not think that probably more than 200 at the outset came in that way.

Were they in distressed condition?—In an extremely distressed condition. In fact a number of the children and women that came died, although they had relief given to them. The children were not able to digest the food and faded away.

These chiefly came from the Central Provinces you say?—Yes; from the Nizam's territory also. These latter people found that if they crossed direct from the Nizam's Dominions and came to Dummagudem, they would be recognised, and so they went farther up the river and crossed over to the Cherla taluk, Central Provinces. It was not for sometime that we found that they were doing that. We gave relief to them whenever wanted, as we did not feel that the Government were bound to give relief to people from the Nizam's Dominions.

Did the Kois of your taluk show much sign of emaciation?—Some of them were horrible. I only wish I had some photographs with me. When I received the telegram asking me to come I was 50 miles from head-quarters and I did not attempt to go home before coming to Madras. A young lady who lives with us took photographs of the same, and some of those photographs were simply skeletons. Photographing them was an easy thing, but the washing of such photos was very unpleasant. We had one man die just outside our own compound; he had just received Government relief. Another man died just down the road. I know of a case in which a man who came from a village 3 miles away to us for relief; as he was going home along a rough and muddy road he arrived within a quarter of a mile of his home, and asked his wife to go before and prepare some food for the children as they had not had solid food for two months. He did not reach home as he died of exhaustion.

Do you say that these were the people who refused to work on the works when it was first offered?—These particular individuals did not refuse. Other Kois had refused.

Do you suppose the death registration to be generally unreliable in this part of the country? Do you suppose in famine year it is more unreliable than usual or more reliable?—I should think it is always unreliable.

Would it be more reliable or unreliable in a famine year than in an ordinary year?—I do not think that makes much difference. The fact of the matter is that the Kurnam who gives the report to the Government has 40 or 50 villages under him and if any death occurs, it is the duty of one of the village servants to go and tell him. He goes once in ten days and tells the Kurnam, who sends in a report in due time to the Tahsildar. That is how reports are made up.

You say that you proposed to buy a candy of rice and distribute it to the very poor people on the Queen's Jubilee day, but you found that if you did so, the merchants would raise the prices? Why would they raise the prices?—Because they thought that our supply had run short. It is true we had very little store. How it arose was this. We sold grain for famine relief often at a cheaper rate. At that time the river was extremely low and was silted up, and there was no importation of grain into Dummagudem. The stock of cholum had completely run out, the stock which we were selling for Government. Then we sold about 1 seer to each man. After we sold out our own stock of cholum, we sold our rice slowly. We have a large boarding school, so that we have to keep a certain stock, and we bought a candy of rice. Rice was selling at 9 seers per rupee, but the merchants immediately altered their prices to 8½ seers. Then the next week we had to buy another candy, and they altered it to 8 seers a rupee. So when we proposed to distribute rice to poor people on the Jubilee day, some respectable people came to us and said, "Don't buy, because merchants are determined to reduce the price to 7½ seers if you buy it." Consequently all the other poor people would have had to suffer, and so we dropped the idea. We should have benefited about 600 people and injured about 2,000 to 3,000 people.

You said there was a sort of ring among the merchants to raise the prices?—Not exactly an open or "declared" ring, but there was an implied ring. There was a ring just before the famine began, but I was enabled to break it.

How?—By importing grain.

The village weaver class are a small body?—Yes. They only live by taking their cloths round to Kois villages and by getting grain and selling cloths for grain. They do not always get money for their cloths.

You say that the importation of cloths has seriously reduced the income of the weaver? Is it the European made cloth?—Yes.

(*Dr. Richardson.*)—You say, "It is very difficult to say how many died of starvation"; then did some die of starvation?—Yes, certainly.

Have you any idea as to the approximate number that died of starvation? You seem to have been treating the sick?—From pure starvation I do not think that more than twenty or thirty died.

Twenty or thirty?—I think that will be the approximate number. We were unable to relieve them.

You say that mothers were unable to give milk to their children? Is it due to the fact that mothers were starving owing to want of sufficient food?—Yes.

Consequently the milk dried up, I suppose?—Yes.

You say again, "Cholera broke out whilst the works were in progress and nearly 200 died of that epidemic." Was that imported into your place? Can you assign any reason for its outbreak there?—It began, I believe, with certain Kois eating bad fish. It spread very rapidly, and then it seemed to die out. At first it began outside Dummagudem. Then it suddenly came into the very middle of the relief works and carried away the coolies in a most fantastic fashion.

Sudden deaths?—Those that were expected to recover died, and those that were thought to be too weak recovered.

From what sources did they derive their water-supply? Is it the water from the river?—From the river. There were a certain number of Koi villages around us, and when the distress was very severe I helped them to deepen the wells which they had. There were not very many wells, only about twelve in number. In the dry weather they dig deep holes in the beds of the torrents and get a supply in that way. But these dried up and we employed men to deepen them. When the Kois came to rock they could not dig deeper. The water-supply in the inland villages is frequently deficient till the rains begin.

Is it generally supposed to be good water in ordinary seasons?—It is supposed to be so.

For what diseases did you treat the persons who came to your dispensary?—Fevers and dysentery, but chiefly diarrhœa.

Is dysentery generally regarded as one of the so-called famine diseases?—Dysentery around us was very bad.

That you attribute largely to the use of "indigestible green stuffs," whatever they were?—They ate all sorts of leaves directly the rains began. There were certain persons from the Central Provinces who had no relief. They would go and gather herbs in which there was no kind of nourishment at all. They said that it satisfied them the first day, but on the second and third day they lost strength and could not walk on the fourth or fifth day.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—Were these from the Central Provinces?—Yes. The same thing happened in Bhadrachalam taluk.

(*Dr. Richardson.*)—Was there any kind of scurvy among them?—No.

You only saw scorbutus?—Yes. They had no money wherewith to buy salt, so one form of relief we gave was salt.

Do you think that salt can prevent scurvy?—I do not remember them suffering from scurvy.

You say that there were a great many deaths among children?—Yes, a great many.

You say that registration was unsatisfactory?—Yes.

(*President.*)—Do you think that these Kois and Reddis whenever they had a short supply of food starved the children before they starved themselves or *vice versâ*, or would they treat children like themselves?—As a rule they would treat the children better than themselves, especially if they were very young children.

I suppose that a child would show the effects of bad food sooner than an adult would?—I should think so.

(*Mr. Bose.*)—Are the people living in the Cherla taluk Kois?—They are very much the same as in the Bhadrachalam taluk—Sudras and Panchamas, but very few Brahmins.

Do you think that was as much affected as Bhadrachalam?—I do not think it was much affected. Usually they have better stores of grain, and there is generally a large export from the Cherla taluk to other parts.

Was there export then?—No. The export was stopped in September just when the rain stopped. They had better stores of grain in that taluk, and in consequence people could hold on longer.

They were comparatively better off?—Yes. Not only so, the population is smaller and the jungle is greater.

Many people did not at first come to the Government relief works?—Not very many. They held on as long as they could, as they did not like to leave their homes.

You said that you supplemented Government relief. How was it?—If one woman and one child of a family received gratuitous relief from Government and there were three or four children in the family we helped the other children.

Why was not Government relief given to them? Why were they omitted from the list?—I can't say.

In your grain shops did you sell grain cheaply? Did you sell grain to anybody and in any quantity?—The Collector asked us not to sell more than 8 annas worth to the same person.

To any one that came?—To Kois and Panchamas that were living within the Bhadrachalam taluk. We saw at once that our stores could not hold out, and we on our own responsibility had to sell only 4 annas worth; the names were all entered in and checked.

You sold to those whom you thought were worthy of relief?—Yes. We knew that people in certain villages were not as badly off as others, and that they could hold on for some time, and we did not sell it to them. Most of these had refused to go to the test works started by the Special Assistant Agent.

You sold it to selected persons?—Yes.

Did this affect private trade?—No. There was no other cholum to be had.

No merchants had cholum to sell?—Nothing to speak of.

You said there was something like a ring among the grain merchants?—Yes.

It was very easy for them to combine?—Yes.

I suppose communication is very difficult?—Yes.

Would not outside merchants come and compete with them?—No. No one would come because they were afraid of losing money.

Then you have people who could have combined to riot if they wanted?—Very easily. The Forest Officer told me that it was all arranged to plunder the villages down there if the Collector had not come up within a fortnight.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—Have you had to deal with a similar year of distress?—Never.

How long have you been there?—Off and on 25 years.

This is quite an exceptional year?—Yes.

If you had a year like this again, how do you think it ought to be treated?—I certainly think that there ought to be some form of task-work started, and I would give relief in grain doles as little as possible.

Do you think that the people were properly taken in hand? Do you think you can get them all to work?—Yes, if you have the right officials.

Would there be difficulty to get them to come to the works?—I do not think so, if you have the right officials who can inspire confidence in them.

You think there were not officials of this kind?—It was those that ruined the first test works.

You yourself started test works, and I understand you got people to work?—Yes, before Government started task-work. It was near their own homes. They were paid a little higher than the famine task rate. They could get 3 annas a day, but the famine task wages were an anna and-a-half only.

If works were started on petty contract rates do you think you could get people to go on the works?—I should say "yes."

In that case there would not be the same necessity for these grain doles?—No.

Not for gratuitous grain doles?—No.

You think that the gratuitous grain dole is demoralising?—Unless given with a most sparing hand.

You had to be very careful?—Yes.

Otherwise you would have had people on relief who did not require it?—Most decidedly.

Are there Government forests?—Yes, a great deal.

Were they sufficiently opened for digging roots and getting the forest produce?—Yes.

Everything in that way was done?—Yes. The Forest Officer, Mr. Ward, was extremely kind-hearted. He arranged that nothing should be done to hinder them.

Were these forests of much help to them?—Yes, in February.

Don't you get the mohwa flower crop?—It was a failure.

If that had not been a failure, they would have had something out of it?—If that had been plentiful it would have given them two months' supply of food.

Did you ever give cooked food?—During the last period.

In kitchens?—The gratuitous relief list was closed suddenly in October. When it was closed we were down the river away from home, and when we came back we found the people had eaten the small supplies of grain which they had obtained in the intermediate harvest. We felt that it was difficult for us to continue to give grain doles to large numbers of people. We had cooked food prepared and made into gruel. A Koi cooked the food for Kois, and a Panchama for Panchamas. We had about 150 or 200 Kois drinking every day and the number of Panchamas was nearly as large.

Did it keep off people who took dry grain?—Yes. That is why we started it. Unless they were really in distress they would not come.

Do you think that you might have started that earlier instead of dry grain?—Then we should have had to build sheds and turn our compound into public grounds, but we had not room for that. Not only so, that would not have helped the little children at home. We could not have everybody coming there with their little children. I am not sure that it would even have been economical. Of those that took their grain home, a large number did not go in for solid food. They had it made into a kind of *ambali*, that is, gruel, much thinner in their homes than we gave them at our bungalow.

Had you many orphans left on your hands?—About 15.

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Not more than that?—No.

You say that grants to headmen of the villages should be given. Is it what you recommend?—Decidedly not. I saw it in the *Madras Mail* as having been proposed. My experience is that the headman of a village is never regarded as responsible for the welfare of the people. He is the one who supplies the officials with whatever they want as they pass through his village.

That is not your suggestion?—I think that would be be the way to kill off the people rather than anything else.

You say that "the importation of cloths has seriously reduced the income of the weaver"; is that a new thing or an old thing?—It has been going on for the last fifteen or twenty years.

(*Mr. LeFanu.*)—Mr. Cain, I think you misunderstood one question which the President put to you. He was thinking of Bhadrachalam when he asked you whether the people would go to the works from the town, and you understood him to say Dummagudem?—Yes.

Did not people come from Bhadrachalam to Dummagudem?—I should think very few.

Do I understand you to say, if works are started and houses are built on them, all people would leave their villages and live on the works?—Oh, no.

I think that is what might be inferred from what you said to Mr. Holderness?—I only said that would reduce the number in receipt of gratuitous grain doles.

Was there a large number that received gratuitous relief who did not deserve it?—I did not see the Government gratuitous relief list when there was the greatest number on it.

What was your general impression?—My impression is that there were some who ought not to have been put on it.

What percentage do you think it would be in all?—Could it be a great number like 2,000 or 3,000?—About 20. Some young men came to our bungalow and asked for help, and they said they were refused relief by the officer, who remarked that they looked stout and healthy. In fact they were suffering from dropsy and the whole of their bodies were swollen.

You said that at one time grain dealers formed a sort of ring?—Yes.

Then the peculiar circumstances of that taluk favoured the formation of that ring?—Yes, extremely.

Access is difficult?—At certain seasons of the year.

You are not a medical missionary?—No. We have a lady missionary in charge.

You are not a medical man?—I am not.

The medical work of the dispensary is in charge of a qualified lady doctor, Miss Graham?—Yes.

Did Miss Graham give special attention to looking after cases of scorbutus?—I do not think so.

People ate what roots they could get hold of?—Yes. That was in February.

Leaves too?—Yes.

MR. R. GOVINDA RAO NAYUDU, Head-Quarter Deputy Collector, Vizagapatam, called in and examined.

Mr. R. Govinda Rao Nayudu.

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I put in a written statement of evidence.

Opportunities of forming an opinion on Famine Relief questions.—Since May 1895, I have been the Head-Quarter Deputy Collector of Vizagapatam. I was, since then, up to the end of September 1897, in charge of the head-quarter division of Vizagapatam district, consisting of Vizagapatam and Srungavarapukóta taluks. I was in charge of the famine relief operations in the division from the commencement till the end of famine.

In my division, Vizagapatam taluk was the earlier and more affected of the two. In Vizagapatam taluk, two relief works with kitchens attached and one independent kitchen were opened. In the Srungavarapukóta taluk two independent kitchens were opened. Village gratuitous relief and the charities of Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund were extended throughout the division, except the agency portion which did not come under the affected tracts. The three forms of the State relief measures above referred to were administered successfully, in accordance with the provisions of Madras Famine Code which was deviated from in a few instances mentioned below to suit the conditions of the country and the habits of the people dealt with.

A.—Departures from the prescriptions of the Madras Famine Code which have occurred in my division during the recent famine.

I.—RELIEF WORKS.

Classification of Relief Workers.—Classification of relief workers was not quite in accordance with the Code. The Public Works Department officers changed often, under orders of the Collector, the classification of labourers. I am unable to state the reasons which compelled them to do so. But, I think, it is due to the difficulty in adopting the Code classifications.

Fines.—At the commencement and at the height of distress, fines were not inflicted as rigorously as the Code requires. Frequent reductions in task were thought inadvisable, as that would tend to still more demoralize the workers.

Paymasters.—The charge fixed by the Code for a paymaster, *viz.*, 3,200 workers was found too much, and a paymaster for every 2,400 was appointed. The pay of R30 also was not sufficient to attract efficient men. The pay of the head paymaster in one camp had to be raised from R30 to R40. The work of the paymaster is no less onerous than that of the Circle Inspector, for whom the Code provides a maximum pay of R70. Assistant paymasters on R15 to R20 had to be engaged in every camp. Further, it was found more advantageous to make the paymaster a direct subordinate to the Public Works officer in charge of the work.

Kitchens.—The establishment provided by the Code for a kitchen of 300 inmates was found inadequate—

Provision of the Code.	Actually entertained.
Two cooks	4
Three water-women	4
Sweepers	2

In this part of the country which contains diverse castes, water-women would not do the business of cleansing the kitchen floor and eating vessels. In case they be so employed, the water fetched by them could not be used for cooking. Further, the scarcity of water during the last famine necessitated the employment of extra water-women.

II.—GRATUITOUS RELIEF.

The only deviation that is to be noted under this head is that grain doles were given under orders of Government under section 120 instead of 122 as per Code.

B.—The degree of success which has attended the measures adopted, considered primarily with regard to the relief of distress and the saving of human life, and secondarily with regard to economy.

The measures adopted enabled the people to tide over the distress with ease. They checked migration and aimless wandering.

The relief workers, the majority of whom are small tenants, were able without disposing of their cattle and the little gold and silver they had, to pass through the critical period without suffering in body. The opening of kitchens and the extension of village gratuitous relief saved many helpless beings who had no means of livelihood, and who depended upon private charity. These objects were attained without waste of any public funds, as every care was taken that relief was given to none but the needy.

C.—Advice as to the measures and methods of working which seem likely to prove most effective in future in these two respects.

As far as I have been able to judge from the requirements of my division, the two objects referred to in the heading will be best attained in any future distress by adopting strictly the prescriptions of the Madras Famine Code slightly modified as to the methods of classification of labourers, the entertainment and the remuneration of the establishment as pointed out in the reply to the first question. I

would also suggest that the female wage may, without injury, be reduced to three-fourths of that allowed to a male, because taking proportion of ordinary rates to famine rates, the famine wage of a male was much less than that of a female and a little more than the wages which private employers offer in ordinary seasons.

D.—Other recommendations or opinions thought likely to be useful in future famines.

Code should more clearly define the relationship between Public Works Department officers and civil officers. It seems advisable to leave the relief works and the kitchens attached thereto in entire charge of the Public Works Department to avoid friction between the two departments. It is, of course, necessary that the Collector of the district should continue to be responsible for the whole famine operations in the district. The Executive Engineer and his staff should work under the orders of the Collector, who will, of course, interfere in professional matters as little as possible. The Divisional Officer will be simply the Inspecting Officer and will submit his remarks for the orders of the Collector. The taluk officer or the special civil officer should work, under the orders of the Executive Engineer, to arrange for bazars, make necessary supplies and look after sanitation and preservation of peace.

(*President.*)—You are the Head-Quarters Deputy Collector at Vizagapatam?—Yes.

You were there all through the famine?—Yes.

Have you any experience of former famines?—None. This is the only famine I have seen in the Vizagapatam District.

What was the cause of the famine, failure of the crops, I suppose?—Partial failure and the early cessation of the south-west monsoon, the total absence of the north-east monsoon of 1896, and also the untimely season of 1897 and also the partial failure of the monsoon crops of 1897.

The monsoon crops of 1897?—Yes.

They were not good at the beginning. This did not extend to the whole country?—Yes, it did not extend to the Agency tracts. There were some parts in my division which were also not affected.

In the Agency tracts the rainfall must have been bad too?—Yes, to some extent.

Did people seem to be able to carry on their living?—Yes, they could live more easily on leaves and other things which they could get at the foot of the hills. There were also weekly markets from which they can get what they want.

When were the relief works opened?—In March 1897.

Had the people been working much on relief before that?—The first test work was started on the 4th of January and they refused to go for the wages offered. When we started the works in March a large number attended them at the famine rate.

Why do you think they refused to come in January?—They had a little stock and some labour in connection with irrigation works of zamindaris and some water-works going on near Vizagapatam—some Government work, where they used to get 2 annas 6 pies a day for a male and 1 anna 8 pies for a female, whereas we were only able to give 1 anna 1 pie.

To your men?—Yes.

How much for women?—The same rate for both.

On private works did the rate for coolies go up at all or remain the same?—The same.

What is the ordinary rate for a coolie?—2 annas for a male and 3 annas for some professional people. Every woman got 2 annas when a man got 3 annas, and if a man got 2 annas a female got 1 anna 6 pies.

Is that considered to be the proportion in which they do work?—Yes, a male must work harder. He will be a digger while a woman will simply be a carrier.

What did children get on private works?—They got from half to three-fourths of a man's wage, between 12 and 15 or 16.

That is in ordinary times?—Yes.

Did men come as much as women to the works. When they came in March did women come chiefly?—Women chiefly. But in the latter period of famine, when private work stopped and when the price of ragi was 9½ or 10 seers, we had to pay about 2 annas and 1 anna 11 pie. The male coolies came, but throughout the number of women exceeded that of the men.

Do you think the men sat idly at home and let the women go on the works?—No. The number of women is larger in our country.

I suppose the men who did not come were afterwards able to pick up some kind of work at home?—In the Vizagapatam District they generally go to the Godaveri District and some people go to Rangoon even in ordinary seasons, so they could not be expected to come at the beginning of the works, but later on they came. As the south-west monsoon set in, they returned from Godaveri, and when that also failed they came to the works.

They went to Rangoon and stayed a year or two?—Yes, they went to Rangoon and Natal for a year or six months, but they could return at any time they liked.

How many kitchens had you?—About 5, 3 in Vizagapatam and 2 in Srungavarapukota.

When were they started?—In Vizagapatam in March and in Srungavarapukota in the middle of June.

What class of people attended?—All belonging to the Sudra caste.

You mean Pariahs?—Pariahs also, besides the Kapus, the Gollas, and the Velamas. There are altogether 50 castes in Vizagapatam. No man will take meals from another, but I appointed such cooks as belonged to the higher castes so that the lower caste might take meals freely. The *Gavara* caste is superior to the lower classes, and I appointed them as cooks and watermen, so that all classes could attend the kitchens without any distinction.

There were no Brahmin cooks?—We did not appoint Brahmins, because the higher classes are the Velamas, the Iyerakas, and the Gollas. If we appointed men who belonged to these castes as cooks, others would have no objection to take meals from them. Brahmins, Rajputs, and Komatis would never come on the works or to the kitchens.

What kind of village relief works were there?—No works. There was only village relief started and grain doles given; no money doles were given.

Was that in all villages?—Yes. We started first in Vizagapatam and then the next taluk that we dealt with was Srungavarapukota. But the most affected taluk was Vizagapatam.

What was the distinction between the people who got the village dole and the people who were sent to the kitchen?—Cooked food would be given at the kitchens, but the rate in both was the same.

To whom did you give the grain dole and whom did you send to the kitchens?—To those who were not able to go to the kitchens and to some of the respectable people we gave grain doles.

What sort of people did you consider respectable?—In both the taluks of my division Rajas, Iyerakas, Velamas, and Telagas. Brahmins also received doles in some cases—chiefly destitute widows.

Another gentleman who has given evidence to-day told us that in one village there was a carpenter and that carpenter went on relief works to make some pegs for some days, but when that work was over, he was invited to do coolie work in stone breaking, but he absolutely refused to do that work and said that it was against his caste and that he would be outcasted if he broke stones. Do people of that sort ever come on gratuitous relief?—Yes.

Would carpenters be outcasted for breaking stones?—They would not go to any work, except professional work.

Is there any class who had only professional work to do and would never come to earth-work?—That is the only caste. Some weavers also went to the works.

Would blacksmiths go?—No. They all belong to one caste. They are all *Kamsalis*. Some were goldsmiths, some were blacksmiths, and some were carpenters.

(*Mr. Higham.*)—You think that it would be a good thing if the women get ¾ wage?—Yes.

What wage do you give to big children; what proportion of a man's wage?—Big children between 12 and 16 would get a woman's rate, but children below 12 would get half.

What is the wage you pay a man?—A professional man got 3 annas.

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On the relief works?—At the commencement we used to give 1 anna 11, pies and at the close of the work he got about 2 annas, according to the market rate of the grain.

You say you gave a woman three-fourths of a man's wage?—At the famine time we gave them according to the Code.

What difference did you make in task. Did you make a woman do as much as a man?—No.

I suppose three-fourths the work of a man?—Yes. A man must break stones and collect stones, while a woman will always be engaged in carrying. In earth-work the man must dig and the woman must carry.

You give the people who dig a full wage and the people who carry three-fourths?—That is what we ordinarily pay in Vizagapatam.

Suppose you had a woman digging would you pay her anything more than ¾ wage?—She cannot dig.

Do they never dig?—Never.

Suppose a man who could not dig and who could do nothing but carry, what would you pay him?—We would pay him a little higher than the woman's rate, but less than the man's rate if he is a strong man.

Supposing he is not a strong man?—Even then we would pay him more than a woman's wage and less than a man's wage.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—In ordinary years an able-bodied coolie gets 2 annas?—Yes, in ordinary years.

Do women and children work in ordinary years?—Older children will go to work and women will always go to work.

The whole family go to work?—Yes.

On this occasion did men go to Government works?—No. There was not much difference between the wages of a male and a female there.

Do you think it would have been a good thing instead of having this task-work system to have the work done by petty contract?—At the beginning piece-work and simple contracts might be given.

Would the men have come?—For this rate they would not come.

If you give them a higher rate than this?—They would.

Would the same number of women and children come?—All would come.

Then you would have more than ever?—Yes.

Did you select the recipients for grain doles?—No.

Did you check the Circle Inspector's work?—Yes.

Did you go round the villages?—Yes, every village.

Did Circle Inspectors do their work well?—Yes. Taluk relief officers were also appointed.

Was it not the Circle Inspectors who drew up the lists?—No. Village officers prepared the lists.

There were the Circle Inspectors over them?—Yes.

Could they check the lists?—Yes. The Divisional Officer and the Deputy Tahsildar personally went to the villages and checked the lists.

Between you and the Village Officer was there any Circle Inspector?—Yes.

Did you find anything wrong in the list?—There were some mistakes. One or two able-bodied persons were put on the list, but we took their names off and sent them to the works.

Generally did you find their work good?—Yes.

Why does your Collector say that the Circle Inspectors are extremely criminal or slack?—In my division they worked well. I appointed efficient people—people from the Collector's office establishment and also one or two clerks from the District Court. I had efficient Circle Inspectors.

Did you receive any orders from Government asking you to reduce the gratuitous relief?—I received no orders.

Were any orders given saying that in Vizagapatam there were too many people on gratuitous relief and that you should reduce the number?—I don't know. We received an order from the Collector to strictly supervise the the list.

You think that relief operations saved the people from ffering?—Yes, certainly.

You say that the relief workers were able to go through the period without disposing of their cattle and the little gold and silver they had. Is that so?—Yes. We started our works in time—as soon as we found the necessity for works. In the middle of June we started gratuitous relief.

People got through the famine without selling anything?—The whole was not sold but a portion was kept.

You say, "the relief workers, the majority of whom are small tenants, were able, without disposing of their cattle and the little gold and silver they had, to pass through the critical period without suffering in body"?—Suppose they had some cows, they sold a few, a few died and they kept a few.

Did they keep their gold and silver?—They have not much gold and silver. All they may have is about 2 or 3 rupees worth of gold and silver.

Do you mean to say that if they had rupees they would have kept them?—No rupees at all.

In speaking of gold and silver you specially referred to ornaments?—Yes. Males also would wear a silver ornament worth about a rupee or two.

Do you think people were in good condition on the works?—Yes.

Do you think the wage was sufficient?—There were no complaints. They were much improved after the works were started, and even at the kitchen the inmates improved.

Who looked after the tasks, whether the workers did their proper task or not?—The overseers.

Did you inspect the works?—No, but only the muster-roll.

You did not revise the task?—No, never. The Collector after consulting the Engineer passes orders. I was never consulted by the Collector.

Did the people who came from distances get distance allowance?—Only 7 or 8 miles.

They got the allowance only when they walked that distance?—Yes. Some who came from 8 miles stopped in the sheds that we erected, while some went to the neighbouring villages and stopped there, and the rest went home.

You fixed the wage according to the price of the grain?—Yes.

Did you take the price of the cusba rate?—The price of the nearest market.

Did it differ very much from the cusba?—About a seer or a seer and a half.

Did you alter the wage whenever the prices varied. Did you keep altering the wage as the prices changed?—Once a week only.

Were the prices in the markets higher than those at the cusba or lower?—Lower at cusba. After the stock was exhausted in the district big merchants at Vizagapatam imported paddy and sent it to the markets, so that there was always some difference. The Vizagapatam rates are cheaper than the mofussil rates.

Then the prices were really higher in the villages?—Only half a seer.

(*Mr. Bose.*)—Suppose you had refused relief to the people whom you call Kumsalis, would they have ultimately gone to the relief works?—It is certain they would not go. They wear a thread and say they are equal to Brahmins.

(*Mr. LeFanu.*)—There was scarcity of fodder in the last hot weather?—It was not so much felt, because the hills there were not reserved by zemindars, and cattle used to go to the hills; but most of them died.

Why?—On account of poverty. They used to sell them to the butchers not only on account of want of fodder but also on account of scarcity. They would only keep one or two pairs of bullocks.

You say that a great bulk of the cattle was sold to the butchers on account of poverty?—Yes.

Fodder was dear in your country?—Yes.

Is not the price of fodder in Vizagapatam in the months of April and May 7 annas for a common bundle?—Yes, green grass. Fodder was imported from the Ganjam District for supply in Vizagapatam.

Does not that make it expensive?—Yes, we used to purchase a bandy load for R2, but during the time of scarcity we had to pay R5 for the same quantity.

You say, "the measures adopted enabled the people to tide over the distress with ease. They checked migration and aimless wandering." Is that correct?—After we started village relief it was checked.

Was not there a great deal of migration and aimless wandering in your district?—No.

Was not the Godaveri District flooded with the Vizagapatam wanderers?—In ordinary years also they go there for work.

How was it then that Mr. Brodie had to start poor-houses at Coconada?—I don't know anything about it.

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M. R. Ry. Rai Bahadur B. Narayanamurti Pantulu Guru, General Charge Deputy Collector, Gumsur, Ganjam District, called in and examined.

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I put in a written statement of evidence.

(A) Departures from the prescriptions of the Madras Famine Code of which I speak are with reference to gratuitous relief and weavers' relief.

1. *Gratuitous relief.*—Under section 122 of the Code, males and females are to get the same quantity of rations without distinction of sex. These rations are substituted by D class rations of revised clause 2 of section 120, which are different for men and women. As before, it will be good to have a scale common to both.

2. *Raw grain.*—The scale laid down in section 122, allows to an adult 50 tolahs of raw grain. A mixed meal of ragi and rice (¾ to ¼), was given in my division. 40 tolahs of ragi, supplied by the bazarman, would give about 36 tolahs of flour to be actually used by the recipient with 10 tolahs of rice. Raw grain has been subsequently interpreted to mean husked grain or flour. An adult male under D class rations gets 40 tolahs of ragi flour. This is much less than what a simple imprisonment prisoner would get in a jail, *i.e.*, 52½ tolahs with more vegetables, etc.

3. *Salt* is insufficient for a porridge meal, while the item against condiments and vegetables is extremely low. A small brinjal weighs 5 tolahs, and one at least is required for an adult, male or female, for a day. Ghee or oil was, however, found to be a superfluity in the distribution of grain doles, as the lower classes seldom use it. The scale of these rations requires a change.

4. *Weavers' relief.*—The system of relieving weavers as described in appendix VII, has been departed from by allowing them initial advances, which have also been limited to cloths that could be woven by the weavers and their families. These departures were absolutely necessary to relieve deserving weavers and restrain expenditure. Weavers were allowed C class wages for cloths woven, and their non-working dependants, grain doles. These will not, of course, resort to kitchens at any risk, and a departure in this direction also was necessary.

(B) 1. Famine was anticipated as the north-east monsoon proved a failure, and measures were matured to meet it. As necessity arose, relief was begun and expanded with all possible vigilance, and contracted as the season improved. Much success has therefore attended the measures adopted with regard to the relief of distress and the saving of human life and with regard to economy. Crop inspection was made to begin with; remissions granted for the loss of crop; works selected to be put in hand when necessary; lists of persons requiring gratuitous relief, and of weavers, prepared; and condition of people, prices of food-grains, and their stocks constantly watched. As distress came on, gratuitous relief and relief to weavers was granted and the clearing and deepening of drinking water tanks in suitable localities and repairs to minor irrigation works undertaken. The ryots also executed repairs to their lands, while labour was available on the Surada reservoir works. There was no necessity to open relief works in my division, test works having failed. Private charity was not altogether wanting, but became stinted in cusba stations and rare in villages as prices ran up.

(C) 1. Measures and methods of working may vary with localities to some extent. It is the labouring classes and the deeply-indebted ryots that are mostly affected by a famine, irrespective of the destitute poor and weavers finding no work. Labourers as a class, particularly Uriyas, wish to cling to their villages and get labour within a radius of four or five miles. A single failure of crop will upset these people and needy ryots. I would suggest that more tanks, major and minor, for irrigation purposes, may be constructed in localities where no big project is possible, and the works executed more extensively under the provisions of section 16 of the Code.

2. Having regard to the physical features of each taluk, decision should be arrived at what new irrigation tanks not already entered in Famine Relief programme, could be profitably constructed, noting in each case the area irrigable and probable revenue. This must be done by an officer specially deputed for the purpose.

3. Leaving major works to the Public Works Department, all minor works and other Local Fund works, such as the deepening of drinking water tanks and the construction of village roads, may be executed through the agency of village headmen, under the ordinary piece-work system, subject to the supervision of a responsible officer. The works will necessarily be scattered over; but, if well supervised, will prove effective.

(D) 1. *Weavers' relief.*—The system of giving relief to weavers seems to require further consideration and changes. Under this system a weaver is paid material and cash for paste in advance, and C class wages according to the task table for cloths woven, and his non-working dependants, grain doles. Initial advances of material to weavers unable to find materials or a market for their cloths, are indispensable. What they want is work. There are local rates fixed at so much per each cubit (18 inches long) of cloth woven, when twist is advanced and these rates are paid by merchants, &c., without extra payment for paste. Subject to all restrictions and conditions in force, the established local rates, approved by the Collector, may be substituted for C class wages. The local rates are so fixed as to enable a weaver to support himself and his dependants, working and non-working. These rates may, if necessary, be slightly enhanced, having regard to the prevailing high prices. By this method, much trouble and expense will be saved, and the weaver satisfied with what he gets, and the necessity of granting grain doles to the non-working dependants, would cease.

2. The wages earned by a weaver, *plus* gratuitous relief, that may be obtained by his non-working dependants, are compared below with the amount to be earned by him according to local rates:—

As per task table.								As per local usage system now proposed.		
Cloth.				Labour required for weaving, adjusting and all subsidary operations.			Wages including paste and oil.	Rate per cubit.	Amount of wages.	Difference.
Description.	Cubits.	Length.	Breadth.	Men.	Women.	Children.				
		Ft.In.	Ft.In.				R a. p.	R a. p.	R a. p.	R a. p.
No. 23, Kanchenchu Pancha (in Telugu), Akkupotria Khoddi (in Uriya).	18×2	27 0	3 2	1	1	...	0 8 9	0 0 6	0 9 0	...
				for 2½ days. Gratuitous relief for non-working dependants.						
				Two non-working dependants for 2½ days			0 3 4	...	...	...
						Total	0 12 1	...	0 9 0	0 3 1

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3. *Grain doles.*—The distribution of grain doles had, in some localities, the effect of suddenly raising the prices without sufficient cause. It is desirable to import grain on behalf of Government, at least in certain localities for grain depôts to be established for relief purposes.

4. In remote parts money doles seem to have an advantage over grain doles, and I urge the desirability of giving Collectors discretion to grant money doles instead of grain doles.

5. It is also desirable to give Collectors discretion to substitute grain for oil or other article, provided that the money value of the prescribed rations is not thereby exceeded. This change becomes necessary in special cases and localities.

(*President.*)—You are the Deputy Collector at Gumsur?—Yes, Gumsur Division in the Ganjam District.

Have you been there long?—Yes, for over five years.

Is that your own country?—That is not my native country. My native country is Vizagapatam.

You recommend that gratuitous relief should be the same for both men and women?—Yes.

Would you make the working wage for men and women the same on the works?—No, I should not.

Suppose a weakly man does the same work as a woman and suppose they were doing work at carrying, would you give the same wage to both or higher wages to the man?—I would give the man a higher wage.

For what reason, if they were doing the same work? Is it out of respect to the man's feelings?—A man is supposed to turn out better and harder work.

Suppose both are doing the work of carrying, and that a woman does as much as a man does, would you still give the man something higher?—In that case I would not.

We had evidence from Vizagapatam to the effect that when they began to start relief works men would not come because there was only a difference of 2 pies between the wages of men and women. Do you think that men expect a higher wage without reference to their doing a larger amount of work?—It may be the general idea of a man that it would be degrading for him to receive the same wage as a woman or less.

If he is a weakly man, would he still have that idea?—Yes, but if he is forced to accept work he would take the wage.

If he could not do more work than a woman, then you would give him the same wage?—Yes.

You think that the D wage is not enough?—In my division there are some Khonds and Uriya people. When we had the original wage of the Code there was no complaint, but after the ration was reduced there was a complaint, all round from everybody—from those who received grain doles and those who were fed in the kitchens.

You say weavers would not resort to kitchens?—No. Never would they go to kitchens under any circumstances.

They are not people with any pretentions to high caste?—Uriyas have peculiar notions. Even among low castes, those who ought to have no objections to attend the kitchens, generally refuse to go to the kitchens, imitating the Uriyas.

I have seen it stated that in the famine of 1877 and 1878, after the famine was over, those Uriyas who had taken relief were put out of caste?—Yes. They are called chatrokyas, which is a term of abuse. Even among the low class of people they have to pay a penalty to the caste which is higher than their own caste if they went to the Government kitchen: if not, they would be put out of caste altogether. This thing happens even if the food is cooked separately and served to them separately in the kitchens.

Were the people who worked on the relief works or got grain doles in former famines put out of caste in any way?—No, people are not put out of caste for work done and doles received. Haddis, Dandasis, Bavuris, Panus and the agricultural labourers, of whom there are many sub-castes coming under the head of low class Uriyas, have some prejudice.

Have they the same caste prejudice?—Even these people do not stoop to send their families to the relief works.

They go themselves?—Men would go as a last resource. The Uriya coolie has much resisting power, but he would go when wages are paid if the work is within a small distance from his house, and it is only as a last resource that he would go.

In some parts of Bengal people of better castes would not work on relief works in their taluks but they would go 30 miles away and work there. Do you think the Uriyas will do that?—Some of them may do it, as they consider it a sort of shame to go on the relief works within sight of their fellow countrymen. They would go to distant places and work there without being seen by their people.

Do Uriyas do piece-work on public works?—Yes, they do.

They don't think it degrading?—No.

It is only relief works that they consider degrading?—Yes. Some will not go while some may go to relief works. So far as men are concerned they do not have such a strong prejudice to go on the relief works, but they would never send their females to relief works until the last moment. Some of them have even refused to take a grain dole. Some females have got a sense of honour and they were content with the wages that the males got.

Do you think that the way you propose of assisting the weavers would be much cheaper?—That is what I consider.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—I see that in one of the fortnightly reports the Collector was of opinion that this so-called caste prejudice against kitchens was not really caste prejudice but was fostered by village officers. Do you think there is any truth in that explanation?—No, so far as my division is concerned.

Do you think that village officers make some profit out of grain doles?—Not a single instance came to my notice in my division.

Do these village shop-keepers who supply grain make any profits?—They make a reasonable profit for laying out their money and getting the grain from other markets.

The Collector says "People who will not resort to Government kitchens would go freely to institutions maintained by zemindars"?—Oh, yes.

They would not go to Government kitchens?—No.

The Collector says, "Many people who will not attend the kitchen within the limits of their own villages go to the next one, trusting that the fact may not be known". Is that so?—No caste people would go.

He says again, "Persons who have in my presence refused to go to a kitchen under any circumstances have taken bread cooked by my own cook and biscuits from my own hands"?—There may be some truth in that. These castes, I mentioned, living in out-of-the-way localities have got some caste prejudice like other castes and they refused to attend the kitchens. If they are forced to take anything, they will take bread: and if they were pinched by hunger they would resort to kitchens.

The Collector says, "It is the heads of castes and village officers who egg the people on to put forward this plea to satisfy their dishonourable avarice"?—It is not so to my knowledge.

Do you think they do it in your division?—Not in my division.

You had more people on gratuitous relief than on works in June and July?—Yes.

How was it?—The fact is this. The prices had risen very high and the poor widows and others who were unable to support themselves would not attend the kitchens, and therefore to save their lives we had to take them on our list.

Could not they have done work?—They were unable to do any work. Unfortunately small-pox had also done mischief. Even labourers who could do some work were laid up with the whole of their families with small-pox and they were not able to attend the works. We had to take them up and support them. In some rare cases we had to put some Hadis and Dundasis who were 20 miles away on the list, because we thought it a waste of money to erect a kitchen for a few people there. Therefore for the sake of economy we admitted them to the grain doles.

Did you put any man on grain dole who was able to work but who refused to work on account of caste prejudice?—We did not.

What did your gangs on the relief works consist of?—I had no gangs.

Did you inspect them?—There was no necessity in my division to open relief works.

There have been frequent scarcities and famines in Ganjam?—Yes.

In these famines has there been gratuitous relief on a large scale?—Yes. From what I heard, even in the last famine it was on a large scale.

Has it anything to do with the prejudice of the people against kitchens to hold out for gratuitous relief?—I do not think so. Even if they were refused grain doles they would not go to kitchens.

Why would you substitute grain for oil?—Wherever I distributed oil, people did not require it. They simply rubbed it on their hair.

When you gave them grain and oil they only utilised grain?—Yes.

And they kept well?—Yes.

So that oil was not wanted?—No, they did not care for it.

(*Mr. Higham.*)—Have Uriyas been employed on the East Coast Railway?—They must have been. They do work on railways but only near their villages. They go for small distances—10 or 12 miles; but the line did not pass through my division.

Do you know of men going to the railway?—I have not seen them working.

Did they go under their own headman or under somebody else?—They do not even care to work under a Telugu headman; they work under their own head coolie.

They worked on piece-work?—Under big contractors.

He pays them for as much as they turn out?—Yes.

They go 10 or 12 miles, not further?—Even further, because they are brought back by the train.

By the daily train?—Yes. Some go even to Attagadu taluk and Turada taluk on foot for work and stay there for weeks.

(*Mr. LeFanu.*)—You are a native of Ganjam?—No, of Vizagapatam.

What caste?—Hindu, Niyogi Brahmin.

Do you speak the Uriya language?—Yes.

You say that the lower classes would not use ghee or oil? What place are you referring to?—Especially to my division, the Uriyas in Gumsur.

Does that apply to the lower classes in the Madras Presidency?—It might apply to the lower classes in Vizagapatam, of which I have experience. They do not use oil or ghee either in rice or in curry. What they want is salt, chillis, onions and a little tamarind. As a necessity, I have not seen the lower classes using ghee.

Dhal?—They use it generally but not continuously.

You are, I think, a Brahmin?—Yes.

What classes are you referring to?—The lower classes—Madigas, Hadis, etc.

Is it usual for a Brahmin to superintend the cooking for Madigas?—That is what we generally see and what we hear from them. They say it is not used.

When did you make this a matter of special inquiry?—I went into villages and inquired what their meal was. They showed me their food.

Did they tell you that they eat no oil?—They seldom use oil.

Did they tell you that they seldom use it?—Yes.

They did not say they never used it?—They did not say that.

What is the reason do you think?—They are very poor.

Because they are habitually too poor to buy it they do not use it?—Yes.

You can only speak for some parts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam?—That is the only experience I have.

I am not able to understand what your suggestions about weavers are. You suggest that they should be paid according to local usage instead of being paid according to the weaving scale. You say, "subject to all restrictions and conditions in force, the established local rates approved by the Collector may be substituted for the C class wage." You mean that it may be made use of instead of the C wage. Is that what you mean?—Yes.

How do you make out that that would be cheaper?—We have to give the C wages plus the gratuitous doles given to non-working dependants; and this would be more than the rates paid according to local usage.

You have allowed, in describing the present system, the dependants gratuitous relief or rather wages at the C rate for the whole time that the weaver is employed, but by the late orders of Government they are not allowed wages for more than a certain time which they are estimated to have been actually employed in?—The late orders of Government are to that effect, but in relieving the weavers last year we had practically given the non-working dependants gratuitous relief. It is true that by the order of Government the working dependants are in future to get pay only for the time that they are estimated to be actually employed in subsidiary works, but in the recent weaver relief operations we gave them not only pay for that time but we gave the non-working dependants gratuitous relief for the whole time.

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How many weaving depôts did you have under your management?—Only two.

You received the orders of Government prohibiting any allowance for the time during which weavers were not engaged in weaving?—Not enforced regarding the helpless dependants.

(*President.*)—What sort of people are the non-working dependants?—They are either persons unable to do work or little children.

Were little children of weavers who were being assisted with C wage also getting gratuitous relief?—Yes.

If the system that you propose is adopted, would it not be necessary to give the children relief?—I would not recommend that; I would give a little more than the local rate if the distress becomes severe and decline to give anything to the non-working dependants. I have taken into account the cost of gratuitous relief and also the C class wage.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—You were in charge of weaving work in your sub-division, I suppose?—Yes.

I see the cost of relief per head is four annas eight pies?—Yes. That will be reduced by the sale of the cloth they made. That is the total expenditure per working man per day, but that will be necessarily reduced by the sale of cloth.

You say that when the cloth is sold the net cost per worker would be reduced?—Yes.

Has the cloth been sold?—Some has been sold.

At cost price or below cost price?—In some cases at cost price.

In others?—It was sold for less.

Have you got anything left?—In my own sub-division some cloths are left, but they could be sold.

Will you be able to sell everything you made?—It depends upon demand.

Will you get rid of all the cloths?—Not now but gradually.

Do you think that this form of relief is a good one?—Yes. The weavers would not go to any other work. The weavers as a rule are less economical than other labourers. If they get wages they are more extravagant than others, and therefore in times of famine they are driven to great distress.

You say they would not go to works?—They would not go to any other work than their own.

Is that the case in other districts?—In Vizagapatam and Ganjam it is the same.

Do you think these rules under which you worked were extravagant, or the expenditure was more than was necessary?—They were not extravagant but the accounts are very complicated. In giving wages we have got to consider what the man does and what portion of a man's work the woman does, and we have got to calculate the work of the man and the woman and then make out the calculation for the dependants. There are three calculations before we settle the accounts. Taking the figures under gratuitous relief and the C class wages together, I think it is a little more expensive than the ordinary local wages. Weavers will weave a lot of cloths as long as they get ordinary wages, and if they get enough work they will be able to tide over the distress. In ordinary times the Sowcar who wants to get cloths made, advances them the wages and twist and they do the work for him.

Would you work it by advances?—Without advances we cannot work. We must advance them the twist.

Would they not cheat you?—The Uriya weavers are more honest than Telugu weavers.

At the Council Chamber, Fort St. George, Madras.

SEVENTEENTH DAY.

Friday, 18th February 1898.

PRESENT:

SIR J. B. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. (PRESIDENT).

SURGEON-COLONEL J. RICHARDSON.
MR. T. W. HOLDERNESS, C.S.I.
MR. T. HIGHAM, C.I.E.
RAI BAHADUR B. K. BOSE, C.I.E.
MR. W. J. H. LEFANU (*Temporary Member for Madras*).
MR. H. J. MCINTOSH, *Secretary*.

MR. H. A. STUART, Collector of Bellary, called in and examined.

Mr. H. A. Stuart.

18th Feb. 1898.

I put in a written statement of evidence.

(*a*) DEPARTURES FROM THE PRESCRIPTIONS OF THE MADRAS FAMINE CODE, WHICH OCCURRED IN BELLARY DURING THE RECENT FAMINE.

Section 85 of the Code.—The grain-doles were, in many villages, given only once a week, as the labour of distribution was found to be too great to allow of more frequent issue. One good result of this method was that the Circle Inspector was often present at the distribution.

Section 92.—No effect was given to the provisions of this section, as infirm persons, unfit for work, and having no one able to support them, were entitled to gratuitous relief either in their villages, or at central kitchens, or at work kitchens.

Section 93.—The provision in this section that all persons applying for work, *however weakly*, should be admitted to relief works, was not given effect to, for weakly persons who were unfit for work were given gratuitous relief. When such persons applied for work the officer in charge of the work either sent them to the works, kitchen or gave them an order to the head of the village for admission to gratuitous relief. A small grant from the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund was made to them for their maintenance until they could be admitted to gratuitous relief.

Section 105.—For time lost owing to re-classification, storms, etc., the full wage of class, and not the minimum wage, was paid (see paragraph 47 of Appendix VI).

Section 106.—This section was twice modified by the Government.

Section 108.—No appropriations for each work were made. The sanctioned estimates of road works included in the programme were worthless, and if we had waited until trustworthy estimates were prepared and funds appropriated, it is probable that many lives would have been lost.

Section 109.—Local Fund Works were not as a rule executed under the supervision of the Local Fund Engineer and his staff. The Government at an early stage of the famine ordered all such works to be carried out by the Public Works Department staff.

Section 122.—When the Government substituted the minimum wage ration of section 120 for the ration given in section 122, I made a slight modification in order to meet the difficulties that had been experienced in procuring and measuring the minimum ration. Following the provision of section 124, I made no distinction of sex, and I abolished oil or ghee, which found no place in the ration originally given, and the issue of which is forbidden by section 124. To get rid of awkward fractions, I raised the quantity of salt, and, instead of the vague "condiments and vegetables," I gave a definite quantity of chillis and of tamarind. Under the orders of the Famine Commissioner, this modified ration was subsequently cancelled.

Section 135.—*Gosha* women in receipt of relief were not required to do any work. Their numbers were not large, and the provision of work for them would have cost more than it was worth.

Appendix III, Form F.—The unit classification given in this form was modified by Government, who ordered that boys between 12 and 16 should be taken as the equivalent of two or three units, but should continue to receive the wage of an adult male. Nursing mothers were reduced from 2 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ units.

Appendix VI, paragraph 8.—The Government directed that a coolie who did half a day's work should be given half the wage, as provided in the old Code, and that late attendance should be met by a small fine not exceeding a quarter of a day's wage. This order, passed on the 30th March 1897, was cancelled in June.

Appendix VI, paragraph 21.—No copy of the statement required in this paragraph was sent to the paying officer.

Appendix VI, paragraph 39.—The provision of drinking-water was left to the officer in charge of the work and not given to Tahsildars. Bazars were not opened on all works, for, owing to the proximity of the villages, they were not needed.

Matters not provided for by the Code.—An allowance was made for the distance which workers had to come to the work. Originally this was confined to workers whose homes were more than three miles from the work spot. For all who lived beyond that distance, the task was reduced by $\frac{1}{24}$ for each mile which they had to travel in excess of the initial three miles. The Government subsequently extended this concession to all workers, whatever the distance of their homes from the work spot, and in the case of women and children, the reduction was increased to $\frac{1}{20}$ of the task for each mile. Later on this order was withdrawn and the original allowance restored.

Another matter in which the provisions of the Code were departed from was in the position taken up by the Superintending Engineer, whose interference in any matters not strictly professional is not contemplated by the Code.

(*b*) DEGREE OF SUCCESS WHICH ATTENDED THE MEASURES ADOPTED.

So far as regards the relief of distress and the saving of human life, I consider that the measures adopted in Bellary were decidedly successful. There was, it is true, a slight increase in the death-rate, but the total deaths in the year ending 30th September 1897 were only 3,000 more than those in the preceding year, and I have shown in my report that the increased mortality was largely due to the excessive prevalence of fever, cholera and measles, and that the well-to-do suffered equally with the poor. The outbreak of measles was of a particularly virulent type, and it is curious that, notwithstanding the unusual dryness of the season, fever was more prevalent than usual, and the excess mortality from this cause began as early as October 1896. I may mention that there was a great deal of fever among horses in Bellary during 1897.

Another cause of sickness is to be found in the fact that the supply of drinking-water was both scanty and bad for an unusually long period.

I do not deny that the health of the people may have suffered in consequence of the dearness of food, which obliged many to dispense with luxuries and little comforts, but there was not a single authenticated case of death from starvation during the whole course of the famine. The worst instance which came under my personal observation was that of a girl of about 14 years of age who was undoubtedly suffering from starvation. On inquiry I found that she was on the village grain-dole list, but that, being of weak intellect, she had wandered from her home. She was sent to the Adóni hospital and when I last saw her, she had made great improvement, and I believe she eventually recovered.

Secondarily as regards economy, I think a fair measure of success can be claimed. I am confident that the wages paid by the Government actually reached the workers in full, and that gratuitous relief was confined to the deserving poor. There can, however, be no doubt that numbers

of the relief workers were not without means of subsistence, and that they sought State aid before they needed it. Further, I think that the concessions in the matter of distance allowance, late attendance and payment for half days, and the restrictions placed on fining for short work, which were in force for several months, unnecessarily increased the cost of the work done, and encouraged resort to relief works by persons who could have done without help. It was ordered that fines were to be imposed only for "proved malingering," and the officers in charge of works would not take the responsibility of asserting that there was proved malingering.

Lastly, I consider that the B wage is unnecessarily high.

(*c*) ADVICE AS TO THE MEASURES AND METHODS OF WORKING WHICH SEEM LIKELY TO PROVE MOST EFFECTIVE IN RESPECT TO THE SAVING OF LIFE AND WITH REGARD TO ECONOMY.

As already stated, I think we were decidedly successful in relieving distress and saving human life, but there was some suffering and sickness among the babies and young children who accompanied their mothers to the work. I endeavoured to meet this by giving gratuitous relief to the mothers of sickly children, and I think this should be recognised distinctly in the Famine Code. As the grain-dole was less than the B wage and as money is always preferred to grain, the mothers disliked being put on gratuitous relief, but if the B wage is reduced, as I think it should be, the difference between the dole and the wage will be less, and some small addition to the dole might be made if the woman is a nursing mother. Women in an advanced stage of pregnancy were also removed from the works and placed on gratuitous relief, and that form of relief was also given for a month after confinement. I should like to see all these cases recognised by the Code.

Greater economy may be obtained, without danger, by reducing the B wage and increasing the severity of the test. It is recognised that the wage should be sufficient to provide bare subsistence and nothing more, and I am convinced that the B wage gave more than this. Coolies on the tea and coffee estates on the Nilgiris earn annas 4 a day, but while they are at work they draw only R2 per mensem, leaving the balance to accumulate. This R2 per mensem is called their grain-money and on this they live and do hard work. They could have more, if they wanted it, but they do not want it. The majority of them live on ragi, with the addition of a little rice, a very little pulse and some condiments and onions. The wage, therefore, is a ragi wage, and the normal price of ragi at the bazars near estates may be taken as 22 Ootacamund seers. The daily wage is, therefore, the equivalent of about 84 tolas of ragi. The working day for these coolies is one of 10 hours, and a man will dig 40 pits each $1' \times 1' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'$ (=100 cubic feet) in a day. If a man doing this amount of work can live on the equivalent of 84 tolas of ragi, it follows that it is unnecessary to give a B class relief worker the equivalent of 95 tolas. Another direction in which economy could be effected is the wages of women and of boys and girls between 12 and 16. The difference between the wages of a man and woman should certainly be more than 5 tolas, and I do not believe that a boy of 12 requires the same quantity of food as an adult.

The labour test should also be made more severe. The abolition of the distance allowance and the substitution of weakly gangs for the system of reductions for weakness would probably be enough, provided the District officers are allowed to impose the test strictly and pay in accordance with the work done.

(*d*) OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS OR OPINIONS.

I strongly recommend that the position of Public Works Department officers on famine duty should be clearly defined. My opinion is that they must either be left entirely independent of the Collector or be placed entirely under his authority. If the Collector is to be responsible for relief measures, and I am decidedly of opinion that he must be, the former course is impossible. The express exclusion of the Collector's authority in the case of professional matters should be withdrawn, for it is impossible to draw a sharp line between professional and non-professional matters, and in practice no Collector will care to interfere in really technical subjects. Medical, Survey and Forest officers work under the Collector as also does the engineering staff of the district board, but it is not found that the Collector interferes with them in matters of a professional nature. Famine administration would undoubtedly be much easier if the Public Works Department district staff were, in ordinary times, under the Collector's control in the same way as the other district establishments mentioned above. The Executive Engineer should in fact be, like the District Forest officer, a professional assistant to the Collector. This at any rate should be his position in time of famine. I would then give him the management, subject to the Collector's control, of all large famine works, and he should be responsible for all matters, professional or non-professional, connected with their management. These works would be really large works, and it would be possible to have a Senior Upper Subordinate or an Assistant Engineer in charge of each. Revenue Divisional officers should have no responsibility for the management of such works and no control over the officer in charge. Their energies would be directed to the administration of gratuitous relief and the control of village works, which would be much more numerous if the works for the bulk of the people were concentrated, as I propose. A few small works, other than village works, might be necessary in some parts of the district; these could be managed by the Local Fund engineering staff.

I strongly deprecate the interference of the Superintending Engineer, who should be forbidden to issue any orders on famine matters. I understand that it would be difficult in such circumstances to find any work for him to do, but if this is so, he might be put in charge of the famine accounts.

During the late famine, Executive Engineers were required to submit weekly or fortnightly reports to the Superintending and Chief Engineer apparently on all matters connected with famine relief, and these reports were used as a channel for complaints against the Collector, to whom the Executive Engineer was nominally subordinate. A system more subversive of authority and more fatal to the establishment of good relations between the Collector and Public Works Department officers it would be difficult to imagine.

(*President.*)—Mr. Stuart, when did you go to Bellary as Collector?—I took charge on the 3rd February 1897.

Relief had been started before that, I suppose?—Yes, there were a number of relief works opened. But there was no regular gratuitous relief. Kitchens were attached to the works, and beyond that there was no gratuitous relief except in the towns of Adóni and Bellary.

In your written statement you say, "No effect was given to the provisions of section 92, as infirm persons unfit for work and having no one able to support them, were entitled to gratuitous relief either in their villages or at central kitchens or at work kitchens." Were all old men and dependants of that kind that appeared on the works, not allowed to stay there if they refused to go to the kitchen?—They were not given wages. I believe there was a sum of R100 which was spent in that way, but beyond that practically there was no relief of that kind at all.

Did they as a fact stay on the works in some cases or did they go back to the villages?—Those that were not fed at the kitchens went back to their houses.

You think most of them stayed at home?—Yes.

They were not refused relief in the villages because people upon whom they usually depend were at work on the works?—No.

You say that section 106 was twice modified by Government. Can you tell us in what directions it was modified?—The first modification was to alter the order of sentences, so as to require the report when an order was issued prohibiting the fines going down below the minimum, and subsequently the section was altered again in such a way that it exactly corresponds to section 87 of the Bombay Code.

I see in both the corrected editions of the section authority is given to send contumacious characters to poor-houses. Was that done?—We had no poor-houses. I ordered the contumacious characters to be sent to the kitchens.

With regard to your reference to section 109, what is the object of Government in ordering all local fund works to be carried out by the Public Works Department?—I think the Government considered that the local fund staff was not sufficient.

And the local fund staff and the Public Works staff were amalgamated; was it so?—We kept them distinct. I think we lent three overseers to the Public Works Depart-

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ment. I found the local fund engineer very useful in starting works.

In starting works which were afterwards put under the Public Works Department?—Yes.

In raising the quantity of salt did you do it with reference to complaints?—There were complaints that there was not enough salt even after I raised the quantity. There were complaints also against the use of oil in the kitchens.

What kind of complaints?—People disliked it. The gravy that they gave with cholum was declined because oil was mixed with it.

What is gravy made of?—Tamarind, chillis, dhal, and salt.

Are the people in the habit of using ghee at all?—To a small extent.

Were vegetables procurable in the Bellary district?—Onions were procurable fairly cheaply. There were some greens that they gathered in the fields, I noticed, throughout a greater part of the famine.

Wild greens, I suppose?—Yes.

I suppose well cultivation was kept on all throughfamine more or less?—Yes, throughout the famine.

Did they grow vegetables there?—To a certain extent.

And vegetables were not used at first in all the kitchens?—No; vegetables were never used in the kitchens except towards the end when the D wage was introduced by the orders of the Famine Commissioner as it stood in the Code, and vegetables were also given under the doctor's orders in some kitchens.

What was the ration given to children below twelve years of age?—We had no children between seven and twelve years—or at least only very few—in the kitchens.

Below seven did they get half rations?—The custom was that a man went round with quarter rations at first, and going round a second time gave another quarter to those who wanted more. The allowance we subsequently granted was half ration all through.

That was for children under seven?—Yes, practically.

Were the other children on the works?—Yes.

Then as a matter of experience were the children below seven generally satisfied with the quarter ration with which you began?—With small children between the ages of one and four we began with quarter, and with the older children we began with one-half. A few children would take a little more than one-half.

(*Dr. Richardson.*)—They got as much as they could eat?—Yes; the average was not more than half.

(*Mr. Higham.*)—For one day?—Yes, for both the meals—morning and evening.

(*Dr. Richardson.*)—Did children eat the half ration?—Some of them did.

(*President.*)—Did these children in the kitchens seem to thrive on the rations they got?—I think they did excellently.

And they had to walk backwards and forwards between their villages and the kitchens?—Yes, those that were on the works and those that were attending the central kitchens.

At what time did they get their morning meal?—From 9 to 11 A.M. It varied.

Do you think that they had something to eat in the village before they started?—Yes.

I suppose people provided that out of their own resources?—Yes.

Who looked after the children in the kitchens?—We had a Superintendent, and we had people called warders, and water women very often. I appointed nurses in certain kitchens, but it was not very successful.

Did these small children under seven stay about the kitchens all the day?—They went with their mothers.

On works?—Yes. And those that came to the central kitchens went home.

Who came with those who attended the central kitchens?—Usually the older children.

Not the parents?—Not often. We had a certain number of women at the central kitchens, sickly women who were unable to work.

Did these children who came to the kitchens belong almost entirely to the lowest class?—I should say that 25 per cent. of them belonged to the lowest class. But a large proportion of them belonged to the Boya caste, which is a great cultivating class.

Were there small puttadars?—Yes, the Reddis. They are the big cultivating class, while the Boyas are small cultivators.

Were there any Reddis in the kitchens?—Very few. I have seen a few, but it was very exceptional.

Did the old and the infirm of the Boya caste go to the kitchens?—Yes, sir, freely.

Not Reddis?—I have seen some Reddi women. I cannot call to mind at the present moment if there were any Reddi men. There may have been a few.

What extra ration did a nursing mother get?—She got no extra ration. But her wage cannot be reduced by fining or on rest days below 2 lbs. a day.

When the order was cancelled in June about paragraph 8 of Appendix VI, the coolie that did half a day's work got nothing?—That was the rule enforced before the 30th of March, but we restored it after the order of June which was not received till July and which was not put into force completely till August.

What was done with regard to late attendance?—After the omnibus order was cancelled, if a worker arrived late he was struck off altogether for the day. As a matter of fact I found in my inspections that the rolls were not called at the proper time and the people did come very late indeed.

You say that bazars were not opened on all works, as owing to the proximity of the villages they were not needed. Did people practically buy their things in their own villages?—Yes. I have known them buying in their own villages when they could have bought them more cheaply in a village near the works.

I suppose to keep up credit?—I think so.

On some works bazars were opened?—Yes.

How was it done?—The Tahsildar arranged with some native shop-keepers to have a few baskets of grain on some of the works. On some of the works the man came only on the pay-day.

At such bazars the man had to sell at cusba prices?—No, sir. There was no interference with the prices.

Did prices vary very much in adjacent villages?—Not a great deal.

The bazar rate, which is supposed to govern the wages, was fixed at the weekly market?—The rate of prices of food was taken from that prevailing in the neighbouring villages.

Is there not danger when the Government fixes its payment by the village rates, of the village banias combining to run prices up?—I do not think so. There was always a well-defined relation between the village prices and the prices of the big market town.

Did you ever try to go into the reasons for the fluctuations of prices in the market town?—I once compiled some information on the stocks in Bellary itself, but I never went into the question of the fluctuations in prices.

You never saw anything like "rings"?—No.

Do you think that the great increase in the current prices was a reasonable one or due to panic?—The increase in November I think was undoubtedly due to panic. The prices then fell and afterwards they were reasonable. The ryots would not sell their stocks for fear of the future. One case came to my notice in which merchants of one village went into another village where there were grain pits and they offered to buy up the grain at 9 seers per rupee. But the men said that they would not open their pits until the prices rose. I know that a man had 40,000 seers in his pit and he would not sell it. I suggested to him that he should sell it. But he said that he wanted all the grain for his people, although we proposed to give him liberal rates.

Who is this man?—He is a man who belongs to the family of the village headman.

Do you think that there is a very large amount of grain held up in that way all over the country by puttadars?—I am quite unable to say what amount was so held, but I know that a considerable number of puttadars had grain. Especially in the Alur taluk, where I made most of my enquiries, there were a considerable number of people with a large amount of grain.

I suppose grain-dealers had a large amount of grain stored up in pits?—I don't think so.

Do you think that the grain passes through the hands of grain-dealers very rapidly?—Yes.

They are content with small profits?—I think they were afraid of holding large stocks.

Do you think that the distance allowance over three miles is a good proceeding?—I would have no distance allowance at all.

Then if you had no distance allowance, would you have hutting on the works?—Yes.

Would not that make it difficult for puttadars and others owning cattle, sheep and goats to go on the works?—Yes. To meet that difficulty I would have village relief works as well.

And you would allow puttadars and others who had reason to stay in their homes to be employed on the village works?—Yes. But I would require an order of admission in that case.

By the inspecting officer?—By the taluk relief officer.

Do these Boyas and puttadars have their own bullocks?—Yes.

However small their holdings are?—I have known of Pariahs and Mathigas having bullocks. Numbers of them have got bullocks, even though they may have only a holding of an acre or two of dry land.

Did they use their bullocks in carts?—No, not the smallest men.

How do they keep their cattle on such small holdings? Is there enough waste lands for the cattle to graze?—I think every year cattle deteriorate very greatly. I think a certain amount of grazing was available.

Do the coolie classes who do not hold any land own cattle too?—Buffaloes.

What do they keep them for?—For milk chiefly.

As a rule every family of that kind owns buffaloes?—I should not say every family, but I should think a very fair proportion do. The proportion of landless labourers in Bellary is comparatively small.

Have puttadars sub-tenants under them?—Large puttadars have, but not to a great extent in Bellary.

What kind of rent do those sub-tenants pay?—They pay rent in kind as a rule.

Do these Boyas, Malas and Mathigas work as sub-tenants occasionally?—Very often. A man has got a little land of his own and hires out a little from others.

As to the absolutely landless class, what proportion do you think they bear to the landholding class?—According to the census the people who were returned as labourers form 21 per cent. of land-owners. That is probably exaggerated, but in the Presidency as a whole it is considerably greater than that.

You say there can be no doubt that numbers of relief workers were not without means of subsistence, and that they resorted to it before they needed it. Do you mean some of them had stores of grain or some of them had cash?—Yes.

There was a great deal of sale of cattle?—A great deal in November, before I joined the district. Cattle were then sold at very low prices. But after I joined the district, there was no very great sale.

How did people who came on the works manage to feed their cattle; apparently the whole family came to the works?—It is explained by the fact that the whole family does not come to the works.

I suppose they generally left somebody at home, either the head of the family or some other?—In the majority of cases the head of the family would be left at home and far more women than men came to the works.

Do you think that one man looked after his own cattle and his neighbour's cattle?—Oh, yes. It is customary to drive the cattle in villages in herds, to a certain extent.

Under the charge of paid herdsmen?—Yes, usually boys.

In case of another famine, if the policy of large works in a few places were adopted and all able-bodied women and men were referred to them, with the exception, perhaps, of some of those who own most cattle, do you think that the mass of the labourer class would be able to arrange for their cattle in the villages before they went on the works?—Yes.

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You think they would?—Yes. As they do now, they would send a number of cattle to graze, in charge of one or two ryots.

To graze in a distant jungle?—Yes. That system has worked well.

How do they manage about the care of the houses and the little property they might have?—I think as a rule they are obliged to leave somebody at home.

Some dependant?—Yes.

How are these people to be supported?—If they are able to do work I would give them some work. There is always plenty of village work available. But if they are not able to work, I would give them gratuitous relief.

Do you think that you would be able to arrange that in your village inspections in connection with gratuitous relief?—Yes, I do.

What sort of works would there be in villages?—Digging ponds to catch rain-water as the sub-soil water is so bad that it is not fit to drink.

Then in those places do people drink from ponds?—Yes, in many villages.

In black cotton soil would ponds hold water?—I am referring to black cotton soil. They revet them with stones. Another practice is to make an embankment and to run water into the pond.

You make an embankment to drain the water?—Yes.

These are simply ponds and not tanks below the surface?—Yes.

Is the cutting of *nuth* grass generally used as relief work?—Yes, but it requires very strong men to do that.

It is often done in the villages?—Yes. In all black cotton soil villages.

You say in talking of mothers of sickly children that money is always preferred to grain?—Yes, that is my experience.

Why is that I wonder. Do you think that they save out of it?—I think they saved out of it and spent it in luxury. The consumption of arrack in the Alur taluk, which is the worst affected taluk, was not appreciably less than the average. I am not sure if it was not greater in the first half-year of 1897. We have no figures for the consumption of toddy. I find that three lakhs of rupees worth of silver and copper which was sent to Adoni and Alur taluks between November 1896 and the end of May 1897 had all been absorbed; and we could get none of it although we invited people to give it and although we sent people out to bazars to get it.

Do you think that it is a good thing to arrange weakly gangs. Did you have any experience in that?—Yes, they clean side channels, sweep up the roads, and do light work. I think that it is much preferable to allowing weakly people into the ordinary gangs.

It breaks up the character of the gang?—I do not think it matters much in a gang of a hundred.

Your gangs are as big as a hundred?—Yes.

Can you explain why, supposing that in future famines the system is adopted of having a few large works, you would not still, as I understand from your statement, be prepared to have the Executive Engineer under the Superintending Engineer, but you would have him under the Collector?—If the Collector is to be held responsible for the administration of relief in the district, I do not see how he can allow such an important part as a large relief work not to be under his control.

Would not he have plenty to do in looking after the village works that you propose to start and also gratuitous relief?—That he is always expected to do, but if he is to be responsible for the whole district, he must have control of the works too.

He would, of course, inspect those large works and be able to address the Executive Engineer or the Superintending Engineer or Government or the Famine Commissioner?—That is a very roundabout course. I will give you an instance of my own experience in the last famine. I found that sufficient water was not being given to coolies in the hottest part of the season. I had no power at that time to give an order on the works, and therefore wrote to the Executive Engineer asking him to increase the quantity of water. He wrote back to say that he could not agree with me. I should be held responsible if the people died. It took some time before I got the quantity of water increased.

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I understand your argument. As long as the entire responsibility is placed by the Code upon the person of the Collector there is the difficulty. But if you are revising the Code with a view to future famines, would you maintain that section?—I would. It is necessary that the Collector should have full control and full responsibility. It is only the Public Works Department that has shown any resentment at being interfered with, and there was only a very slight interference.

(*Mr. Higham.*)—You think that the management of relief works should be altogether decentralised, each district running on its own lines?—Yes, under the control of the Famine Commissioner.

It has been found in other provinces in Northern India where famine works have been carried out on a very extensive scale, that an immense amount of time is required in order to ensure and maintain a uniform standard, uniform discipline, and uniform method of checking and testing works and preventing frauds, and so on, and that in order to secure the whole-time services, the Superintending Engineers have been put on to work in communication with the Commissioner. Do you think that such a control is necessary, or that it might be left to each Collector to manage it for himself with the assistance of the Executive Engineer?—I think it would be quite sufficient to leave it to each Collector; and uniformity could be obtained under the Famine Commissioner. In Northern India, I understand, there is no Famine Commissioner.

There is a Commissioner?—Our districts are very much larger than Northern India districts. The average population of the Madras districts is 1¾ millions.

Do you think it would throw a great deal on the Famine Commissioner if effective control is to be exercised, apart from all his other duties?—Not necessarily. If necessary you could give him a professional assistant.

In regard to the establishment necessary for the maintenance of these works. Is that a matter which should be settled by the Collector or by the departmental authorities?—I don't understand what establishments you mean.

Whatever establishments may be necessary for the management of the works, the measurements and tasking, payments and so on?—I would leave the professional part of the work as far as possible—the number of overseers and sub-overseers required for setting out the task, for measuring and check-measuring them—to the Executive Engineer, and in regard to supervision, payments, hutting and sanitation, etc., I would leave them to the Collector.

Otherwise you would not put the relief works under the Public Works Department?—I would eventually. I would leave the start to be determined by the Collector. Then I would put the whole of them under the Executive Engineer.

You would put it under the Executive Engineer and not under the Public Works Department?—Yes.

Is the Executive Engineer to be under the Collector?—Yes.

Then you would have the Public Works officers put under your orders?—Yes.

And anything in the way of control might be exercised by the Famine Commissioner?—Yes. As far as Bellary is concerned, our works are roads, and we want very little professional control.

It is a general question of the organisation of large bodies of labour?—That might well be left to the Executive Engineer and the Collector.

You would relieve him altogether from his departmental superiors?—Yes.

In this Presidency is there not an Executive Engineer attached to every district?—No. For instance, the Executive Engineer for Bellary is also the Executive Engineer for Anantapur.

How would you manage in these cases?—I would appoint a special man as was done on this occasion.

In the North-Western Provinces there was an Executive Engineer for three or four districts and there was some difficulty?—There would be, if you are short of men.

In regard to the ration, you gave to the children and the dependants in the kitchens on the works, on an average, half of the full ration?—Yes.

What will be the weight of them?—Ten ounces of grain. That is 43 tolas of unhusked grain or 40 tolas of flour, 5 tolas of pulse, 0·83 of salt, 0·83 of ghee or oil and 1·25 of condiments or vegetables.

If that is the full ration then the ration for the child will be 10 ounces, plus the other items?—Yes. For a long time it was the ration given under section 122 of the Madras Famine Code.

In calculating wages did you calculate them on the price of cholum or the price of ragi?—At first on the price of cholum, then we gradually introduced ragi either in full or in part. In some parts the wage was given on the calculation of ragi alone, and in other places we introduced one-fourth and one-half of ragi.

On what principle did you go on?—Upon the amount of cheap grain available. In the case of Bellary I gave ragi because the people who came on the works there were generally ragi-eating people.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—Can you tell us, Mr. Stuart, when you began to introduce this ragi ration?—I think it was about the beginning of July when I began to introduce ragi.

(*Mr. Higham.*)—I suppose ragi was always cheaper than cholum?—Yes.

Were the coolies ragi-eating people?—Coolies of the Bellary town and some other parts of Bellary were ragi-eating people, whereas the coolies of Alur and Adoni taluks and a portion of the Bellary taluk were cholum-eating people.

Did you calculate the wage on the rate prevailing in the cusba or in the villages?—In the villages.

What would be the difference generally between the two?—Something very small.

How did you determine the rate? Is it partly ragi and partly cholum?—It was determined by the practice of the people. We took the grain which they were accustomed to eat. Subsequently ragi began to come into the markets of cholum-using taluks, and I then gradually substituted ragi either entirely or in part for cholum.

Was the daily wage fixed entirely with reference to the staple food, or did you separately fix the price of other items?—It was fixed entirely with reference to the price of the staple grain.

According to the Code equivalent?—Yes. I frequently made inquiry in regard to the cost of other items, and I found it was not necessary to give money instead of grain.

How were the paymasters informed of the rates to be entered as they were constantly varying?—They had notice sent to them from the Tahsildars every week. That is the G notice prescribed in the Code.

Any changes within the week?—Not as a rule. Any violent change would be sent in a supplemental notice. In one or two cases that was done.

How would the Tahsildars know how the prices in villages were?—They were reported by the village heads.

They reported to the Tahsildars and the Tahsildars reported to the paymaster?—Yes.

Is there any means of checking the report sent by the village head?—We constantly checked his rate.

Is there any danger of prices being kept up in the villages in the knowledge that if they were lowered the payment of coolies would fall in proportion?—I don't think so.

Do you think that if you have another famine the rates should be fixed in that way on the village rates?—Yes. That is sufficient. We had an adequate check over village prices by comparing them with the prices in larger towns.

If it exceeded a certain percentage?—The Tahsildar would become suspicious and would enquire into the matter, and report it to the divisional officer and the Collector.

You say the difference is generally small?—Yes.

Would it be one seer in the rupee?—Not as much as that as a rule.

You remark there is a great difference between the wages of men and women. What do you think would be a fair one?—I think if the women had C wage it would be sufficient. I would give the man a wage between B and C. I would give him 85 tolas. B wage is 95 tolas for males.

You say that you would give them between B and C wage?—I would give the man 85 tolas.

And the women?—75.

The present C wage?—Yes. There would be a difference of ten tolas between the man and the woman.

What would you do with boys above 12?—I would give them a woman's wage.

In the case of men who should not be fully tasked, such as old and feeble men who are only able to do the same work as a woman does, would you give them the male wage or the female wage?—I would give them the female wage, if they are not fully tasked.

Practically it comes to the system in Northern India which I have recommended in my note of having two classes, one for the able-bodied persons who could dig or take heavy loads in carrying, and the other which includes all the women and the feeble people who could only be employed as carriers?—I understood that according to your system the number of people employed on the higher wage would not depend on the number able to do work and capable of earning that wage, but upon the amount of work available for that class of people.

I don't think that I went into that point very fully. As a matter of fact in Northern India they cannot get enough diggers for the higher wages?—We have very little digging down here.

You have all metal work?—Yes.

You would make the classes simply able-bodied males and others?—That is what it would come to.

Would you make a distinct difference between the two?—Yes.

These coolies you mention in the Niligris, were they coolies that emigrated from Bellary?—No, they were coolies mostly from Coimbatore, Trichinopoly, and the southern districts.

You think what is good for them will be good for the Bellary coolies?—I think quite enough for them. I have been to tea and coffee estates recently, and this information was given to me incidentally.

As regards task and fining, would you consider that the rule that no one should be paid below the minimum is a good rule or that fines should go down below that minimum?—In test works, I would have fines go down even below the minimum.

Without any limit?—Without a limit, if it is a test work. When you have started a relief work, I would not fine below the minimum, except in regard to an individual contumacious character.

Can you find an individual contumacious character?—Very often, you can.

How would you find him as the task is calculated on the gang and not on the individual?—Yes, that is true, but the man in charge generally knows it.

With him you come down to what?—Nothing, occasionally.

With the generality of workers there is no reason why they should not do their task, if the task is a moderate one. Supposing that the task is a moderate one, would you still say they should never get less than the minimum wage?—No. It almost amounts to contumacy.

It amounts to contumacy only when a man refuses to do it. But suppose he would not do it?—The words "malingering" and "contumacy" are unfortunate words. It is simply laziness.

What I mean is this. If you regard the willingness to do a fair task as the only test that can be applied in the case of relief works, do you think that the minimum wage rule restricts you unduly in enforcing the task?—I think it is unwise to allow the fining to go below the minimum, without the sanction of some superior officers and without enquiry. Subject to that I think I would allow it.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—Mr. Stuart, can you tell me what is the total amount spent in the Bellary district?— 29 lakhs.

Spent on direct relief?—Yes.

What was given in the shape of advances and remissions?—7 lakhs and 45 thousand in loans and advances; 7 lakhs and 38 thousand in remissions.

That amounts altogether to 44 lakhs approximately?—Yes.

In addition to that what did the Indian Charitable Relief Fund spend?—Something over 3 lakhs.

Then it is altogether 47 lakhs?—Yes.

What is the population of the distressed tracts?—518,000.

So if you take an average of five for a family, there are about 100,000 families?—Yes.

So that the total cost to Government per family would be about R47?—Yes.

What is the total expenditure on famine relief per head?—I have no means of comparing it with any other provinces.

I gather from your paper that you think less might have been spent if certain precautions were taken?—I think the wages were unnecessarily high.

There were two causes—(1) the unit of wage was too high, and (2) that it was unduly attractive. Each person was paid too much and more people came than need have come?—Yes.

Did you ever compare it with the famine of 1891-92?—Yes.

Was relief very much greater on this occasion?—Yes.

Was the distinction between the two such as to require difference in relief?—I don't think it was, as far as I could make out. The prices did not go so high in 1892 as they were in 1897.

According to my figures, in 1891 the price of cholum was 14 seers in May and 16 in July?—In December 1891 the price was 14·2 and it fluctuated between that and 15 seers in the following months. In June it was 14·9.

It was about 14 seers throughout the period?—Yes. In February, March, April and May it was 15 seers.

How does it compare with the price of 1897?— In December 1896 it was 13 seers as against 14·2 in December 1891. In June it was 11 against 14·9.

Was that longer?—It was longer and more severe.

Do you know how many people were on relief in 1891?—The maximum was 18,000 in June.

In 1897 what was the maximum?—183,000 on the 31st of July, I think. That was the highest total reached. The highest monthly average was in August.

Before this famine occurred in 1897, do you think that the district had recovered from the famine of 1891-92?—I am not able to give an opinion based upon personal knowledge, but a number of officers do not think it has recovered.

In what way?—I do not know. I am inclined to think that it had recovered, as the people have had three good harvests.

The prices before famine set in were low?—Yes.

As low as they have been for a long time?—Yes.

Do you think that the allowance for distance is excessive?—Yes.

How did it operate on the people? Did it make them come to works in greater numbers?—I think so. The task became very easy.

Did you represent this?—I did.

Do you know when you did it?—On the 14th of June in my fortnightly report, where I pointed out that it was likely to happen. I think the Famine Commissioner himself pointed it out.

In June you wrote a letter?—Yes, a long letter.

What did you say?—I thought that everybody agreed that the task had been unduly easy and that people were on works who did not require State relief. I also recommended that the distance allowance should be restored to what it was originally.

Was that ultimately done?—Yes.

Do you know when the orders were issued?—Some time in July. They were re-issued by me on the 25th of July.

You reported in June?—Yes, on the 14th of June.

Had the new orders of July any beneficial effect?—They did not come into force till some time in August. But the numbers as a matter of fact were higher in August than in any other month.

What is the cause of it?—I ascribe it largely to want of discipline. I do not think the measurements were properly made or checked. I am positive from my own frequent experience that punctual attendance was not insisted on, and I turned off some thousands of people when I found them unpunctual in the mornings.

As Collector of the district you are responsible for these relief works?—Yes, to a certain extent.

You said that there was want of discipline?—My orders were not carried out by the Public Works officers in charge

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of the relief works. My orders were clear and distinct, but they were not obeyed.

Why were they not obeyed? Who was pulling them the other way? Were they getting instructions elsewhere?—That I cannot say. They had no doubt instructions, though not on the point I am referring to. Instructions were issued by the Superintending Engineer in matters where he should not interfere.

You state that cattle were sold early in November?—Yes. It was before I joined the district.

Were they sold because it was thought necessary as a prudential method?—I think it was from panic and also as a prudential method; but the impulse of prudence was due to panic.

Did they sell the valuable cattle?—Not many. A certain number of plough cattle were sold.

Then with regard to the B wage, if it is unnecessarily high, do you think that a family saved anything out of it?—They did.

Is that a matter of observation?—Yes. I observed that of the people coming on a work we started, 75 per cent. were from a large village near the work, and the village officers assured me that half of these people were quite able to maintain themselves for some time longer.

The substitution of cholum-ragi wage for purely cholum wage was begun in July?—Yes.

Is ragi cheaper than cholum?—Yes.

Up to July if they bought ragi, they had an advantage?—Yes, in Alur certainly. In Adoni it was very difficult to get ragi at that time.

When ragi was procurable, they bought ragi and they had an advantage?—Yes.

Because their wage was based on a higher grain?—Yes.

In taking cholum, is it the medium quality or higher quality of cholum that you took?—At Adoni and Bellary we took the inferior quality and in Alur we changed the yellow cholum to white cholum, because there was no more yellow cholum available.

Is there a large difference between the prices of the two?—In July 1897 in Bellary, white cholum was 9·79 seers, while yellow was 10·30. In the next month they were 8·76 and 10·30. It was about one or two seers dearer.

I understand that your system for future famine is to have large works as a rule and small works as exceptions?—Yes.

Suppose you had both simultaneously, large works at a distance and small works near the villages. Would you only allow a certain number of people on the village works by tickets?—Yes.

Do you think that other people will go to a distance?—I think if they are really in want, they will.

Do you think there would be a stage in which they will try to see if they cannot beat you by refusing to go?—I am sure they will in Bellary; as they are now accustomed to work so near, they will certainly resist.

Will they "run down"?—I doubt it.

Do you think that they have resources in the way of jewellery and money which they will first exhaust?—I should think so. A number of them would from my own experience.

In Bengal we were told that the late famine had taught them the valuable lesson of self-reliance. Do you think that is the case in your district?—No.

In July you inspected certain works with Mr. Higham?—I did.

In the fortnighly report it is said that coolies lived in much better style and they wanted chicken curry and rice?—I was told that they certainly lived in better style on the works. I have heard that repeatedly.

(*Mr. Le Fanu.*)—The chicken curry was probably a flower of speech?—Probably.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—You would not have any authority over the Collector except the Famine Commissioner?—Yes, none.

If you have large relief works, could not the difficulty be got over by the issue by Government of minute instructions for regulating relief works?—I doubt it.

Did you see the rules issued by the North-West Government which were circulated?—Yes. But I have not studied them in detail.

You do not think that minute instructions regarding the setting out of work, sanitation, etc., issued by Government would meet the difficulty?—It might meet the difficulty of having the Executive Engineer under the Collector.

Would it meet the difficulty of having each district running on separate lines?—I think it would secure uniformity.

Under the system you contemplate, I don't see where the uniformity comes in?—The Famine Commissioner is the head of all and he could give us instructions.

Has he got a professional adviser in regard to works?—Not now.

His instructions might be deficient on that point?—They might be.

As to the gratuitous dole given to persons in their homes, did you give the D ration?—For some considerable time we gave the ration described in section 122.

Afterwards D ration?—In Bellary, I varied it a little.

In Bengal they gave for gratuitous relief one pound for every adult and half a pound for each child. Do you think it would be too low?—I would not go below the D ration.

Would you give them the ration in its constituent elements or in a lump form of grain?—I would give it in its constituent elements.

Including oil or ghee?—I prefer the ration that I issued.

Oil was given but was not wanted?—Yes.

Pulse is wanted, I suppose?—Yes, certainly, and more salt.

(*Dr. Richardson.*)—You say for the year commencing October 1896 and ending September 1897 there were only 3,000 deaths more than the preceding year?—That is recorded.

From what sources did you get this information?—From the monthly returns.

They are the same as the Sanitary Commissioner's returns?—Yes.

Did these 3,000 deaths occur in the whole district, or among the 518,000 persons who form the population of the affected districts?—The figures are for the whole district.

Do you think it would be a fairer estimate of excess than if you took the calendar year 1896-97, as they seem to be very different?—The figures I have taken were the latest figures available when I wrote my famine report. The influence of famine would naturally affect the death-rate in October, November and December 1897. That is, the after-effects of famine would tell in these three months. Probably in that way the Sanitary Commissioner arrives at a much higher rate for the year 1897 than what the figures for the year commencing from October 1896 and ending with September 1897 will show. I have seen no later figures than those of September 1897, as I left the district in November.

What is the population of Bellary?—900,000.

That is under a million?—Yes. It was 900,000 in 1891.

What is the nature of "greens" found in the fields?—I am afraid I could not describe it. It was something like cress.

Natural?—Yes, of natural growth.

Was it much eaten?—Yes, a good deal.

Did you hear anything about the prevalence of scurvy among relief workers?—The Sanitary Commissioner said that there was a good deal of scurvy in the kitchens. The District Medical Officer, Dr. Evans, said that there was no scurvy or very little.

They had some kind of vegetables?—Yes, vegetables or onions.

Are onions available?—They are very cheap.

Are they abundant?—Yes, I saw large quantities of them in the market.

Did people eat onions as a part of their daily rations?—Yes. I have looked at the rations on the relief works and I have constantly seen onions.

You had no case of death from direct starvation brought to your notice?—None. There were some cases of alleged death from starvation. I think there were three of that nature, but on enquiry it was found they were not deaths from starvation.

You say that increased mortality was largely due to the excessive prevalence of fever, cholera and measles. You do not consider that mortality during the famine period was very much in excess of the normal?—Not very much. The death rate was 27 per mille against an average of 22.

You think that the difference might be accounted for largely by the prevalence of fever, cholera, measles, that is to say, epidemic diseases?—Yes. There is one other point which might be mentioned. The question of deaths is more carefully attended to and the work of registration is more carefully performed during famine than at other times. That is the opinion expressed by the Madras Government in regard to the last famine.

Was it expressed by the Madras Government? We had conflicting opinions on it, one medical officer takes that view and another seems to doubt it?—Yes.

(*President.*)—Did you in the recent famine of 1891-92 see puttadars getting into any debt?—I have not had anything brought to my notice.

Do you think that puttadars had mortgaged their lands to the money-lenders in the late famine?—No. The registration returns show a marked falling-off in transactions.

Are all the Deccan districts under the same Superintending Engineer of the Division?—Yes.

How many districts has each Superintending Engineer in his division?—Four revenue districts.

(*Mr. LeFanu.*)—You say that during the time of scarcity mortality would be more carefully recorded?—That is the opinion expressed by the Madras Government.

Would that apply also to birth statistics?—I suppose it would to a certain extent, though not to such a great extent.

Do you happen to know that statistics for births show that there has been a falling-off?—They did. The birth-rate had fallen off even for the previous three years. Statistics show a continuous decline in births.

I think you said that at the commencement of the distress people except in Bellary town were mostly cholum eaters?—Yes.

Cholum is the staple food?—Yes.

Cholum is easily prepared?—More easily prepared than ragi.

Ragi is a troublesome grain to prepare?—Yes.

People, you say, generally were not ragi eaters?—No.

You know that ragi requires special implements for preparing it?—Yes.

Then may we infer that at the commencement of the distress people generally had not these implements?—I do not know if they had or had not. But they were available in shops and ground ragi was sold there.

Then do you think that payment of wages in ragi either in full or in part fairly followed the gradual taking to it by the people?—I think it did.

Do you think it would be well to change the staple before they fairly began to use it?—I think I might have changed it in Bellary town before your visit.

It was the Famine Commissioner who suggested it?—Yes.

Do you happen to remember what was the import of grain in your district during the distress?—I am afraid I do not know.

Do you happen to know what is the excess of importation?—I do not know.

Will you accept the official figures if I give them to you?—Yes.

There were 18,000 tons in excess, which was sufficient to feed 116,000 persons for six months giving them one pound a day?—Yes.

That grain must have been paid for?—Undoubtedly.

Who gave it?—The purchasers. The population of the district was 900,000 in 1891.

I presume that besides the imports they had some stocks in the market?—Small stocks in the market.

Do you suppose that the whole district lived on imported grain during the famine?—Certainly not.

But then don't you think that wages which you gave must have gone towards purchasing these 18,000 tons?—Undoubtedly, some of the wages went to purchase some of these 18,000 tons. But up to the time I reported on the absorption of silver, the import into Bellary had been small. In July, August and September, we had had very heavy imports, but up to that time there were comparatively little payments for the grain imported.

I think it is hardly possible for you to guess the money value of 18,000 tons?—I do not know.

Your Head Assistant Collector was here the other day, Mr. Spencer, and he told us that the sale of liquor has been falling off and that many Abkari contractors were ruined. Is that so?—'Many' is an exaggeration. Some Abkari contractors made very bad speculations.

That does not concur with your statement that the sale of liquor was about the same?—I said it only in respect of one taluk, Alur. For the district as a whole there was less consumption. Alur was the worst taluk.

Do you happen to know what is the size of an Ootacamund seer?—Sixty-four tolas of rice and 58·76 tolas of ragi.

It is not then as large as an Imperial seer?—No.

Have you worked out how much 22 Ootacamund seers would give a man per diem?—Yes.

How much?—It comes to 84 tolas a day.

Can you give it to us in ounces?—2 lbs. 2 ozs.

How much weight in grain would your 22 seers give a man per diem?—2 lbs. 2 ozs.

And that is 34 oz.?—Yes.

May I accept that as correct?—Yes. It is not quite correct. It is a little under it.

The B wage for a man is 36 and for a woman 34?—Yes.

What is the difference between the Ootacamund wage and the B ration?—One comes to 84 tolas and the other to 95.

Let us mostly keep to ounces as we have got ounces already. You brought it to 34 oz. Now according to B wage a woman gets 34 oz. and a man gets 36?—The Nilgiri wage is not quite 34. Under the B wage a man gets 38 and a woman gets 36 ounces.

Is that a material difference?—Not a great difference.

The coolies on the hills can pick up all sorts of things?—Yes.

Generally he has got a sort of garden?—He is encouraged to make a garden, but he does not.

I suppose he can steal from his master's garden?—He can. But many planters do not keep gardens.

I suppose he can occasionally pick up a bit of meat, game or Sambur?—No. Badagas take it.

Are you in a position to say that the planters do not give rations besides the wages?—Absolutely quite certain.

Can you say that you have been making enquiries?—I have been making enquiries in the Wynaad and Kundas districts.

You speak of the wage there being normally 22 seers?—Yes.

Do you know what the present prices on the Nilgiris are?—I have got them all here. Ragi is 14 Imperial seers.

You said that your seer is 56 tolas?—It is 58·76 tolas.

Mr. Holderness asked you some questions about the price in 1897. Do you know that the prices in certain places in 1897 reached the level of prices in 1877?—Not in Bellary.

Have you got the official returns?—Yes.

Do you know what the price of cholum in August 1897 was in Alur, as compared with the price of cholum in the month of March 1877 in Alur?—I have not got the figures for Alur for 1877. I have got the figures for the whole district.

Do you know that the prices in 1897 were in many instances higher than the prices of 1878?—I have not seen the prices of 1878.

Suppose the prices have reached practically in some places the level of the price of 1877, and that in other places they have reached a considerably higher level than those of 1877, do you think that your estimate of the number of workers as being excessive would still hold good?—I did not make any estimate.

You are of opinion that the number of relief workers was greatly in excess of that in 1877?—That was based on my enquiry as to the people standing in need of relief.

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If the prices of 1897 were considerably higher than those of 1877, in which year Bellary lost half of its population, do you still think that your estimate was probably correct?—In the first place, the general level in 1877 was very much higher than in 1897, and in the second place I made no estimate. I simply stated facts and I gave an opinion based upon facts.

Your opinion is based upon opinions only?—To a certain extent.

It can hardly be said to be on actual facts?—It was based upon actual facts. Based upon enquiry among the people who came on the works and who had means of living at home. When relief works were closed I found that a number of people had grain in their pits.

You know the people that came to the relief works in 1877?—I don't know.

Have you heard that they were turned off the works?—I have not.

Do you know that Sir Richard Temple turned them off works?—I don't know.

Do you know that every one who had jewels to sell or a decent cloth to wear, or who was not emaciated, was turned off the work?—I have never heard of that.

Do you suppose that those people who came to the works have had margins?—Not very large.

How many months' margin had they, do you think?—From the information obtained as to the grain discovered in pits, it must have been 3 or 4 months' margin.

If they did not come to the works for 3 or 4 months would they have been absolutely skinned to the bone?—So far as stock of grain is concerned, many would.

Do you consider it desirable to reduce Government ryots and cultivators generally to a state of being absolutely skinned to the bone?—I would, so far as grain is concerned. I think that as long as a man has got stocks of grain, he ought not to come on the relief works.

Does it not strike you that the district would take a long time to recover if such is the treatment to be given to the people?—It might take longer, but I think the character of the people would suffer less.

Had Bellary quite recovered in 1897 from the famine of 1877?—Quite.

Were there not villages absolutely deserted in 1877?—I don't think so. The population is greater than it was in 1877.

Is not the population of Alur according to the last census below the population in 1877?—I believe it was. I do not know whether there has been any change in the boundaries of Alur. I can only speak as to the figures for the district.

Could you give us an idea as to what the cost of hutting would be in Bellary?—I have no figures. I would make people build their huts with mud walls.

And the water for the purpose?—You can always get water. There is no difficulty in getting water all along the roads. Certainly you could get water for building huts.

It would cost something?—It would not cost much.

How would you roof them?—With bamboos and mud.

Where would you get them?—Import them.

Where from?—Kurnool.

Do you know how much it would cost?—I don't know.

Are you quite sure that the cost would not be prohibitive?—I don't think it would be much judging by the cost of ordinary huts.

You said that the cattle might be herded in times of distress?—I have seen them herded.

How are they fed?—By grazing.

When there is no pasture for grazing?—They would still have something.

When the time comes that there is absolutely nothing at all?—They must be able to pick up something. I don't think there would be absolutely nothing. Many of the cattle are not at all fed in the way they ought to be, but still they live.

How do poorer classes who have no cholum to live upon in times of distress, manage about their cattle?—They sell their cattle or send the cattle away to pick up something in the fields, or else the cattle die. There was very little mortality among cattle.

Are there any forest reserves?—Nothing, except the Sundoor forests.

It is a native state?—They are leased to Government.

Including the northern taluks, you have no reserves?—A few here and there, with coarse grass.

Can you give an idea what the cost of fodder per head of cattle would have been during the distress?—Rupees 1¼.

Per diem?—Per week.

You speak of getting grass from Sundoor?—Straw too.

Cholum straw?—Paddy straw.

Could you buy paddy straw in the most affected taluks?—Certainly not in Alur. In Adoni you can. In Bellary you can and in Hospet you can.

Freely?—Not freely. The price is four times the usual amount.

How much would you pay for a bandy load of straw?—Rupees 6, 7, 8 or 9 if you include grass.

SURGEON-LIEUTENANT-COLONEL W. G. KING, Sanitary Commissioner for Madras, called in and examined.

Surgn.-Lieut.-Col. W. G. King.

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I put in a written statement of evidence.

Reference—Letter from Mr. McIntosh, No. 60, dated 13th January 1898 (embodied in G. O. No. 47 of the 28th January 1898, Revenue), paragraph 4.

Reply to query (*a*)—1. No innovation of any moment was made, unless it be the abolition of the ration prescribed for gratuitous relief under section 122 of the Madras Famine Code, by Government—acting apparently under directions from the Government of India.

Reply to query (*b*)—2. My opinions on this subject are stated in the section dealing with vital satistics of the Famine Report. This section I submit herewith.

Reply to query (*c*)—3. I think relief measures generally take too little cognizance of the fact that preservation of the cattle is of prime importance to a large proportion of the people upon whom distress is likely to fall, and that, in consequence, they readily make great sacrifices for their support. The effect of ignoring this factor is to delay the period of resort to works to the detriment of a respectable class, and the unnecessary breaking up of homes which, irrespective of the permanent injury likely to result to the families concerned, in the interest of but partially distressed areas, should be avoided. The question of the saving of human life, therefore, must be regarded as intimately connected with the saving of cattle. So much is this the case that I consider all relief measures should be made compatible, as far as feasible, with this factor.

4. At the commencement of distress, the able-bodied labourers migrate. They may proceed to distant pastures in other Provinces in charge of cattle belonging to men fairly well off, or to localities where it is known that harvest or other operations are in progress. The result of the latter procedure is to dislocate the conditions of supply and demand in the neighbourhoods resorted to. Instead of getting full wages, the immigrant may find them reduced to one-third, and the duration of employment proportionately diminished, on account of the numbers assembling in the hope of obtaining a temporary livelihood. These wanderers in search of employment represent the class of labour most valuable on works; yet, under the existing system, they are allowed to degenerate physically, and be the cause of increasing distress in localities that might, but for this invasion, have been able to support their populations for an appreciably longer period. The true labourer does not possess cattle of much value—an aged cow or a buffalo being the most. To draft such people *at the commencement of the distress* direct to large works, within fifty to sixty miles of their villages, would meet with little opposition. I certainly would not, however, use in this connection the "distance test." The drafting to works should be undertaken solely in the interests of efficient conduct of works likely to be specially useful, and of the early prevention of wandering.

5. The natural result of this method would be the evolution of a "cattle test." The Collector of each district

would be required to define on the basis of what value of cattle he would regard it prudent to enforce it. Thus presuming, for the sake of illustration, the Collector declared the standard should be animals of R50 and over, it would on this be determined that persons possessed of an animal of the value of R50 and over would be allowed to join works under Class I and those having animals which, individually, were below this value should be required to resort to works under Class II.

If suitable works were feasible, those of Class I would be drafted to distant localities, and be there encamped; Class II, which would roughly include the majority of persons whose unwillingness to move from their villages is generally so insurmountable that mortality is likely to result unless this prejudice be met, should ordinarily be sent to works within three miles of their villages—no camps being provided. A distance of six miles should not be exceeded. Above three miles the distance should be taken into account and a deduction from the task exacted should be made, on the basis that 14 miles represents an "ordinary day's work," and 20 miles a "hard day's work."

6. To arrange for this separation of classes of workers, the present Circle Officers' charges should be contracted, so as to diminish the work demanded of each individual. All village headmen would have the right of giving "permits" for entrance to works of Class I, but to Circle Officers alone should be allowed the right of admitting to works of Class II.

7. Dependants of Class I, if not sick, or cripples, or aged, must go with the workers to camp; in Class II, gratuitous relief would be allowed with residence at their houses for male members of a family presumed by the Circle Officer to be actually required for feeding and looking after cattle, provided the rest of the able-bodied members of the household resorted to works.

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Reply to query (*d*)—8. On no occasion should relief measures take the form of works only, unless the wages be calculated in accordance with the fluctuations of the price of grain so as to conform to what an able-bodied man and woman would earn in ordinary times, when labour is freely obtainable; that is, there should be sufficient both for the actual workers and their dependants in the wage of the male *plus* a single female member. If this be not the case, gratuitous relief should be arranged for in the neighbouring villages, *simultaneously* with the *opening* of relief works. Gratuitous relief should not cease with the closing of works at the end of famine operations. Provision for this form of relief should be made for at least the sickly for some time after this event; that is, until it be found that the ordinary prosperity of the people is established. If this precaution be neglected, loss of life is likely to result.

9. Children between 7 and 10 years of age might, at the discretion of the officer in charge, be required to labour on works; but their labour should not be tasked. Tasking should not be enforced till the age of ten.

10. All works not in cusba towns having populations of over 1,000 should have bazars established, where grains, condiments and vegetables may be obtained at the same price as officially notified. If private dealers will not undertake this, it should be arranged by official means. Nothing but nutritive articles of diet should be allowed in the bazars.

11. "Grain equivalent" should always be calculated upon the cost of all items of the diet supposed to be possible of purchase, including a margin for loss by wastage in grinding as per form attached:

Class of famine workers.	Unhusked staple grain.	Other items of diet.				Unhusked grain being margin at 10 per cent. on column 1 to allow for wastage, in round figures.	Total grain equivalent of columns 1 to 6.	Total money value of column 7.
		Pulse.	Salt.	Ghee or oil.	Condiments and vegetables.			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7*	8*

* Column 7 must be calculated by the Tahsildar on the amount of grain that is equivalent in value to items in columns 1 to 6 according to prevailing rates. Column 8 must represent the actual wage or money-value of grain exhibited in column 7.

12. Nursing mothers and infants should receive the advantages offered under section 74 and Appendix V, Bombay Famine Code.

13. Special District Medical and Sanitary Officers should be appointed for each famine affected district. They should be at the disposal of the Sanitary Commissioner.

14. The expediency of using pulses other than yellow dhal, when cheaper, should be stated in the Famine Code, in reference to kitchens.

15. The "grain equivalent" should provide a constant—not a possible—"margin" over requirements of bare food. If a margin is procurable at existing "grain equivalents," it can only be at a very late stage in famine, and even then is of little value.

In illustration of this contention, I quote instances of prices found by me in different localities in January, July and September 1897 respectively:—

January 1897.

At Adóni—

A wage—As. 1—5.

Items of diet according to Famine Code.	Cost (*a*). A.	Cost (*a*). P.	Cost (*b*). A.	Cost (*b*). P.
26·67 oz. cholum (including wastage at 10 per cent.)	0	10	0	10·83
4 ,, dhal	0	2·75	0	2·50
0·5 ,, salt	0	·33	0	·33
1 ,, oil	0	3	0	3
0·5 ,, chillis } 0·5 ,, tamarind }	0	1·25	0	1·25
Total	1	5·33	1	5·96

Note.—(*a*) and (*b*) refer to different shop prices.

B wage—As. 1—3.

	A.	P.
24·1 oz. cholum (including wastage at 10 per cent.)	0	9·7
3·6 ,, dhal	0	2·25
0·45 ,, salt	0	0·34
0·9 ,, oil	0	2·7
0·9 ,, chillis } tamarind }	0	1·25
Total	1	4·11

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D wage—Pies 10.

		A.	P.
17·8 oz.	cholum (including wastage at 10 per cent.)	0	7·12
2 ,,	dhal	0	1·375
0·33 ,,	oil	0	0·99
0·33 ,,	salt	0	0·251
0·5 ,,	tamarind and chillis	0	0·625
	Total	0	10·361

What could be actually bought at Adóni for As. 1—3.

29·35 oz. cholum.
1 ,, salt.
1 ,, chillis.
1 ,, tamarind.

At Hathibelagul—B ration—B wage—As. 1—3.

		A.	P.
24·1 oz.	cholum (including wastage at 10 per cent.)	1	0·05
3·6 ,,	dhal	0	2·70
0·45 ,,	salt	0	0·337
0·9 ,,	oil (not available)	0	2·7
0·45 ,,	chillis	0	·17
0·45 ,,	tamarind	0	·085
	Total	1	6·042

Actually bought at Hathibelagul for As. 1—3 as the best bargain for the money—

22·5 oz. cholum.
3 ,, dhal.
·5 ,, chillis.
1 ,, salt.
1 ,, tamarind.

At Kosgi (cusba near Chinnathambulam works)—B wage—As 1—3.

		A.	P.
24·1 oz.	cholum (including wastage at 10 per cent.)	0	9·7
3·6 ,,	dhal	0	2·7
0·9 ,,	oil	0	2·25
	Salt, chillis, tamarind	0	2
	Total	1	4·65

Bellary A—wage As. 1—5.

		A.	P.
26·67 oz.	cholum (including wastage at 10 per cent.)	0	10
4 ,,	dhal	0	3
1 ,,	oil	0	3
1 ,,	salt		
0·5 ,,	chillis	0	2
0·5 ,,	tamarind		
	Total	1	6

At Pattikonda—wages being As. 1—3 for B class.

		A.	P.
24·1 oz.	cholum (including wastage at 10 per cent.)	0	9·7
3·6 ,,	dhal	0	2·7
0·9 ,,	salt	0	·9
0·8 ,,	vegetables condiments	0	1·8
0·9 ,,	oil	0	2·25
	Total	1	5·35

27th July 1897.

At Kurnool—wages being As. 2—3 for B class.

		A.	P.
24·1 oz.	cholum (including wastage at 10 per cent.)	1	5·01
3·6 ,,	dhal	0	3·6
0·45 ,,	salt	0	0·45
0·9 ,,	oil	0	2·25
0·45 ,,	chillis	0	1·125
0·45 ,,	tamarind	0	0·45
	Total	2	0·885

24th September 1897.

At Anantapur—wages being As. 1—3 for B class.

		A.	P.
24·1 oz.	ragi (including wastage at 10 per cent.)	0	9·64
3·6 ,,	dhal	0	2·7
0·45 ,,	salt	0	0·26
0·9 ,,	oil	0	2·7
0·45 ,,	chillis	0	1·06
0·45 ,,	tamarind	0	0·309
	Total	1	4·669

16. I consider the diets laid down by the Famine Code for workers err in not providing a margin for vegetables and fuel. It need hardly be said that the allowance of ½ oz. to 1 oz. of vegetables (including in this small weight condiments for the making of curry) prescribed in these diets, in reality ignores the universally acknowledged necessity for the due provision of vegetable salts. The exhibition of a scorbutic condition by a famine-stricken population marks the commencement of a period of mortality. To defer this morbid change in nutrition is, therefore, a matter of great importance. Were an allowance at first withheld—in the interests of economy—it should, at least, be given after the expiry of three months of continuously high prices of grain. If there were a demand for vegetables, as a result of sufficient money to buy them being available with the workers, their production under well irrigation would follow, and this would, irrespective of the direct advantages aimed at, afford useful occupation for a small number of the population. Fuel is by no means readily obtainable by famine relief workers. I have seen twigs—not solid wood—sold at one pie per pound.

17. The Government of Madras, under instructions from the Government of India, abolished the gratuitous relief ration prescribed under section 122, Madras Famine Code, in favour of the minimum ration—equivalent to the D wage. The following comparison of the cost and nutritive value of the two rations seems to me not to justify the change, having regard to the fact that the ration selected for gratuitous relief should have some small margin of nutriment for recovery of those whose health has been shaken, or have unremunerative duties to perform:—

Statement showing comparative cost of the D ration and of the now rejected (G. O. No. 616, Revenue, dated 24th July 1897) Madras dole.

Duration.	Cost (allowing for wastage). (a)	Adult dole ration in Madras (section 122, Madras Famine Code).	Cost of the ration. (b)
	Ps.		Ps.
16 oz. flour (*plus* 10 per cent. for wastage).	12·5	20 oz. "raw grain."§	14·035
Grinding charges*.	0·855	2 oz. dhal §.	2·0
2 oz. dhal †	2·06	0·75 oz. salt	0·75
0·33 oz. salt	0·33	0·5 oz. tamarind.	0·5
0·33 oz. oil	0·83	0·5 oz. chillis	1·25
Vegetables and condiments‡—			
0·25 oz. tamarind	0·25	...	...
0·25 oz. chillis	0·625	...	...
TOTAL COST	17·45 or As. 1—5·45	TOTAL COST	18·535 or As. 1—6·535
	Oz.		Oz.
Nutritive value, if ragi be used. Albuminoids	1·623	...	1·924
Nutritive value, if ragi be used. Starch equivalents	14·373	...	16·657

* Bellary rates of 2·5 pies per 3½ lb. adopted.

† Three per cent. wastage.

‡It is, of course, impossible to give vegetables in an allowance of one *half ounce* to be distributed between "condiments *and* vegetables."

§ No wastage allowed for.

18. The following table compares the diets laid down for famine workers with those considered absolutely necessary, with due regard to economy of public funds, for the support of criminals, and with those held by standard authorities on dietetics to be requisite under the conditions of "hard work," "moderate work," and "simple existence," respectively :—

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*Statement comparing the nutrient value of the rations obtainable on famine relief works and in Jails and the value of both with Standard Scales, the latter being reckoned with regard to the average weight of prisoners in the Ceded Districts, namely, 111 lbs.**

—	Famine relief ration in ragi.		Jail ration in ragi.		Standard Scales.			
					Edward Smith.		Playfair.	
	Albuminoids.	Starch equivalent.	Albuminoids.	Starch equivalent.	Albuminoids.	Starch.	Albuminoids.	Starch.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Oz.	Oz.	Oz.	Oz.	Oz.	Oz.	Oz.	Oz.
A. Hard work	2·662	23·395	2·993	22·087	...	...	4·81	19·462
							4·7	19·462
B. C. Moderate labour	2·403	21·135	2·747	22·602	...	...	3·11	17·168
	2·030	17·928						
D. Simple existence	1·623	14·373	2·545	18·915	2·1016	14·245	1·85	10·75

—	Standard Scales—*contd.*							
	Parkes.			Lethbey.		Meinert.		
	Albuminoids.	Starch.	Starch equivalent.	Albuminoids.	Starch.	Albuminoids.	Starch.	Starch equivalent.
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
	Oz.	Oz.	Oz.	Oz.	Oz.	Oz.	Oz.	Oz.
A. Hard work	...	...	...	4·2994	25·8778	3·8427	11·8295	17·9228
B. C. Moderate labour	3·3966	10·5524	15·5903	3·3744	21·6376	3·1228	13·2471	16·6807
D. Simple existence	...	...	...	1·9758	14·5114	2·24431	7·9497	9·7785

* It will be observed that the "standards" have been calculated to suit the average male adult weighing 111 lbs. In my former communication I used 108 lbs. as the weight. This was gained from statistics of weighment in the Lunatic Asylum, Madras, and was purposely selected by me as likely to be a fair average for the Tamil and Telugu races. Statistics furnished by the Inspector General of Jails have since shown that this estimate was correct, as ascertained by the average of 500 weighments on admission of adult males in each of the following jails :—

	Lbs.
Tamil—	
Cuddalore, average	106·11
Trichinopoly, average	106·12
Telugu—	
Bellary	110·94
Total average	107·72

As the affected area has been limited to districts where the inhabitants are more allied to Telugus than Tamils, I now adopt the average of 111 lbs.

The accumulated experience obtained in jails shows that the diets allowed for criminals are not more luxurious than essential for the due maintenance of "health and strength." The comparison shows that, irrespective of the absence of provision for vegetables which characterises the famine diets, their total nutritive value falls below the well-recognized standards with which they are compared. Less nutritious diets have been tried in the Madras Jails under the impression that the duration of confinement had something to do with the condition of nutrition. This attempt, however, failed after fair trial and has been abandoned. Daily experience shows that where, by any combination of circumstances, convicts do not receive the full nourishment intended, the general health of the jail population at once exhibits a decline. It may, therefore, be safely assumed that the rations allowed in jails represent the minimum nourishment compatible with the retention of health and vigour. As to the standards evolved with enormous labour by recognized authorities with which comparison is also made, it need but be said they have received world-wide recognition as correct, and that before they can be assumed to require modification when applied to the famine worker, something better than experience, obtained under conditions that vary vastly with districts and with each Presidency in this country, must be produced. If these contentions be allowed, it will be seen that the ration obtainable on the D wage affords no margin for recovery of health, or for the effecting of bodily exertion. In the case of the C wage, it is obviously unfit for use where labour is exacted with precision, that is, where "tasking" is employed; its correct place is for untasked labour.

19. During the late famine when, as was the practice in this Presidency at the commencement, whole gangs were placed upon the C wage, the deterioration of workers was marked. The same experience was found during the famine of 1892, when observation of results in 100,000 workers led the Government of Madras to declare that a "subsistence allowance" of 30·24 ounces had proved insufficient for the maintenance of health—proceedings of the Board of Revenue (Revenue Settlement, Land Records and Agriculture), No. 618, dated 3rd September 1892—and that there was "a consensus of opinion amongst district officials that a ration of 2½ lbs. of the staple grain husked, or of flour in the case of ragi, for a man, 2 lbs. for a woman and 1¾ or 1¼ lbs. for a child, would be only just sufficient to keep the people in their ordinary state of health." It is true the "grain equivalent" in the case of the subsistence allowance mentioned was less by 1¾ oz. of grain than the C wage, yet it is more than the female wage of the same class. Full evidence of the inefficiency of the C wage when employed for labour is, however, obtainable from the Bombay Jail records. In 1877, the following diet equivalent to 32·34 oz. of grain, which is in excess of the C male adult wage, was employed, but had to be abandoned. Its details were as follows :—

19 oz. of their own country grain.	6 drams salt.
3 „ dhal.	4 „ currystuff.
6 „ vegetables.	4 „ oil.

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[The nutrient value of this diet with jowari as the food-grain is—

Albuminoids.	Starch equivalent.
oz.	oz.
2·549	17·6
against	
2·403	21·135

of the B ration in ragi.

20. I am aware that in other Provinces no such strictures in regard to famine diets have been made, and it may be held that when I advised the Government of Madras to use the B wage for workers, and reserve the C wage for untasked workers, I was guided by mere theory. In my humble opinion, the experience gained has shown that the policy adopted has been financially correct when contrasted with that followed elsewhere, and that, in reference to the saving of life, my advice was sound. That officers in other Presidencies do not agree with these contentions seems to me susceptible of complete, yet most simple, explanation. I consider that the difference in wording of the Local Famine Codes in other Provinces is such that results of famine administration as to diets are not justly comparable with those obtained in Madras. The following are the various definitions employed as to the "grain equivalent":—

Madras.—"By grain is meant grain of medium quality and of the description in ordinary use at the time of payment."

Central Provinces.—"Current local price of the grain which is the staple of ordinary consumption in the tract affected."

Bombay.—"Basis of calculation shall be jowari or bajri, according to the local practice of consumption; whenever both grains are equally staple food-grains, that grain shall be selected which is cheaper at time of payment."

Bengal.—"The grain selected as the basis of calculation should, in every case, be the staple or staples in ordinary consumption in the affected tracts, and not the more expensive classes of grain which, though *occasionally* used in times of plenty are abandoned for cheaper grains as soon as pressure sets in."

North-West Provinces.—"The grain selected as a basi for calculation must in every case be the staple or staple in ordinary consumption in the affected tracts."

It will be observed that instead of prescribing that the "staple grain" shall be used, the Madras Code simply directs it shall be *any grain* "in ordinary use at time of payment." Thus, the staple grain of the Ceded Districts is jowari (cholum); but under pressure of famine conditions, this staple grain is in time displaced by ragi—a grain of inferior nutritious properties that is imported to meet the demand for a cheap grain. The Madras Famine Code provides that this natural tendency of the people to use cheap grains shall be followed and acted upon, in the interests of economy. The result is that in districts where the staple grain is undoubtedly jowari, ragi has been largely used, with the effect of making the people attempt existence upon the diets contemplated by the framers of the Famine Code. Even the quality of the grain is carefully defined by the Madras Famine Code, so that the price of grain of "medium quality," or "second sort," is constantly adhered to.

Even were this simple, yet far reaching, difference not to exist in dealing with such scanty diets as allowed by the Famine Code, the nature of the staple grain employed demands careful consideration in gauging results of different Provinces. Thus, in the case of Bundelkhund, which has been adopted as a good instance of economy by large employment of the D wage (with however, I believe, the extensive use of the A wage also), I find the workers were paid in the "grain equivalent" of jowari, barley and maize. In Savalvehir, Kopergaon taluk, Ahmednaggar District, second sort wheat was, I believe, actually cheaper than white cholum quoted as the "grain equivalent." How differently workers may fare according to the gain employed, is exhibited in the following table:—

Statement showing the nutritive value of the several rations afforded on relief works when wheat, barley, maize, jowari, and ragi are, respectively, taken as the grains employed.

Name of diet.	When wheat is the grain used.				When barley is used.				When maize is used.			
	Albuminoids.	Starch.	Oil.	Starch equivalent.	Albuminoids.	Starch.	Oil.	Starch equivalent.	Albuminoids.	Starch.	Oil.	Starch equivalent.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.
A diet, 24 oz. . .	4·15	18·91	1·377	22·077	3·67	19·294	1·401	22·517	3·19	19·462	1·953	23·974
B „ 21·7 oz. . .	3·749	17·087	1·241	19·942	3·314	17·434	1·263	20·340	2·881	17·586	1·762	21·640
C „ 18·3 „ . .	3·165	14·42	1·088	16·923	2·799	14·718	1·106	17·258	2·433	14·841	1·527	18·854
D „ 16 „ . .	2·615	12·191	0·567	13·495	2·295	12·447	0·583	13·787	1·975	12·559	0·951	14·746

Name of diet.	When jowari is the grain used.				When ragi is the grain used.			
	Albuminoids.	Starch.	Oil.	Starch equivalent.	Albuminoids.	Starch.	Oil.	Starch equivalent.
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.
A diet, 24 oz.	3·142	19·846	1·569	23·455	2·662	20·062	1·449	23·395
B „ 21·7 oz.	2·837	17·933	1·415	21·188	2·403	18·128	1·307	21·135
C „ 18·3 „	2·396	15·134	1·234	17·974	2·030	15·299	1·143	17·928
D „ 16 „	1·943	12·815	0·695	14·413	1·623	12·959	0·615	14·373

From the above it will be seen that presuming a man received the B wage, when ragi is the "grain equivalent," he would not be as well nourished as if he had the D wage in wheat, or the C wage in barley or in maize; if he had the A wage in ragi, he would not be so well off as if he had the B wage in jowari, the C in barley, and the D in wheat.

21. If then it be admitted that Madras does not require the D ration for its gratuitous dole or for its kitchens, and that the C ration is fit only for use with untasked workers, I believe requirements would be met by using the following rations which afford a distinct margin for fuel and vegetables:—

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Table showing proposed revised famine wages and ration (the example being worked at 15 seers per rupee).

	A.		B.		C.		D.	
	Oz.	Value in pies.	Oz.	Value in pies.	Oz.	Value in pies.	Oz.	Value in pies.
				Males.				
Grain (unhusked)*	26·7	10·7	24·1	9·6	20·3	8·1	17·8	7·1
Dhal	4·0	2·75	3·5	2·4	3·0	2·1	2·5	1·7
Salt	1·0	0·75	0·9	0·7	0·7	0·5	0·6	0·45
Oil	1·0	2·3	0·9	2·1	0·7	1·6	...	...
Tamarind and chillis	2·0	2·5	1·3	2·3	1·4	1·3	1·2	1·5
Vegetables and fuel	...	3·0	...	2·9	...	2·9	†...	0·25
Total cost in pies	22		20		17		11	
Total cost in grain	oz. 55 or lb. 3—7.		oz. 50 or lb. 3—2.		oz. 42½ or lb. 2—10½.		oz. 27½ or lb. 1—11·5	
				Females.				
Grain (unhusked)*	22·2	8·9	21·0	8·4	17·5	7·0	15·6	
Dhal	3·3	2·3	3·0	2·1	2·6	1·8	2·2	
Salt	0·8	0·6	0·78	0·58	0·6	0·4	0·6	
Oil	0·8	1·8	0·78	1·76	0·6	1·4	...	
Tamarind and chillis	1·6	2·0	1·57	1·96	1·2	1·5	1·2	
Vegetables and fuel	...	2·4	...	1·2	...	0·9	†...	0·35
Total cost in pies	18		16		13		10	
Total cost in grain	oz. 45 or lb 2—13.		oz. 40 or lb. 2—8.		oz. 32½ or lb. 2—0½		oz. 25 lb. 1—9	

* Includes 10 per cent. for wastage.
† No fuel is allowed.
A. For professional labourers.
B. For able-bodied adult untrained labourers.
C. For untasked labourers, gratuitous relief, minimum wage arrived at by deducting for short work for classes A and B.
D. To be employed for penal proposes only, *viz.*, for contumacious refusal to work, etc.
Children.—Wages will vary according to age, powers of work and requirements from one-fourth to three-fourths of those for adults.

Statement comparing the wages allowed to a worker by the Famine Code Committee of 1892, and the existing Famine Code with those recommended by the Sanitary Commissioner.

	A.			B.			C.			D.		
	Ounces.	Chattacks.	Money value in pies.	Ounces.	Chattacks.	Money value in pies.	Ounces.	Chattacks.	Money value in pies.	Ounces.	Chattacks.	Money value in pies.
MALES.												
The Madras Famine Code Committee ration (*vide* paragraph 11 of Board's Proceedings No. 396, dated 27th May 1892)	67½	33¾	27	52½	26¼	21	42½	21¼	17	...	...	...
Existing Famine Code rates	42	21	17	33	19	15	32	16	13	28	14	12
Proposed revised famine wages by the Sanitary Commissioner	55	27½	22	50	25	20	42½	21¼	17	27½	13¾	11
FEMALES.												
The Madras Famine Code Committee ration (*vide* paragraph 11 of Board's Proceedings No. 396, dated 27th May 1892)	50	25	20	(?)	21¼	17	32½	16¼	13	...	...	...
Existing Famine Code rates	38	19	15	36	18	14	30	15	12	26	13	11
Proposed revised famine wages by the Sanitary Commissioner	45	22½	18	40	20	16	32½	16¼	13	25	12½	10

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(*President.*)—You are Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army and the Sanitary Commissioner for Madras?—Yes.

How long have you held the office of the Sanitary Commissioner?—Since 1893.

How many years have you served in India?—24 years.

All in the Madras Presidency?—In Burma for a short time and the rest in this Presidency.

You think the people who belonged to the landless labouring class (Class I) would, without a long and protracted struggle, accept the suggestion of going to works at a distance?—I think so.

Do you think that suggestion is applicable to the Northern Circars as well as to the Ceded Districts?—My experience of the Northern Circars is very limited, and I cannot say, therefore, whether this suggestion would apply to that part as well.

You would allow dependants of Class I, if they are sick, or cripples, or aged, to be put on the gratuitous relief list in villages?—Yes.

Do you think they would manage it in villages if all people like that are to be put on the relief list?—My proposal contemplates that if they are able to go, all dependants of Class I must go with the workers, only the sick, the cripples and the aged being left behind.

You suggest that they should go with the workers if they can actually endure the march?—Yes.

Then a very large number of cripples, the sick and the old people would remain behind?—Yes.

Who would look after them?—They would get gratuitous relief. I am pre-supposing that it is not done in the interest of the people but in the interest of works. Only under those special circumstances do I think it desirable that this suggestion should be given effect to.

Who would look after them in the villages—how is that to be arranged?—Some other people should be left behind, and I consider that they also should be put on gratuitous relief. The healthy persons of Class I taking care of those not requiring active nursing might, at the discretion of the Circle Relief Officer, be allowed permits for labour on works primarily intended for Class II. That is the method which I consider feasible, if works of permanent advantage, or large works, are opened on the policy of "concentration." It is only then it is worth the sacrifice of a large amount of money in the shape of gratuitous relief.

(*Dr. Richardson.*)—As a measure of the intensity of famine you show there is a decrease of births and an increase of deaths. Do you take this to measure the intensity of famine in 1896-97?—Yes.

Is that the test according to your vital statistics appended to your note of evidence?—So far as the vital statistics permit me to judge, this is the best test when considered in conjunction with increased mortality of special class—the very young and the aged.

Do you think it is a fair test to gauge the intensity of famine by the decrease in the number of births and the increase in the number of deaths?—We must remember that registration is always defective.

Comparatively?—Yes.

In comparing one year with another you would eliminate that?—Yes. Taking that fact into account, I do consider that an increase of deaths and a decrease in births gauges, as far as vital statistics would permit it, the intensity of famine.

You say that the total decrease of births in the affected districts is 11,801?—Yes.

Do you think that is a large decrease for a year in a population of 7 millions?—Certainly. You know that when there is an absolute decrease below the normal with no other cause to account for it except famine, we should find out in respect of that fact whether it is a large number or not, and whether the decrease has been caused by a condition which can be assigned to any other cause.

Would it not be said that an equal decrease might occur from other causes apart from famine altogether in a year which might be regarded as a normal one, a year, for instance, during which persons suffered from malarial diseases?—I take into account in paragraph 21 of the Vital Statistics section of the Famine Report, whether or not they suffered largely from malarial diseases.

I put that as a hypothetical question whether that an equal decrease might not occur as the result of an unhealthy year caused by the prevalence of malarial diseases?—Any cause bringing about a decrease in the state of health of the population, such as by malaria or malnutrition, would tend to diminish births. It is only after taking all such possibilities into consideration we are able to see whether this can be fairly put down to famine or not. It would not do to take one single fact and say that it is positively so and so. You must take various items into consideration and sum up.

Might not this decrease occur in ordinary years simply within the limits of variation?—I think not. From what I know of the Madras vital statistics, I think the decrease was very marked in 1891-92 when famine prevailed. Whether you look into the figures for 1877 a famine year, or for 1892 which is also a famine year, the same fact is patent, *viz.*, the decrease of births. It is not in this special case alone I attribute it to famine.

Is this decrease in the number of births much to be regretted looking at it from the point of view of human suffering?—That is very much a metaphysical point.

I ask it partly with reference to the fact that you point out that the number of deaths that occurred among infants is a large proportion of this 11,000. If they had been born, they would have died from the causes resulting from hard times?—Certainly so, and it would have added to the mortality. That is an important point.

You say there has been an increase in the death-rate by 64,271 deaths in excess of the normal?—Yes.

Instead of comparing the average death-rate for the period 1891—95 with that of the famine year 1897 you took the years 1894 and 1895 for comparison?—Yes.

The death-rate during each of these years was a low one?—Yes.

Why did you take the years 1894 and 1895?—I have given the reasons for it in paragraph 14 of the report you are now discussing.

In all probability the reason may be that in 1891 and 1892 the death-rate, so far as Bellary is concerned, was nearly the same as it was in 1897. Those two years were followed by years of low death-rate, as a year of high death-rate is generally followed by a year of low death-rate. That is to say, during the season of high mortality, the very young, the very old, and the feeble are swept off, and the consequence is that during the following years the mortality is less. As a rule you grant that?—Yes. Your argument assumes that mortality in these years has been with regard to the young and the old; and that is exactly what does happen in a famine. As famine prevailed during 1891-92, I took the average of the years 1894-95 as being more likely to be correct. Had I taken the whole period from 1891 to 1895, I should have had the difficulty of dealing with the famine period—a period during which the mortality was very high.

Do you think you would have had a fair average for the whole period?—No, because the year 1891-92 was an abnormal year.

Don't you think that the year immediately following it would have been abnormal for the causes I have stated, the high death-rate having killed off the weaklings?—What you say is correct: it follows that if in closely subsequent years a high mortality amongst the old and young is again noted—as in the present famine period—such mortality has increased significance.

I refer to the general mortality?—That would be the sequence of that argument. It was therefore on the whole safer to eliminate, as I have done, the period you mentioned.

In paragraph 2 of your memorandum you give hints on famine management. You say—I agree with you entirely that the only way that can be at once just to Government and to the relief recipients is to examine each person individually. That is the only way to arrive at a scientific fact. Taking that as the principle to work upon, can you give a list of patients for the various affected districts, showing the dates of admission into the hospitals, the diseases from which they suffered and the time they have been on relief works?—As a fact we had no hospitals. Medical relief was insufficient throughout the famine. Such statistics as were available I have given. But in regard to other facts, I can put before you what I know from my own personal knowledge of the gangs.

The statistics are of value, and what you may say from your experience may be simply impressions or opinions which for what we know may be of value, but do not convey the same sense of security as solid facts that are recorded here?—Yes.

They are not available?—No. No statistics of the description you require are available. The only thing I can say is that the medical officers have examined the men one by one. There were instances of gangs which taken on the average were classed by them as low, fair and so forth, but I am not aware of any statistics being available in which the exact condition of individuals is gone into.

The diagnosis of diseases and other particulars are not available?—I think not.

Did you by personal observation see many patients suffering from what are called the so-called famine diseases, such as dysentery, scurvy, dyspepsia, etc.?—The question of dysentery is ascertained by the death-rate under that head being increased—paragraph 24 "Vital Statistics"—and also by the heavy admission-rate among the workers under the head of "Dysentery" as shown by the medical returns, which we find in the Report on Vital Statistics referred to under the head of "Sickness" in paragraph 12. As regards the general condition of the people, my impression is that at certain stages of famine they suffered from incomplete nutrition: especially at the commencement of famine, when they were put upon the C wage and subjected to fining below the minimum wage. There is not the slightest doubt that they were rapidly deteriorating. So much so that it would have been followed by a heavy mortality. Thereupon, the real facts were represented to Government, and they gave sanction for the B wage. Under the B wage, I think the people have struggled through. Considering the enormous area affected and the large population dealt with, I think the statistics prove that we have had a famine of great intensity, and that the means by which it has been met have been sufficient and no more. Had there been any tendency to decrease the liberality of relief, I am convinced, with the statistics before me, that we should have had heavy mortality. In this connection, it must be remembered that, though the C wage was thus abolished as a working wage in favour of the B, the A was very rarely employed. For example, from statistics supplied by the Collectors, I find that at 14lbs. per rupee, per 1,000 tasked workers, the cost of the A wage in Bellary district, Madras Presidency, was only R0-4-5·28, against R7-5-10·8 and R2-3-4·8 in the Sholapur and Ahmednagar districts, in the Bombay Presidency, respectively. A full statistical enquiry has convinced me that if the average wage be considered, the preference given to the B wage in Madras, when compared with results obtained in the Bombay Deccan where the B and C wage as well as the A wage were used, was not only a sanitarily sound but also an economical measure.

You said that they deteriorated very rapidly. Did you ascertain that as a fact from your daily observations or had you weighments—how did you come to that conclusion?—I happened to serve for a long time in the districts where this famine occurred—I mean the ceded districts; and I spent a considerable amount of my time in "camping" out among the people, and I am thoroughly acquainted with their ordinary physique. I found them on works deteriorating from what I considered their normal condition.

Those are merely your impressions—you did not weigh the people?—Weighment was first commenced but was subsequently stopped in the Bellary district. There are no actual weighments recorded.

I ask you this because we have had statements made so much differing from those you make. It was asserted by some that people positively improved when they were on relief works?—I am aware of that, but I think you will find that the medical officers' opinions are not so, and they should be most weighty. Take the question of scurvy. I have had particular opportunity to study this question, because in the 1877 famine the mortality dated from the first recognition of scurvy. On the 24th April 1876, Sir Richard Temple sent a telegram to the Government of India. In that telegram he admitted that there was a "sort of scurvy" beginning to appear among the people. It was then that the one pound ration was introduced. From that time mortality commenced. During that famine the mortality was something horrible. I consider that the marked rapidity with which this unfit ration exhibited its influence upon the people was due to their already having reached the state of specific malnutrition known as scurvy. In my opinion, the existence of scurvy marks a critical stage in famine administration, and its appearance should definitely forbid measures likely to decrease the total nourishment available. Knowing, as I did, that the Government of India was not convinced that I was justified in advising the abandonment of the C as a working wage, and that orders to revert to its use might follow, with my former experience in view, I regarded the tendency amongst workers in the late famine—notwithstanding the supposed liberality of the B wage—with anxiety. I may add that I have seen much of the evil influence of scurvy on mortality, because I served in the district of Kurnool at the end of the famine, although during the early part of it I was in Trichinopoly.

You are referring to the previous famine?—Yes, to the famine of 1877. I give my reasons why I consider it very important to go into the question of scurvy.

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I do not think it is a question of the importance of scurvy. The question is whether it was actually prevalent or not during the present distress?—The evidence on that point does not rest solely on my own observations. For example, this is what the Medical Officer of Cuddapah, Dr. Thomas, wrote at the commencement of the famine. He wrote in these terms: "The physical condition of the people is deteriorating. Out of 473—that is, 12 years of age and upwards—no less than 74, or 15 per cent., are not fit for work." He also held that "many of the workers gave indication that the vegetable diet was less or absent." Since then I have heard him say that there was no scurvy.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—When did he make it?—It must have been probably in the first three months of the year when the people were on the C wage. I am not aware that anything else other than scurvy would give an indication of the absence of the vegetable diet. I myself went to Cuddapah, and am well acquainted with the Cuddapah people and know their physical condition. I examined the working people and the people in the kitchen, and I found several cases of scurvy. Again at Yerragudipad I have examined the workers.

(*Dr. Richardson.*)—Then you did find scurvy?—Yes. I am giving you the evidence of the medical officers on the point.

We have got three of them, Cuddapah, Vizagapatam and Bellary?—As to Bellary, I should like to point out that the medical officer is absent on furlough. He stated that among children in a kitchen there was no scurvy, but after that the Surgeon-General inspected the same kitchen and reported that 8·3 per cent. had scurvy.

It comes to this that with reference to the three, Cuddapah, Vizagapatam and Bellary, you question the accuracy of the medical officers' statements?—I prefer to give the evidence showing that scurvy existed, without questioning their statements.

They stated as a fact before us, at least two of them did—we heard the statement of the third second-hand—that they saw no scurvy. You differ from that statement?—I do, and if I am allowed I will give my reasons for it. In the case of Bellary the medical officer stated with reference to the Bruce-Pettah kitchen there was no scurvy; but shortly afterwards the Surgeon-General with the Government of Madras, inspected the kitchen and stated that 8·3 per cent. were affected with scurvy. The Collector of Bellary maintained that no scurvy existed in the kitchen at Adoni in opposition to my written report, and it being a strictly professional point, I asked the Surgeon-General to accompany me to this kitchen. He again recognised the existence of scurvy. The Medical Officer of Ganjam also informed me that from the commencement of famine up to June, cases were admitted as largely suffering from scurvy, but subsequently it disappeared with the rains. The District Medical Officer of Anantapur also specifically reported the existence of scurvy.

We are not now concerned with Ganjam, but we are concerned with Cuddapah, Vizagapatam and Bellary. Those are the three districts from which we have got evidence of the district medical officers?—I think there is sufficient evidence to show that scurvy did exist.

Don't you think that the medical officers of the district who see the people from day to day would be in a better position to judge of the disease than those who make only a casual visit?—I should not think so, owing to the fact that these officers did not have the experience of the famine of 1877.

They must have seen a lot of scorbutic disease?—It is a question, as you know, upon which there has been professional discussion as to how a patient afflicted with scurvy in addition to general malnutrition can be recognised.

That may be a matter of discussion. Don't you think that a person who sees a patient daily is in a better position to judge of the disease than a casual visitor?—I don't think so. Whether a man sees the patient daily or not has nothing to do with the question. The question is whether he can detect and recognise a special disease.

Don't you think that it would conduce to a proper diagnosis of the disease if you see a patient daily?—Yes, certainly, if full value be given to the word "conduce" used by you. In the case of Cuddapah, I assure you the medical officer stated at first that scurvy did exist.

(*President.*)—They were severe cases of scurvy?—No. Except in Kurnool there were no severe cases of scurvy.

(*Dr. Richardson.*)—On the whole you consider that the mortality from famine was small considering the intensity of the famine?—Yes.

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You consider that it has been successfully dealt with?—Yes.

Did you meet with any case of a patient who had died directly from the effect of want of food or starvation?—I met with no cases of deaths from starvation.

Did you hear of any authenticated case?—No.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—As I understand from this table for birth-rate, the birth-rate for the famine period is contrasted with the two years' normal?—Yes.

And the difference between the two is that while the birth-rate for the famine period is 27·2, the two years' normal is 28·8. Is it a great difference?—It becomes a matter of importance if you reckon the rate upon a population of 7 millions. It is one of the symptoms of famine.

In November 1896 the deficiency in birth-rate began to show itself?—Yes.

It is 28·0 against 30·2?—Yes.

Is that due to famine?—In the case of the Ceded districts they were really suffering from want owing to the failure of the south-west monsoon. Relief was not given by Government till failure of the north-east monsoon.

What I mean to say is, is there a deficiency of birth-rate in November 1896, while the famine commenced in October 1896, that is, one month before. Do you ascribe that deficiency in birth-rate to famine?—I told you that you had a period before this during which people were subjected to want.

How long did that period last?—From June at the latest certainly, they must have known that famine was impending: but it is possible that previous to this, dicta by native astrologers had influenced marriages—as the year was within an inauspicious cycle.

In October 1897 the birth-rate was 24·5 as compared with the normal of 31·7. That is below the normal?—Yes.

You say in your written statement that a great many able-bodied persons migrated in search of work. Would not that have affected the birth-rate in the last month?—No doubt it would have some influence.

Does it denote very much distress if there is migration of people?—I should say certainly. People do not leave their homes unless they have very good cause for it.

The decrease in the birth-rate is due to that cause and not to the scarcity of food?—It is hard to say positively which is which. I believe you have a certain amount of truth in your argument. The correct way is to take the whole period. You must take a broad view of the whole figures and of all causes and circumstances, and compare it with a normal period. You have given one cause and seem to think that the loss of male population has something to do with it. I do not think it is fair for you to take a single month like that, and say that this must or must not be declared as due to famine. That is not the correct way of looking at it at all. As a fact, the people in the Ceded districts did feel the distress by June 1896, and also there is another fact to be remembered that they believed that the famine was impending previous to this period.

Would that affect the birth-rate?—I pointed out in the report that such belief would bring about the deferring of marriages.

The total death-rate during the famine period was the same as the normal from all causes?—Oh! no.

Excluding cholera and small-pox?—Then it is the same in the Ceded districts. But we had to deal with the fact that we saved a number of lives from fever which were ultimately lost. I attribute this loss to the famine conditions.

In your note of evidence you suggest cattle test. What circumstances led you to suggest this?—Because I know one of the great difficulties in the administration of famine relief is the opening of large works. I say that it is only possible if you divide the people into two classes—those who, we know, will positively stay at home and those whose occupation is such as to readily permit of their going to some distance. That is the only sensible way of managing it. I should say that the whole population as represented by the latter class would go to large works within 50 or 60 miles of their villages; but that the class with cattle will often die of starvation rather than leave their villages for such distances.

Is that founded on facts?—Yes, and in support of my statement that the latter class will not leave their homes, and in absence of relief near their villages are liable to die of starvation in large numbers, I would refer to paragraph 7, page 15 of the Report by Surgeon-Major Cornish, the Sanitary Commissioner, dated 11th September 1878, and my own experience.

You object to the D wage as a working wage?—Yes, absolutely.

Even for nominal work?—Yes.

Do you object to it for gratuitous relief in the homes of the people?—I think it is a very poor dole.

Is there any evidence to show that it has led to deterioration?—It is a very difficult question to answer. The class of people who got gratuitous relief were the weakly, the old and the emaciated, and in them I certainly saw no improvement. It is true that they led a miserable existence on such a wage. It was more a hanging on to life than anything else.

In considering the sufficiency or otherwise, you compare that ration with the Jail ration?—That is one standard.

Is that a fair comparison?—Yes; I should think so, for this reason, that we have a Jail population continuously under observation, and any result from any error in diet is at once taken note of and investigated.

I suppose if the D ration were given to the Jail population, they would deteriorate?—Yes. I am certainly of that opinion.

Are the people who are living in homes on D rations, living under the same conditions as the Jail population?—The people in Jails are under better hygienic conditions than the people outside.

Are the people outside not in a position to get other help?—No. The whole theory of famine administration comes to the ground if such a premise be granted. That is a theory upon which no ration ought to be founded. The holding of such opinions is perhaps one reason why so much confusion has resulted with different authorities as to what is a sufficient wage for the famine worker. In some cases they may get some help, but the famine ration must be sufficient in itself for the persons for whose support it is given, on the supposition that he gets nothing else.

If it should be the case that people on D ration have other sources, they would get too much?—Yes, that result might occur.

In Bengal only one pound of grain has been found sufficient. What do you say to that?—I should have to investigate the causes. I should not accept the problem as simple. I should want to ascertain what grain they use, how their grain equivalent is settled, and so on.

The dole is given in grain?—The fact of the dole being given in grain only implies that it is so much money—at any rate to our people it is so—because the mofussil people take so much grain for so much of vegetables and condiments. A case of that sort ought to be investigated by ascertaining what is the actual grain, what is the actual nutriment and how the grain equivalent is settled, and whether any additional sources of food are available. Then it would be possible to come to some determination.

Do you object to the D ration even for the nominal task?—If you give the ration in wheat, the people would not be badly off. A man in a wheat-eating country using the D ration is almost as well off as to nutrition as our workers on the A ration, because here our workers are expected to use the cheapest grain available "at time of payment." This means that they must use ragi during a considerable part of the total period of famine. This grain is far less nutritious than wheat, barley or maize, and somewhat less than jowari. You will see, therefore, that whilst the D wage may have been found sufficient in some parts of India, it does not follow, under conditions prevailing in Madras, it need be so considered.

I think you went to Bombay to see how people manage to get on with the D wage?—Yes.

What is your conclusion—did you find the Savalvehir workers living on the D wage in good condition?—Yes.

How is that D wage calculated?—On the price of white cholum. In the instance you referred to, although the grain upon which its equivalent was reckoned was white cholum, yet as it was a wheat-growing taluk the second sort of wheat was actually cheaper than cholum upon which the grain equivalent was reckoned.

There the D wage was good as a matter of fact?—Yes.

It was calculated on the price of white cholum?—Yes.

White cholum was dearer than any other grain in the market?—Yes.

There were cheaper grains fit to be used in the market?—Yes. In twenty cases examined as to the nature of the food eaten, wheat was found in four instances, cumbu in three, and in the rest jowari. I had every reason to believe from enquiries made on the spot that these people had other means of subsistence—irrespective of the probability of their living with families drawing the A and B wage. For instance, the Bhils aided their existence on Sundays by fishing and drying the fish so caught for future consumption. The Assistant Collector on the spot considered the wage was merely supplemental to ordinary means of subsistence in the case of the agricultural population present. Six ounces of food were allowed to be taken outside the kitchen for a certain class of children. Out of 652 children in the kitchen, 351 had this privilege. The charitable fund was used with the greatest liberality. At Barsi Road and Doddi camp, Sholapur, I saw still more striking instances of the definition of the "grain equivalent" in raising the D wage above what framers of the Code designed. The grain equivalent was reckoned upon first sort white jowari; so that if the worker chose to use second sort white jowari, or red or yellow jowari, or ragi—all of which were available and cheaper—he obtained a surplus over the wage assumed in the Famine Code. For example, if a man at the Barsi Road works received the D wage calculated in white jowari, and elected to use ragi, he had at his disposal a ration somewhat better than our workers paid the B wage—reckoned on ragi as the "grain equivalent." In other words, the D wage (lb. 1·75 according to the Code) was at Barsi Road when reckoned in ragi equal to lbs. 2·505, which is a near approach to lbs. 2·625—the A wage of the Code. The actual surplus payment to D workers was on this basis, pies 7·8 per head. If there is any doubt as to the D wage, I would suggest that the convicts in Jails should be tried on it as they were in 1877. The experiment then conducted in the Bombay Jails showed that they could live on nothing less than the B wage.

You would test the sufficiency of the famine wage as you would test the sufficiency of the jail ration?—Certainly.

This is to say you would take each person as an individual and you would see that he got nothing else?—Yes.

That is judging purely from the medical point of view?—I presume that what you wish me to understand is that in a famine it is possible for a person to have other sources of revenue, and therefore it would suffice if you give him so much. I think the principle is very wrong. The principle ought to be that the ration ought to be actually calculated for the nutriment of the person.

Then you would deal here as in the Jail?—Yes.

You would deal with the individual on the presumption that he got nothing else?—Yes.

You found the people living on the D wage in Bombay?—Yes; but I have explained to you what a very different matter a D wage in Bombay is compared to the D wage in Madras.

They were not deteriorating?—The word deteriorating means more than what you say. The meaning of that word pre-supposes the knowledge of their previous condition. All I can say is that their physical condition was good.

Mr. Higham proposes for the diet of men and women 36 ounces irrespective of the case whether they were doing hard work as diggers or not?—I think it is inadmissible.

For medium work would not 26 ounces do?—I disagree with Mr. Higham as to his assumptions about diet.

The wage that you give at the end of your note is what you recommend for the majority of the gangs?—Yes. I have simply taken the Code ration and added an allowance for fuel and vegetables. I would leave it to the officers on the spot to find out if at any moment there was any appearance of scurvy. If they saw the slightest appearance of scurvy they would be justified in raising the wage.

On what would you start an average gang?—On not less than B, without the extra allowance I have defined.

You would give a man 50 ounces?—You would take into account my allowance for fuel.

You propose that the revised famine B wage be 50?—No, 40.

I understand that 40 is the female wage?—Yes, you are right.

You have added something for fuel?—Yes, that is the only difference I made, because I consider that the assertion that a margin exists in the rations as now prescribed by the Famine Code cannot be sustained. It is not possible to say that there is any margin on which to get it.

Do people buy fuel?—I have seen people buy mere twigs at the rate of one pie a pound.

You also add ghee or oil to the ration?—I simply followed the Code.

We are told that people seldom use or eat oil or ghee?—They seldom use ghee. The real ryot eats ghee. The actual labouring people use ghee in festivals, but oil they use now and then. But you must remember that every man provides himself with butter-milk and curd. In these there is a quantity of free fat.

In the present famine the people either stay at home or returned home in the evenings?—Yes.

Don't they get usual butter-milk?—No, their cattle had mostly died.

Is that on record that cattle had mostly died?—Possibly, "mostly" may not be quite accurate, but certainly very heavy mortality occurred amongst cattle.

[The Madras Famine Commissioner, Mr. LeFanu, here informed the President that the mortality amongst cattle had been very high, and quoted the figures.]

You give them in this ration ghee or oil which they do not ordinarily get, as a substitute for butter-milk and curd?—The ordinary Deccan ryot would prefer to have very much more grain than a less quantity of grain and a quantity of oil. The framers of the Code simply made up the nutrient value of the ration. When you give the wage, including an allowance for oil, to a man's hands he does not buy oil, but he expends it on some carbonaceous matter which in the system is converted into fat. He does this because the grain allowed by the Code is far below what he has been accustomed to. His first effort with his wage is, therefore, to gain the best approach he can to the amount of bare grain he has been accustomed to consider necessary. So long, therefore, as the total wage will not allow this, no fatty matter, which under the circumstances of a scanty wage would be regarded as a luxury, will be bought by him. But this cannot be used as an argument for withdrawing the allowance for oil: the wage would undergo simply a nominal readjustment not a diminution of cost on this account. Similarly, finding he has not what he considers sufficient grain, little or no dâl may be bought—as this would be regarded as a luxury, until this prime want is satisfied. The result is the wage, as adjusted by the famine worker, is by no means as nutritious as that laid down by the Code, which scientifically adjusts the dâl and oil so as to secure the best proportions.

What does he eat?—A healthy man would not eat less than a seer a day.

And a woman?—Slightly less. When I say that an adult male eats a whole seer I may tell you this applies to healthy, vigorous individuals only. As a result of numerous experiments made by me personally, with special reference to this point—many of which are officially recorded—I have found that, taking the vigorous with the weakly, the average adult Deccan agriculturist consumes somewhere between 26 to 29 oz. of husked and cleaned jowari (that is, as prepared for cooking) per day.

(*Mr. LeFanu.*)—In addition to what?—In addition to dâl, butter-milk or curds, which is an animal diet, and they have always condiments, onions and vegetables.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—The Commissioner of Jubbalpur says that ordinary field labourers subsist on 1¼ pounds a day?—I can quite understand it. A man who eats wheat is quite well off, but not a man who eats ragi. Though cholum is the staple food, yet as the Code is worded they are made to eat here the cheaper and less nutritious grain, which is ragi.

When was ragi ration introduced?—At the commencement, so as to be economical. It was combined with cholum in the middle, and in the end entirely ragi was given, so that the people of our Presidency have unfortunately a less chance of getting a profit out of their wage, while in the other provinces they use the staple grain upon which to reckon the wage. The actual "staple grain" may be in certain districts wheat or barley. I read the other Codes and I found in the Bombay Code that whenever both grains are equally staple food-grains that grain should be selected which is cheaper at the time of payment.

Under the other Codes it must be the grain in ordinary consumption by people?—It is distinctly stated in the Codes of other provinces that "staple grain" should be used: whereas our Code equally distinctly states that the grain should be that "in ordinary use at the time of payment." Consequently, in districts where jowari is the "staple," the people may be forced to use ragi; because it

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has, as a cheaper grain, found its way to the bazar. I regard this as a most important point, in reference to the value of rations here as compared with other provinces.

Your point is that in Bombay they use wheat as the staple food—a superior grain?—No: that is not what I wished to convey to you. I simply quoted the fact that the D wage had been reckoned on the price of wheat up to the middle of March in the Kopergaon taluk, and that subsequently jowari was allowed, it being actually dearer than second sort wheat, as an illustration of how important it is to ascertain the nature of grain used, in localities compared, before deciding as to the sufficiency of the wage. The point I particularly wish to convey is that in provinces where more than one grain is available during famine, it may happen that the "staple grain" is the dearer. For example, white jowari may be the "staple grain." Yet cheaper grains, such as sound yellow, or red jowari, or ragi, may be available. In this case, the famine workers would be paid on the price of white jowari, and, if not fanciful, would eat ragi and pocket a surplus: but, under the Madras Code, the moment that a cheap grain, that may be other than the "staple" of the district, is imported, in response to the natural demand in lieu of the fast disappearing staple, the authorities are justified if such be found "in ordinary use at time of payment" to accept it for reckoning the grain equivalent. The official prices, therefore, literally follow the state of the market as *to cheap grains*, and not as to the "staple grain" as in other provinces. The Madras famine worker can, therefore, never obtain anything beyond the actual amounts contemplated by the Code. Hence, I ask for caution in coming to the conclusion that a wage reported as sufficient in provinces where such room for a favourable estimate of the "grain equivalent" exists, must necessarily suffice also in Madras, where rulings having a very different result are applicable. For instance, I have shown that it would be absurd to conclude that because the D wage sufficed at Barsi Road and Sholapur, it ought to do so in Madras.

Is there any difference in the treatment of children in Bombay and Madras?—Very marked. Our arrangements are much inferior. They have special allowances. Infants and nursing mothers were very carefully looked after.

Were the non-working children fed in the kitchens as they were here?—They received cash from July till April.

Even up to the time of your visit?—Yes. The kitchen system was not quite complete. It was only gradually they introduced the kitchen ration, whereas we started with kitchens.

Do you think that cash allowance is liked by the people? Yes.

(*President.*)—By the Bombay Code nursing mothers got the A Class allowance?—Yes.

What do they get here?—The sole privilege is that they are not allowed to be fined below the C wage.

Had they nothing special?—Nothing special.

Nothing allowed to infants?—Nothing.

Your remark about the using of pulse other than the yellow dâl is merely on the ground of economy?—Certainly. Some cheaper pulses are more nutritious than the yellow dâl.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—There is one point in this table about which I am not sure whether I understand you rightly. After paragraph 20 of your written evidence you give a table and in that table there is one column for starch and another column for starch equivalent?—In the cases of starch equivalent, it includes oil.

(*Mr. LeFanu.*)—Was the mortality from fever in Cuddapah in 1897 normal, or was it in excess of or below the normal?—In 1897 there were 4,419 lives saved from fever by the diminution of malaria.

Are you sure about it?—Quite sure.

Dr. Thomas said that the death-rate from fever had undergone no diminution?—So far as returns submitted to our office are concerned, they show a marked diminution. Even in 1896 there was a marked diminution.

Dr. Thomas said that the mortality was almost due to cholera. I asked him whether the mortality was due to other causes, considering the fact that there was a great falling off in fever mortality during the year. He said that there was no falling off. Do you think it was?—In 1896 in the case of the Cuddapah district 2,292 deaths were less under the head of fevers, and this was repeated in 1897 to the extent of 4,419. Excluding cholera and small-pox, the death-rate still shows, notwithstanding this saving, that 1,375 lives were lost by conditions that must be ascribed to famine.

Are these figures available in any of the papers open to the public?—The fact of the decrease in 1896 is shown in my annual report.

In the preparation of your vital statistics you do not deal with it in any way?—Oh yes, I do, in paragraph 21; but here the case of Cuddapah is merged with the other Ceded districts.

You were discussing the shortness in the birth-rate with Mr. Holderness. Do you hold that the falling off in births took place during the period of distress?—So far, it has not been so.

There was a famine in 1891 in the North Arcot District and the height of the distress then was in July and August?—I cannot state anything with reference to the months you refer to. I noticed especially with reference to the North Arcot district that the mortality in the very young and old, which had occurred, showed evidence of increase, whereas in the birth-rate there was a diminution.

The shortness occurs after the period of famine?—Yes, certainly.

Suppose the distress was great in June, July and August 1897, the decrease in the birth-rate has not yet come on record?—Yes, quite so—not fully.

Can you recollect discussing the question of prices in Kurnool in July and August?—I remember discussing it.

Can you recollect what the price of cholum at Kurnool in that month was?—It was 6 local seers and 8 Imperial seers.

Can you recollect if that was the price in any month during the famine of 1877?—It was exactly the same. We discussed the point.

In what months?—In the months of August 1897 and March 1877.

Have you any recollection what the number under relief works in the two periods was?—From March to August in the Kurnool district in 1897 the total number relieved was 728,372, whereas in the year 1877 it was 1,583,811.

There was a difference then of about 800,000 in excess on relief in 1877?—Exactly so.

Yet the prices at one time last year were about the same as in 1877?—It was so.

Was that the same in any portions of Bellary?—Prices were much the same.

Can you recollect if the prices of last year were much dearer than the prices of 1878 in the Deccan districts?—Yes, they were so.

When the prices were so much cheaper in 1877, were people dying in the Deccan?—They were dying by thousands.

Were you there?—I was there.

Are you of opinion that we committed any excess of leniency in granting relief?—Most certainly not. I am distinctly of opinion that had there been the slightest tendency to decrease the amount of rations and the method of relief, we should have had a fearful mortality. We approached the condition of peril, but we buoyed over it very well.

You have got long experience of famine?—I was through the thick of the famine in 1877. I built and administered one camp with 3,000 persons at Trichinopoly and another camp of 1,000. There were altogether 4,000 persons under my direct medical and executive charge. These were practically huge hospitals for recovery of those unfit to work. I also had medical charge of famine works near Head-Quarters. I then served in Kurnool which was one of the most acutely affected districts. Here, irrespective of huge hospital camps and poor-houses, I had charge of 1,500 prisoners all suffering more or less from famine diseases. So severely affected was the population, that there was no lack of opportunity for studying the sequelæ of famine diseases up to 1879.

Do you think it is safe to refuse to relieve people until they have sold their jewels and cattle?—There could not be a greater error, because the people that own jewels and cattle will not sell them all till forced by serious starvation. If you once allow them to come to that low point, it will be more expensive to make them recover their normal condition (as the experience of 1877 has proved) by the increased expenditure on hospitals and camps. Even luxuries have been used at that time with very little real utility, with the hope of aiding recovery of health.

You express approval of the distance test?—Yes. But not in the sense generally used. Removal to a distance is

justifiable if works can thereby be more efficiently or profitably conducted. As already explained, I would modify this policy by using the "cattle test."

Did you visit the place called Kocheru?—Yes.

There were works available to persons within ten miles?—According to the Collector they were available within 9 miles, but according to the people within 13 miles.

Did people go?—Only the labouring poor. The ryots who clamoured for work would not leave the place.

Why did they not go?—Because they said they had cattle to attend to.

Did you examine their houses?—I did.

What means had they?—I remember in the case of a very respectable ryot whose usual outturn was 12,000 measures per annum, that he had only 800 measures when I saw him in February. There were 20 people depending upon him. When I returned subsequently, even that quantity of grain had gone. In my last visit I took the Tahsildar with me to see the actual condition. The man was actually destitute, beyond having grain sufficient for a couple of days. The other members of the family had gone 13 miles to the works in sheer despair. When I saw the people in the beginning they were living on *ambili* ("congee") instead of solid pudding or cake. The other people were eating tamarind seeds.

Anything else?—On other occasions I saw various persons eating leaves.

No grains?—No grains sufficient to keep them going.

You went into the houses?—In my inspections I always go into houses taking a caste man with me to see what they have got. I went to their houses at a time when they did not expect me, and conducted a complete search with their consent.

Your experience is that people would rather stay at home starving and dying, than go to distant places?—Yes. A particular class of people—ryots owning cattle.

Can you not give the members of the Commission any information about the emigration from Vizagapatam?—Yes, that is important with reference to the difficulty of getting males on the works there. I find from official returns that within the famine period 25,000 emigrated to Burma from the Northern Circars. When I say that, you may take it that it was simply from Ganjam and Vizagapatam. Bhadrachalam being a hill country the Kois would not think of emigrating. Besides that I ascertained from the Collector of Godaveri when I was there that a large number of people had come from Vizagapatam to the Godaveri delta to get work on the rice fields. So that the great difficulty that has been spoken about in the matter of getting labour from men really meant that the men had gone to other parts, because they could not get labour in time in their own places.

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The Deputy Collector from Vizagapatam said that there was no emigration from the district more than the normal?—It was six or seven times more than the normal to Burma alone from the ports. This takes no account of emigration by land to the Godaveri tracts and elsewhere.

(*President.*)—As the Code allows gratuitous relief being given to non-working children on works or at village centres either by cooked food at kitchens or by grain or money doles, were both the systems used in the recent famine?—Yes. In villages grain doles were allowed. In kitchens at works they compelled the people to take cooked food. When the villages were very far off from centres of work, gratuitous relief was given in grain. If there was a kitchen near at hand, they compelled the people to go there.

Did all people on the works agree to send their children to the kitchens?—No. There was very strong objection to the kitchens. It was partly got over towards the end.

Do you say that you had long acquaintance with the people of the Ceded districts?—Yes.

Do you think that the poorer people of these districts would stint their children more than they would stint themselves—I am talking of the times of scarcity and not of acute starvation?—It is well to distinguish between these two. It is impossible to say what might happen when acute starvation is faced. Human beings are hardly then responsible for their actions: in the previous famine a few instances of the character you suggest were known. But, I am convinced that so long as a subsistence—however slender—was obtainable in the midst of distress or scarcity, they would not starve their children. In the previous famine they did starve the children, I know. So long as there is only distress or scarcity, they would not starve the children.

Do you think that the same degree of privation was seen sooner in the child or in the adult, or was it equally seen in both?—I think from my experience in this famine, it was not so rapidly seen in men as it was seen in women and children—in women especially.

MR. H. K. BEAUCHAMP, Hony. Secy., Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund, Madras Branch, called in and examined.

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(*President.*)—Mr. Beauchamp, you are the Honorary Secretary of the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund, Madras Branch?—Yes.

You put in a report* of the operations of the Executive Committee in place of a statement of evidence?—Yes. There are three points which came to my notice as Honorary Secretary of this Fund, and which bear upon the Government Relief operations. You will see them all stated in the report. The first was that the Government did not provide gratuitous relief in Cuddapah, so that this responsibility was thrown on the Fund.

In Cuddapah only?—Chiefly in Cuddapah. We had to conduct similar operations in the Upper Godaveri amongst the hill-men and it was only after we had begun operations and showed the necessity for relieving the distressed, that the Government began its work. We were spending on objects which ought to have been conducted by Government.

Was it in Bhadrachalam Taluk or in the whole district?—Chiefly in Bhadrachalam. Another point is that operations had to be conducted by the Fund for supplying fodder for cattle. Of course this is a matter which the Fund could legitimately take up, but where we found a failure, as it appeared to us, was that the Collectors did not grant loans under the Agriculturists' Loans Act to enable the ryots to buy the fodder that was provided for them. It seemed to us that if these loans had been more easily obtainable the operations of the Fund in this respect would have been more complete, and also, I think, we should have been able to get some money back and continue our operations on a larger scale. We were afraid of spending too much on fodder-supply operations, because our grants from the Central Committee were very limited. The third point that I wish to draw attention to is that before the fodder-supply operations began, the forest reserves had been shut to cattle, and it would have relieved our Fund a great deal of the responsibility if these forest reserves had been thrown open. It was only by our Chairman repeatedly pointing out the necessity for it that eventually the forest reserves were thrown open, and this partially relieved our Fund of the responsibility of supplying fodder. We all thought in the Committee that these forest reserves should have been thrown open much earlier. These are the three points that seemed to have struck our Committee—three points bearing on Government relief operations, as seen in the light of the Fund's operations.

In speaking of gratuitous relief you say that there was delay in the starting of relief in the Cuddapah district?—Yes. There is a paragraph in this report at page 9, which says "Parts of Cuddapah, Anantapur, Kurnool, Bellary, Vizagapatam and Ganjam were declared famine affected on the 23rd February or some days after the formation of this Committee. But no provision was sanctioned for the general establishment of gratuitous relief, or of the machinery requisite for its introduction and administration. The necessary steps were not considered by Government to be required until the 30th March, when an order of great liberality was promulgated, but it took more than a month—in some tracts as much as three—to place the country under Famine Inspectors and to introduce gratuitous relief."

What was the nature of your fodder-supply operations?—We bought paddy straw in the districts around Madras which having had a good north-west monsoon, a great deal of straw was available in the neighbourhood of Madras. We bought it and sent it by the Madras Railway to depôts where it was sold to ryots.

At what rate was it sold?—It was sold at ₹12 per ton, but it cost us ₹27 and the difference between the two

*Not printed.

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was a loss to the Fund. The whole thing is explained in Chapter IV.

I see you take the view as expressed in page 4 that for the last 20 years the character of the season has been generally adverse. Is there any reason to think that within the last 20 years it has been peculiarly unfavourable?—No. Not at all. We took the 20 years as embracing the last famine period.

Is not the assessment of revenue proportionately low on that account—on account of the great uncertainty of harvest?—Undoubtedly it is very low in the Deccan.

I see from the same page you make out that for a long period of years the import of food-grains exceeded the exports?—Yes. In that block.

How do you suppose that your imports are paid for?—By the cotton and other crops which are not food-crops.

Do you know the Deccan well?—I have not served there though I have been there. I know the Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Godaveri districts best.

On the same page lower down you say "As the area under food-grains during this period has been steadily increasing, the natural inference to be drawn from the figures is that the districts have suffered from a series of unfavourable seasons and have been unable to raise enough food-grain for local consumption". Is that based upon figures that you obtained from the Revenue Department?—Yes, from the Board of Revenue.

Is that supposed to be due to cultivation of waste land or to the conversion of cotton and other lands for food-grain cultivation?—I do not know. I cannot say for certain.

The figures for exports and imports seem to show that in some years there were very good exports. In 1893-94 there were exports to the extent of 7,35,354 maunds?—That was a good year, after the famine of 1891-92.

That is the net export?—Yes.

Did you find ready sale for your fodder?—Oh yes. It sold very quickly, but directly the rains began, we found that the ryots would not come forward. But the amount on our hands after the rains was exceedingly small.

It was bought almost entirely by the more well-to-do pattadars?—Only the really poverty-stricken were allowed to have passes on the depôts. They were required to have passes from the Village Magistrate stating that they had cattle and that they were unable to buy fodder.

Did the District Sub-Committees do their work well?—Generally speaking very well indeed, but in a few cases they were somewhat lethargic, but a great deal of work was undoubtedly done in travelling about and checking the lists by the members of the different Sub-Committees.

Did you give much money for plough cattle?—We gave grants under head IV, which you will see in the appendix, to a very large extent. The cattle in the Deccan are very valuable indeed, and to replace them cost a great deal. We gave nearly 12 lakhs for buying cattle under head IV. The grant for seed is also included in it, but the amount for seed is exceedingly small. It was mostly for cattle that this grant was given.

What are the heads from 1 to 3?—Those are for supplementing Government rations and for the gratuitous relief that we undertook for a considerable time.

Gratuitous relief for respectable people?—Not only respectable people but ordinary gratuitous relief which ought to have been undertaken by Government.

You took it up before the Government took it up?—Yes, we took it up and we handed the lists over to Government officials afterwards.

Have you anything to say about the gratuitous relief which was afterwards taken over by Government, and which you say was urgently required?—I think it stands to reason that gratuitous relief is generally required at an earlier stage than relief works, because it is supposed to reach people who are in the worst state. It ought to precede any test-work rather than follow any test-work, which is what the Government apparently thought.

You have no reason to think that there was peculation connected with the distribution of cash doles?—No case came to our notice. We tried our best to check anything of that kind. Undoubtedly there must have been something of the kind, as you will see from a paragraph on page 22 of the report concerning the reliability of village officials. "The natural timidity of the people and the unreliability of the village and other inferior servants of Government, presented difficulties everywhere, which were, however, discounted by the careful arrangements made by Collectors and the loyal manner in which these were carried out by their Divisional Officers and Tahsildars. Several wholesome prosecutions, instituted in Bellary and elsewhere, kept the evil fairly in check, and this Committee agrees with the District Committees, which have noticed the point, in considering that the all-important portion of the Fund's operation alluded to was admirably administered."

You say that the operations of your Fund extended to Malabar also?—That was due to the rise in prices there. There was undoubtedly a great deal of distress in Malabar amongst the lower class of coolies.

You say that in Vizagapatam people carried their patience to the extent of reducing themselves to a state of emaciation, which was most distressing to witness, rather than resort to relief works. Do you know what class of people those were?—They were the field labourers, or the small puttadars. I think the reason probably was that they never had had a famine before. They were not accustomed, as Ganjam people were, to resorting to famine relief. There is always a prejudice against famine relief in any district where it has not been known much before.

You say in talking of the wish of the people to be independent, that the people driven by hunger to accept tickets for gratuitous relief were known to have travelled long distances in order to deliver them up again. What was the object of delivering them up again?—To show that they had no further need of them.

Then there is a case that you speak of as to the starvation of children of the people of the Reddiga caste?—It was the Hon'ble Mr. Crole, the Chairman, who went up there and saw it himself.

Did the Chairman ask whether the parents were also emaciated? Did he put that question to them?—I don't know. Mr. Horne, the Collector, would be able to give evidence about that.

Do you know why there was much delay in throwing open the reserve forests?—I understand that the Famine Commissioner recommended that forests should be opened as far back as December 1896. The Forest Conservator and the Forest Member of the Board of Revenue however refused to have anything to say to it. On the matter being referred to Government, Government also refused to have the forest reserves thrown open. Eventually Mr. Crole persuaded the Forest Member of the Board of Revenue to have the reserve forests thrown open.

Is it your opinion that loans might have been safely granted on personal security to ryots to enable them to buy fodder?—Yes, it was done in Bellary.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—Were those loans on personal security given by the Fund?—By Government. To buy fodder.

How did this fodder come? Was it compressed?—We found it impossible to compress it in bales. We had a certain amount pressed in the cotton press at Guntur, but elsewhere it was found impossible to press; and consequently we twisted the bundles, as is done ordinarily in villages, and had them trampled down in trucks, putting ropes over them.

When your Committees were organised in the district, was the Chairman *ex-officio*, the District Magistrate?—Not invariably. In some cases it was the District Judge.

In giving gratuitous relief did the Government agency and your agency overlap each other?—No. Directly the Government took up the gratuitous relief we handed over our list to Government. Then we confined our operations to supplementing the Government rations and giving relief to the respectable poor under head 3.

It would not be eligible for Government to do it?—Yes.

Are you still going on with Famine Fund operations?—We have closed them in all districts except in Anantapur, where they are spending some 25 thousand rupees which had been promised to them. The list there was not ready for some time, but the Collector wrote to us the other day that the list was ready, and so we sent the money to them. We

anticipate some further operations in Nellore and other districts.

Could you have spent more money if the Central Committee had given you more?—Undoubtedly.

Do you think that you were badly treated?—Yes, very badly.

Do you think that you ought to have had more?—Undoubtedly. We had nearly one million on relief works. We represented very strongly to the Central Committee, by drawing a comparison between the grants made to other provinces, that we should have received a good deal more on the basis of numbers on relief works. Why we suffered was that the Madras Government's original estimate of famine was very low; our grants were based upon the Madras Government's estimate sent to the Government of India, and the Central Committee continued to base the grants on that. Afterwards it was found by the Madras Government that its estimates were far too low. It originally estimated an expenditure of 15 lakhs, but it spent over 100 lakhs, or something like that. I forget the exact figure.

(*Mr. Bose.*)—Have you any unspent balance on hand?—We calculate that we shall have one lakh of rupees.

If you have a large unspent balance of one lakh, how do you say that you did not get all that you wanted?—Because we had to restrict our operations all through. We explained how we had had to restrict our allotments.

Still you have one lakh which you have not been able to spend?—Yes. The money was of no use after the time for sowing had gone by and for buying cattle. It is no use giving money to men for buying cattle when the sowing season has gone. If we had had a larger amount of money we could have given more under head IV.

In what shape did you give your other relief?—In supplementing Government rations at the kitchens.

You gave additional food or cash?—Oil and small luxuries of that kind.

You made grants to Superintendents or how?—The money was given, as a rule, to Superintendents of kitchens. They spent it. They had a sort of permanent advance, and were allowed to spend money in small doles for the people who required it at the kitchens.

You gave the advance?—Yes.

That is one way, but was there any other way?—You will find it all on page 11. You see it is stated there that "Small advances were placed in the hands of officers in charge of relief works and others to help workers disabled by accidents or sickness, destitute persons before admission to Government relief works on dole lists, women with sick or the children, and similar urgent cases."

You gave extras to those who received doles at kitchens in addition to what you mention here?—Yes. In kitchens it sometimes took the form of Mellin's food for the sick, the emaciated, and also vegetables to others.

Did you give cloths?—Yes.

I suppose what they usually wear?—Yes.

How did you get them?—We bought them from local weavers as we thought that it would tend to relieve them in their turn.

How did you manage it?—We bought them ready made.

Did you give them orders?—I think they were bought ready made. The purchase of cloths was made with the district money and as far as I know the District Committees gave orders to contractors and they bought the cloths from the local weavers.

They did not deal directly with the weavers?—They did not give the orders directly, but the cloths were locally woven.

You relieved, it appears, 850 orphans?—Yes. *Mr. H. K. Beauchamp.*

What was the relief that was given to them?—Small sums were given to the adoptive parents of these orphans. *18th Feb. 1898.*

Those were orphans taken by private individuals?—Yes.

You did not send orphans to Government orphanages?—We have no Government orphanages.

As regards respectable *gosha* women how did you distinguish between those who were on the Government list and those who were on your list?—I fancy that at no time in the administration of famine relief was there any exact line that could be drawn. The test was whether persons, generally women, who thought it a dishonour to accept Government relief were willing to accept relief from private sources and in a certain manner surreptitiously.

Then the agency you employed was a private agency?—Yes, all private agency, specially in giving money to the respectable poor. In Kurnool, for instance, there was a large number of poor indigent Mahomedans, and in that case the Mahomedan members of the Kurnool Committee undertook the work.

To agricultural labourers did you give cash or seed?—Cash.

Left it to them to buy seed?—Yes.

Did you give plough cattle or money to buy cattle?—Money.

Was there any attempt on the part of creditors to seize the cattle bought with your money?—I have not heard. The only thing I heard was that a month after the money was distributed under head IV in Bellary, the Sub-Collector went round and ascertained by personal experience that they had actually bought the bullocks with the money given. He found only one case in which the man had not bought the bullocks.

Were bullocks at any time seized by the creditors?—I have not heard of it.

Did you relieve the weavers?—We gave a grant under head IV to buy tools and implements.

Had you to give any subsistence allowance to cultivators to enable them to live between the time of sowing and harvest?—That is one thing we wanted to do, but we were stopped by the Central Committee. When Mr. James came here we asked for a small grant for this purpose, but he cut it out of our estimate.

Was there any unwillingness expressed by agriculturists to accept this charitable relief?—No.

Did you give any loans to cultivators?—None.

All your grants were free gifts?—Yes.

(*Mr. LeFanu.*)—On page 11 you say that you gave small sums to five districts for the purpose of supplementing the Government wages or rations on the works and in the kitchens, and that in the former the aid was mainly confined to small grants to women newly confined or to nursing mothers. Have you any idea as to how much money you spent on it?—The amount of money spent under that particular head has not been shown separately.

The reason why I ask you is that I have stated and I would be prepared to affirm that the Fund has never been employed in supplementing the wages on public works. It says in your report that small advances were placed in the hands of officers in charge of relief works?—Imprests were given to men in charge of relief works to supplement the Government ration.

As a matter of fact can you say that anything was given to supplement the wages?—We took the facts from the Sub-Committee's reports.

MR. W. L. VENKATARAMIAH, Chairman, Ganjam District Committee, Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund, Berhampore called in and examined. *Mr. W. L. Venkataramiah.* *18th Feb. 1898.*

I put in a written statement of evidence.

1. The most important preventive measure against famine in the Ganjam District is the construction of *new irrigation tanks*. So far as I have been able to ascertain from leading land-holders and old ryots, Government has not dug any new tanks during the last thirty years, being content during ordinary years as well as famine years, with merely repairing existing tanks, deepening them, and cleaning them.

The crying need for irrigation tanks in Ganjam.

Mr. W. L. Venkataramiah.

18th Feb. 1898.

2. The greater part of the district is zamindari, and the zamindari ryots are much worse off than others. Will the Famine Commissioners be pleased to recommend to Government the adoption of measures to secure for this class—

The grievances of zamindari ryots.

(1) greater fixity of tenure;

(2) protection against endless enhancement of rents; and

(3) concessions in the matter of remissions in hard times?

3. The indebtedness of the agricultural population is very marked in the district. Sahukars charge exorbitant interest, never less than 12 per cent., often more than 50 per cent.; also stipulate for payment in grain at "Sahukar prices", which means about 20 per cent. less than market prices. Will the Famine Commission be pleased to recommend the formation of agricultural banks by the State for granting loans at 6 per cent. or so?

Agricultural banks.

4. The ryot is not able to stand a season of acute distress. Physically and economically he lives a hand-to-mouth life. Unless the ryot's general condition be materially improved, merely symptomatic treatment only is possible, not a radical cure. Hence the preceding suggestions.

Improvement of the general condition of the ryot to be aimed at.

5. A great deal has been said about famine mortality, but no authenticated case has come to my notice in the district. Even cases of emaciation were very, very few. Every one in the district will bear testimony to the fact that the extraordinary mortality of last year was due to virulent outbreaks of cholera (imported by the returning pilgrims of the Pushkaram Festival, as well as from the the perennial source at Puri), small-pox and fever.

Famine mortality *nil.*

6. The people of the district are full of praise and gratitude for the manner in which Government grappled with the famine in its earlier stages, and minimized the inevitable sufferings of the poorer classes. The only complaint was that there was no admixture of rice in the ragi porridge supplied in the relief kitchens, the people being accustomed to such a mixture.

Famine administration a marked success.

7. The semi-nude women on relief works and in relief kitchens were loud in their praises when they were supplied with clothing from the funds of the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund. Nothing else was done under Head I.

The Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund. Object I.

8. Unlike previous famines, *e. g.*, the great Orissa Famine of 1865 and the Madras Famine of 1877, the last famine did not leave behind it any appreciable number of orphans. In the Ganjam district the Committee were apprized of only three solitary cases.

Orphans, practically *nil.*

9. A sum of ₹16,000 odd was distributed in doles to *gosha* females—a large class in the district. This seems the most pressing kind of relief called for, as this class of sufferers is not provided for in the ordinary programme of State relief.

Object III.

10. This form of relief cost the Fund the largest proportion of its funds. It properly falls within the scope of State relief, in fact in the district it was entirely in the hands of the Government officers. There is no doubt that, in view of the necessary haste with which money under this head had to be distributed, and the very meagre lists and data on which the officials had to work, there was not as much discrimination and care used in this particular as in other forms of State and private relief. But on the whole the general feeling is that much good has been done and many saved from ruin.

Object IV.

(*President.*)—You are the Chairman of the Ganjam District Committee of the Indian Charitable Relief Fund?—Yes.

You are a resident of Berhampore?—Yes.

Are you a private gentleman or do you hold any appointment under Government?—I am a Vakil of the High Court, practising there.

Are there irrigation tanks in the district of Ganjam?—Yes.

In what part of the district do they exist?—The whole district, except a small portion served by the Rushikulya canals and the channels of the Vamsadhara, which is a river in the south, while Rushikulya is a river in the north.

How much do these tanks irrigate?—I cannot positively state that; but I should say about two-thirds of the district. That is my impression.

The zemindari parts of the district are on the plains as well as on the hills?—Yes.

Who are the great zemindars?—The Parlakimidi is the leading zamindar, next Kalikote, Peddakimidi, Chinnakimidi and Chekati.

They have powers?—They are mere zamindars.

They have fixed tenures?—No fixed tenures. I may say that on enquiry I found that with reference to some of the zamindars the annual rent is twice or even three times as much as it was 20 years ago.

You don't think that anybody died of starvation?—I don't believe any one did. I made enquiries, and I don't think I have heard of a single case.

Who are the people that went to the relief kitchens that you mention in your written statement?—The lowest classes, Bavaris, the wood-cutting class, Dandasis and Malas.

Classes superior to them will refuse to go to kitchens?—Yes. Prejudice is very strong against going to kitchens in the Ganjam district.

Do you think that the prejudice is decreasing?—I don't think it is decreasing. I think in Ganjam the Uriyas have a particular word applicable to those who go to kitchens, *chotrokhya*, which is a term of abuse.

Did you see anything of the relief works?—No. I have often seen the relief workers and questioned them.

Do you think that if the works were in a distant place they would leave their homes and live on the works?—The Telugus would, but the Uriyas would not. I found actually that the Telugus did go to a distance by rail, 15 miles for instance.

The larger portion of the Charitable Relief Fund was spent on the purchase of cattle?—No; on the purchase of seed-grain to help the ryots. We gave about ₹42,000 for seed-grain.

Was it partly diverted to other purposes by the ryots?—Very possibly.

Do you think a great deal of good was done in this way?—Yes. I would suggest that this form of relief ought always to be in the hands of Government officers, because they have got the best means of ascertaining who are and who are not worthy of this kind of aid. A private committee is not able to distribute it properly.

Was it given in cash?—Yes, about ₹16,000.

Who are classed as *gosha* in Ganjam?—All the better classes among the Telugus and Uriyas, Brahmins and Sudras alike. Of course the Mohamedans are *gosha* there as elsewhere.

You think that none of these men would allow their women to go to works or to kitchens?—Certainly not.

We have heard of a case of a carpenter absolutely refusing to go on works or to the kitchen. Is that usual with the class of carpenters?—Yes. They are very respectable people and artizans. They would not go either to kitchens or to works.

What about the Hindu weavers?—They would not go to relief works either. They have been weavers from generations, and it is derogatory for them to go on other work.

(*Dr. Richardson.*)—Would it be injurious in the matter of handicraft? Would they lose their fineness of touch?—It may be that. The chief reason is that they will lose credit with their fellow craftsmen.

If they were actually starving would they go?—No. They would rather go and beg of their own people than go to the works. The weavers of Ganjam are a very religious people, being Lingayats, and the objection in their case to the kitchen would be still stronger.

In the report of the Charitable Relief Fund it is mentioned that Mr. Crole saw some of the Reddikas who refused to go on works and appropriated the dole given to children and kept them half starved?—Yes.

Are they supposed to be a respectable caste?—They are the lowest of the classes. That incident is reported by Mr. Crole as having occurred at Kassibugga in the Ganjam district.

Sudras as a matter of fact go to the works?—Yes.

And to the kitchens too?—Yes.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—Do you mean that women in the Ganjam district ordinarily work?—Commonly as field labourers among the lower classes which I have already mentioned.

Were those people on the relief works?—Yes. Reddikas also, who generally work outside.

Were the relief works popular?—Yes, among those classes.

Did you notice whether women preponderated on those works?—Yes.

Do you know any reason why they should?—Because I suppose some men migrate to Rangoon. As a rule they have work which is easily found. This is a special opportunity for women.

In ordinary years would not women get work?—Not continuously as they get now.

Did you ever hear that this gratuitous relief was demoralizing to the people?—I have not heard that.

(*Mr. LeFanu.*)—You said that the Telugus go some distance to work. By railway I suppose?—Yes.

Would they return in the evening?—As a rule they did return, but not all. *Mr. W. L. Venkataramiah.*

Did single members of the family go or did the whole family go?—I cannot say that. *18th Feb. 1898.*

Do I understand you to say that in case of distress the Telugus would leave their homes in a body and go to distances?—I think they would. They often emigrate to Burma.

Leave their houses?—Yes.

Who would take care of the cattle?—This class of people have no cattle and houses.

Have they no old men or old women?—They would take such persons with them.

That is a conjecture, I suppose?—Yes.

You say half the district was irrigated by small tanks?—Yes.

Are there 5,000 square miles of irrigation under tanks in Ganjam?—That is my impression.

More than half the district is agency. Is it not?—Yes.

When you spoke of the district you did not include the agency tracts?—Yes, I did not.

Is a great part of the cultivation in the plains of Ganjam what is known as dry paddy?—No. That is only my impression.

MR. R. R. R. DEWAN BAHADUR DHARMA RAO NAYUDU GURU, WALTAIR, late Deputy Commissioner, Salt and Abkari Revenue, Madras Presidency, called in and examined.

I put in written answers to the Commission's questions.

* 222. I do not think that the statement of the objects as published in the *Gazette of India* needs alteration. *Dewan Bahadur Dharma Rao Nayudu.*

223. The relief, by way of works or gratuitously, is all given by Government, and the Charity Fund is only used in supplementing the relief operations. I do not think the objects to which the fund is devoted in any way trench upon the field of Government relief operations. *18th Feb. 1898.*

224. The statement of the second object needs no modification at least in my district. The Charity Fund is only used in supplementing the relief given by Government. Only about ₹470 were spent during this famine in relieving orphans.

225. I would not place any restriction upon this object.

226. Only the poor but *respectable* persons who would endure any privation rather than apply for Government Relief were relieved under Head III. The relief was only given after careful enquiry by responsible officers or gentlemen who took a keen interest in the work. The fact that of the large sum of ₹1,42,000 allowed for this district which has a population of nearly 20 lakhs, not more than ₹30,183 were spent under this head, shows that no more measures are required.

227, 228 and 229. I do not think the Government should open any grain shops. They do not get any grain from zamindars or ryots, the Peishcush and rents being collected in money. The Government would therefore have to purchase grain for sale in their shops, if any. They cannot do so as easily as the merchants do. There may be fraud in the purchases and also sales unless the work is entrusted to well paid officers. Any interference of the sort on the part of Government might seriously affect the private trade. Ultimately the supplies may cease. I fear the issue of grain from Government shops to a selected number of persons at less than the market rates would give the others ground for complaint. Also there would be difficulty in selecting the persons to whom the grain should be issued at the reduced rates. I have not heard that, except at Bimlipatam where Chilaka Sanyasi Nayudu Garu, the leading native merchant, sold 1,525 bags of paddy to the people at one rupee less than the bazaar rates between October 1896 and July 1897, there were such shops in my district during this famine. There was no compiaint that the sale of paddy at Bimlipatam at the reduced prices in any way interfered with the ordinary trade, but, compared with the demand, the supply of grain at the reduced rate was so small that it could not interfere with the ordinary trade. I heard that some of the grain shops opened from the Indian Charitable Fund operated to steady the market, but, if I remember right, those shops were opened and the grain sold by the leading local merchants, the money being supplied from the Charity Fund.

230. The time for assistance to the broken-down agriculturists should, in my opinion, be decided in each case by local officers.

231. Most of the villages in my district are zemindari, the rents are very high and the ryots poor. I would not therefore restrict the relief under Head IV to Pattadars paying ₹10 and less. Those paying up to ₹30 in zemindaries should be relieved, but the ryots paying more than ₹15 in Government villages, where the assessment is comparatively light, need not as a rule be relieved.

232. The ryots in zemindari villages have no saleable interests in their lands. The law on this subject is uncertain. The Government cannot give loans to ryots holding such lands nor have the zemindars in any way relieved them. Only such agriculturists as have not received Takkavi advances were relieved under Head IV. They are very poor, and much involved in debt. The seed grain they had was all used for their food. The sowcars would not lend them any more money. They would give up their lands and migrate to Rangoon and other places if they were not relieved. I think the Charity Fund was properly applied in relieving such agriculturists.

233. I would not go so far as to supplement Takkavi advances. It is Charity Fund and should only be used in relieving persons who could not get help in any other way.

234. The coolies on relief works are, as a body, Pattadars. So also are those relieved in villages. Both were relieved in some cases under Heads I and II. The relief given to them under Head IV enabled them to bring their lands under cultivation immediately the rains set in. The Pattadars were all in debt before the famine. The sowcars would not lend any more money. No Takkavi could be expected from the zemindars. The Pattadars would have left their lands and migrated to Rangoon and other places had it not been for the relief given under Head IV, which, as shown above, has supplemented the relief given by the Government.

235 and 236. A sum of ₹1,42,622 was distributed in my district as shown below:—

Head.	Number relieved.	Amount. ₹	a.	p.
I	3,382	1,077	7	4
II	1,120	470	9	7
III	81,403	30,189	2	6
IV	52,733	1,11,325	5	0
Contingencies		106	11	2
Grand Total		1,43,169	3	7

* The numbers refer to the questions drawn up by the Commission.

LIBRARY OF THE

Dewan Bahadur Dharma Rao Nayudu.

18th Feb. 1898.

237. Only a sum of R1,077-7-4 was spent under Head I, but in my opinion, the distribution of cloths evoked the greatest gratitude.

238. Eighty-one thousand four hundred and three persons were relieved under Head III. Most of them were given money doles which they preferred to grain doles. They are all respectable persons who do not do coolie work and would endure any privation rather than apply for Government relief.

239. The agriculturists were as a body deeply involved in debt, and used also the seed grain they had for their food. They cannot get any more loans from sowcars, and would therefore give up their lands and become coolies if they were not relieved under Head IV, for they get no assistance from their zemindars. I think it is right to spend the Charity Fund in helping such ryots.

240. The expenditure under Head IV was of course a great relief to the agriculturists helped and was also an advantage to the country, a portion of the produce of their lands eventually finding its way to other places.

241. I think about 150,000 acres of land were thus brought under cultivation, the relief being about 8 annas an acre. This is mostly zemindari land, not surveyed. Hence the difficulty in giving the exact acreage sown with aid from the Charity Fund.

Answers to Questions in the Addenda and Corrigenda.

113A. The opening of works on ordinary terms when prices rise would certainly enable labourers to retain their independence longer than at present.

113B. I do not think it is necessary to provide for special employment of labour on ordinary terms after the famine is over—for, directly the rains are seasonable, the labourers, who in most cases, are either Pattadars or agricultural labourers go back to their villages and begin their own work which they prefer to employment on public works even on ordinary terms.

282. The rise in prices was, in my opinion, more than reasonable and due partly to the failure of harvests and more to the exports of food grains to other districts and to the failure of crops in the Ganjam district, in Orissa and some other districts in the Presidency. Even in ordinary seasons, my district is supplied from Godavari and Ganjam. The prices varied with the prices in those districts and elsewhere and also with the quality of the grain offered for sale.

282 (*a*). I do not think that any merchants or others fixed the bazar rates of food grains. Each merchant keeps himself well informed, chiefly by wire, of the prices in other towns, districts or even Presidencies and fixes his own price after allowing for import or export charges as the case may be. There is generally competition among the traders in grain, each trader trying to make as much money as he can.

283 (*a*). The harvest was very fair in the Godavari Delta. If the cost of carriage, etc., be deducted, the difference in prices prevailing in the Godavari Delta and in the district of Vizagapatam, marked as affected by famine, *i.e.*, profit to the importers is seldom one anna a rupee. As a rule the merchants could not make larger profits particularly after the East Coast Railway was opened to traffic. I do not think the difference was unreasonable.

284. ***Prices.***

Rice.

Months.	Prices.
From November 1896 to May 1897	9¾ seers a rupee.
June	8·36
July	7·83
August	7·47
September	7·53
October	8·11
November	8·71

Ragi.

December 1896 to April 1897	16 to 17 seers a rupee.
May	15·09
June	12·07
July	10·90
August	13·00
September	14·02
October	14·41
November	15·95

The fluctuations are due to partial failure of the south-west and the entire failure of the north-east monsoons, 1896, to the failure of rains in June and July 1897, to exports to other districts and cessation of imports at intervals, the last being due to failure of local harvests. Grain was imported without any difficulty every time there was any rise in prices. I am not aware of any obstacles to the import except by cholera, which prevented imports from the Jeypore agency for a time.

303 and 303 (*a*). The traders were so keen about their interests that no action was necessary on the part of Government officers in my district. There were very large imports by train, by sea and by carts, as well from the Godavari, Kistna and Ganjam districts as from the Jeypore agency tracts, whenever there was any shortness of stock. The prices were, however, high because of the prices at which they had been purchased by the merchants, who, as I said before, did not get much profit after paying the transport and other charges.

304. Any imports of grain by Government would, in my opinion, increase the cost of relief. The import might tend to reduce the price of food-grains in the bazars to some extent, but I fear that any such step would ultimately interfere with private trade.

305. There were frequent complaints from the illiterate of the existence of such rings trying to keep up the prices; but I do not think that there were really any rings trying to keep up the prices at least in the three northern Districts. My own experience shows that there is a great competition among the merchants, each trying to make for himself as much money as he can.

(*President.*)—Mr. Dharma Rao Nayudu, you were formerly in the Salt Department?—Yes.

What rank did you hold?—Deputy Commissioner of Salt and Abkari Revenue.

How many years were you in the Department?—For nearly 30 years.

Since you retired, where have you been living?—Waltair, Vizagapatam district.

During this famine what work did you take up in connection with it?—I went round the district, inspecting the work done by each Sub-Committee formed for the distribution of the Indian charity, stayed in each place two or three days, saw them distribute money and clothes to the poor, and money to ryots for seed-grain, inspected their accounts and gave such instructions and advice as I thought necessary.

You think that the work was well done by the Sub-Committees?—On the whole, it was done satisfactorily.

You mention one case where 1,525 bags of paddy were sold to the people at one rupee less than the bazar rate?—Yes.

You mention that some grain shops were also opened from the Indian Charitable Fund. Where were those grain shops opened?—I was told it was in the north of India. Some Marwaries told me about it.

Was it they that told you that the bazars steadied the prices?—Yes.

Who are the class of people treated as *goshas* in your district?—Mussalmans, Rajputs, Telagas and Iyercas and Kshatryas.

All classes of Mussalmans?—Not the coolie class. There are very few Mahomedans coolies in this district. In the Vizagapatam district they are either servants, horse keepers or coachmen.

Who formed the Iyercas?—That is sub-sect of the Telagas.

What is their position?—Formerly they were employed as sepoys by Rajahs.

What do they do now?—They are cultivators. Some of them have got Inams. Many are ryots and pattadars.

None of these would under any circumstances go to works?—They don't go to works. Females don't go out. Men don't go to works.

As to the Telagas, what do they do?—They are ryots. Formerly they did military work under the Rajahs, but now they are ryots having in many cases Inams.

You say that none of the zemindars gave relief?—There was no takkavi or advance to ryots. They have not remitted any revenue. I don't think they have even suspended kists.

Do you know the Deccan districts well?—Once I was in Hyderabad, Wadi, Madira and also Orangal. There were large exports from the Godavari to the Vizagapatam district.

You don't think that the grain dealers were active and you don't think they made much profit?—In a few cases

they laid in large stocks of grain, some 6 or 7 months before the famine; that was exceptional. As a rule the merchants don't make much profit. There was a good deal of competition among them. If they could get a profit of one or two annas a bag, they wired and got the grain and sent it to other districts.

Do you think there was much grain in the hands of pattadars and ryots? Not much; there are rich landholders at Chicacole. Chicacole is a great place for grain. The grain produced in the surrounding places is stored there and they made large profits.

Vizagapatam is a good centre of trade?—Very little grain is stored there. All that is brought is either sold or exported. It is a place of business, but just now I don't think there is much grain. If there is demand, there is always a supply. Each merchant gets 4, 5 or 10 telegrams every day. Since the road between Jeypur and Salur was constructed, there has been a great deal of activity in the matter of the grain trade. Paddy is produced in very large quantities in Jeypore as they get more rain there than on the plains.

There was scarcity in 1891-92 in the same district?—Not to such an extent as in 1896-97.

Have you seen any other severe scarcity?—I was in the Ganjam district in 1877 and 1878, when there was not much distress there. The distress at that time was in Kurnool, Cuddapah, Bellary and that side.

(*Mr. Bose.*)—Were people grateful for what they received from the Charitable Fund?—Yes, very grateful. There would have been a great deal of starvation and mortality if the money had not been given.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—Have you started relief works in Vizagapatam?—Money was distributed and the work is finished.

Is there still distress among the people?—No, but the prices are high. Labourers have gone back to their villages and are attending to their agricultural operations.

Prices are still high?—As high as in towns. They are still high, and I think they have not gone down yet.

Did you relieve any of the *parda nashin* ladies?—Yes, they were relieved also under head IV. They feel that the food-grains are not now so dear as they were in June, July, August and September, and they have commenced agricultural operations.

Do *gosha* ladies commence agricultural operations?—Their husbands, brothers and other male relatives work for them.

Has there ever before been a scarcity like this in Vizagapatam?—No, nothing like this. There was some scarcity in 1891-92.

Dewan Bahadur Dharma Rao Nayudu.

18th Feb. 1898.

At the Collector's Office, Bellary.

EIGHTEENTH DAY.

Monday, 21st February 1898.

PRESENT:

SIR J. B. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. (PRESIDENT).

SURGEON-COLONEL J. RICHARDSON.
MR. T. W. HOLDERNESS, C.S.I.
„ T. HIGHAM, C.I.E.
RAI BAHADUR B. K. BOSE, C.I.E.
MR. W. J. H. LEFANU (*Temporary Member for Madras*).
MR. H. J. MCINTOSH, *Secretary*.

SURGEON-MAJOR H. M. HAKIM, District Medical and Sanitary Officer, Anantapur, called in and examined.

I put in a written statement of evidence.

(1) It is objectionable to have one large work distant from the affected villages, as efficient hutting will have to be provided with blankets and bedding, and as many of the poor ryots have cattle, they would have to keep some one behind to look after them, which would be taking away an able-bodied person from the relief work. It will be against sanitary principles to congregate large numbers of people in one spot.

(2) Residence ought not to be made obligatory on the works, and a fair allowance ought to be made for distance travelled to and from the villages to enable the people to look after their own homes and at the same time earn something for their daily wants.

(3) Kitchens ought to be established on each work and in the large towns where children and dependants of famine workers, who are unable to work, may be fed, and cooked food ought to be distributed without condition of residence. It is preferable to relieve the non-working children and other dependants of relief workers by means of cooked food. It would not be safe to trust the parents with money. A small quantity of vegetable should be added to the dietary, as the want of it was already beginning to manifest itself in the kitchens by signs of scurvy.

(4) The C wage is not enough to keep a working labourer in health and strength, and although cases of marked emaciation were rare, growing boys and girls showed want of development, and were gradually getting fined down and also showing signs of scurvy owing to the dearness of provisions and condiments.

(5) The staff of medical subordinates was not sufficient, but the supply of medicines and medical comforts was adequately provided.

(*President.*)—Dr. Hakim, you are the District Medical and Sanitary Officer of Anantapur?—Yes.

Were you throughout the famine in that district?—Yes, almost, from February to October. I have been in that district for the last four years.

At what time did the works begin?—In October.

That was very early?—I beg your pardon, about the end of November.

Were test works started then or relief works?—Test works first.

Did people come freely at first?—They came freely.

What was their condition when they began to come on the works?—Very fair, quite fair.

Most of them, women and children?—Mostly women and children and old men.

Did you enquire why able-bodied men were not present?—Yes, sir; they said, that they had gone to seek work where they could get it—Mysore and the Nizam's territories. Some of them deserted their families and children and the families did not know where they had gone to.

What wages did they get at first?—They used to get C wage. The weakly used to get D wage.

How long did that go on?—That went on till about the order stopping C wage came in; about May, I think.

Did you form any opinion about the adequacy of C and D wage?—Yes, sir. I think it was not adequate.

In what way did it show itself?—Adults began to be fine drawn. Boys and girls became lanky and showed want of development.

Surgeon-Major H.M. Hakim.

21st Feb. 1898.

Surgeon-Major H. M. Hakim.

21st Feb. 1898.

At that time were there many non-working children under 7 on the works?—In some places they were.

How were they fed at the time?—They were fed in the kitchen.

Were kitchens opened at once?—Not at once.

At first how were the children?—They were not looking very well, but after the opening of the kitchens they improved in their physical condition, but latterly they began to show signs of scurvy; gums began to be pigmented and rather spongy.

How were the children in the kitchen?—As far as the physical condition was concerned, they were nice and fat, but some had pigmented and spongy gums, but to satisfy myself I put four children and one adult woman on the poor-house diet which contained vegetables. They began to show marked symptoms every week as they went on.

(*Mr. LeFanu.*)—You mean symptoms of improvement?—Yes.

(*President.*)—Do you remember when the children first went on to the works—small children—did they get doles before the kitchens were opened?—I think they got nothing.

In kitchens were no vegetables given?—Nothing except in Tadpatri, where the merchants of the place subscribed among themselves and supplied vegetables and mutton—vegetables every day and mutton now and again.

What vegetables did they give?—Country vegetables.

Were country vegetables procurable near the kitchens?—Not in all the places.

What is the usual physical condition of the people of the country?—I think it will compare favourably with any other district. They are not a poor lot as a rule.

Ordinarily their physical condition is good?—Yes.

They have not much flesh at any time?—They are not very fat. They appear in good working condition.

Do you think, as a rule, the coolie class, the agricultural labour class, in ordinary times have enough to eat?—I should think so. I took the trouble to look into the matter; I weighed the daily food of the ordinary people of the hospital establishment; and the probability would be that they would bring less to enlist my sympathy if they got little to eat to increase their wages. I suddenly called upon them to get me the food (and knowing very well that I might decrease their food and make them get less ration they were slow to bring it). It weighed on an average 2lbs. each meal—ragi ball; allowing an increase of cent. per cent. for increase of weight in cooking it would mean 1 lb. of raw grain.

(*Dr. Richardson.*)—The absorption of water, I suppose?—Yes.

(*President.*)—You tried the experiment?—Yes, I tried the cooked food of hospital servants.

Made up for themselves?—Made up for themselves for each meal.

You found that for two meals they had how much?—About 2lbs. of raw grain of ragi. I say C wage is not enough. I say comparatively, taking for granted that in the North-West Provinces the wage is calculated on wheat and the nutritive value of wheat is much more than the nutritive value of ragi, the coolies have an advantage, besides the man who gets his wage in wheat can feed himself on a cheaper grain; but here unfortunately the people do not have such a choice. Here the wage is calculated on the lowest of low food-grain, *viz.*, ragi. At first it was calculated on cholum when they could have fallen back upon ragi if they liked; but later, the wage was calculated upon ragi, and in some parts of the district ragi was the basis of the calculation for the whole time.

In the North-Western Provinces for the most time the ration was maize, Indian corn and peas?—I beg your pardon, I took it for granted that it was calculated on wheat. I see it was calculated on white cholum in Bombay.

Did they not use dhal with ragi in kitchens?—They did.

Do you think the people on the works ate dhal with ragi?—Wherever I saw food, it was ragi ball. Some had a little chutney. Many workers used to bring their food with them. I had an opportunity of examining what they ate. In some instances they brought only ragi *conjee*, especially those getting D wage, they and those who had dependants at home had ragi *conjee*.

Do you think with your knowledge of the villagers, able-bodied men, all those of the landless class, would go to works and reside on them if no other relief was given to them?—I think not, unless they are very much pinched.

(*Dr. Richardson.*)—You say some of the people began to show signs of scurvy?—Yes.

You say there was discolouration of the gums?—Yes.

Were the patients showing these signs able to work?—They were working.

They were not put into the hospital?—We had no hospitals.

Did not the nominal roll show those people who had these signs?—It did not.

That is simply the result of casual examination?—Yes; whenever I visited works I used to mark down the number of the gang whom I would divide as men, women and children; and if any had pigmented gums, I used to tick them off, and so arrive at a percentage of those with pigmented gums.

In ordinary years, would you be likely to detect any cases of discolouration of gums?—I cannot tell you, sir. I had no occasion till now. I had met none in this particular season under similar circumstances.

Have you been in charge of a jail?—Yes, sir.

Did you detect similar signs?—No.

I see in the annual returns for Jails, there are a few jails in which cases of that description are recorded?—I have been in Burma Jails, and Central Provinces Jails. I had charge of the Cuddalore Jail in the Madras Presidency, but have not seen any cases.

You saw no cases of death directly resulting from starvation?—No, sir, I did not.

You told the President that under C and D rations relief workers deteriorated in their condition?—Yes.

They improved when B wage was substituted?—They almost remained in the same condition. They did not begin to deteriorate afterwards. They took away all the concessions for distances and they began increasing their tasks; and just before the rains set in, that was the time, the crisis, when they showed signs of deterioration more.

They were in receipt of B ration?—Not many. They were not all receiving B ration.

A certain number received C and D ration?—Yes.

You say C wage was stopped in May?—They began fining for short tasks.

(*Mr. Bose.*)—If C wage was calculated on white cholum, would you consider it insufficient?—No.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—You say that children in the kitchens got mutton?—Yes.

They had vegetables and mutton given them?—They were simply given as a gift.

Where was mutton used?—In the dhal.

Do they get mutton in ordinary years?—In their homes they do. When I have been to small villages on inspection duty I have seen them slaughtering sheep. I had a part of it myself very often.

Were these kitchens well attended?—At first there was a difficulty, but latterly when they saw they were well cared for and food well cooked and seen to by district officials, they came in easily and at last it was difficult to get them out of the kitchens.

What kitchens are you referring to—merely the one at head-quarters?—All kitchens on works as well as in towns.

At each work?—Yes.

It addition to them?—We had kitchens in large towns.

How many had you altogether?—I cannot tell you the exact number, because it varied at different times.

Kitchens at large towns were not connected with works?—No, they were for dependants of the people who went on works.

How were these people admitted to central kitchens, by means of tickets?—Yes, they were admitted by the Tahsildar.

What classes were they?—Generally Madigas. There were other classes too—Boyas. We had separate compartments for each caste. In Tadpatri where there is a large Mahomedan population, there were more Mahomedans than Hindus.

Do the better class of Hindus come to kitchens?—No, at no time.

They were confined to Pariahs?—Pariahs, Boyas and Mahomedans.

Do you know in what time in the district gratuitous relief commenced to be given?—I think it was about May or June.

Had you anything to do with it?—I had nothing to do with it.

Up to that time there was no gratuitous relief?—No.

You had no poor-houses?—No.

These children, you say, had spongy gums and other symptoms of scurvy. Were they in worse condition than in ordinary years?—No, as far as their physical condition went.

As regards gums, you have not examined them in ordinary years?—No.

You were speaking of the amount of food that the hospital servants cook?—Yes.

You said that it was one lb. of raw grain?—Yes.

Did they get it twice every day?—Yes.

Did you go twice a day and see it?—No, they brought me 1 lb. at a time.

You are not certain that they got it twice a day?—I cannot swear to it.

Is that the custom?—They have two meals a day.

In equal portions?—Almost in equal portions.

From your experience how many meals does a labourer get?—I have often met dhobies when I was out inspecting in villages, carrying their food to the water where they wash. I have often asked them to show me their food. I think it always exceeded what they got in the kitchens.

In the kitchens they get dhal?—Yes.

Do people ordinarily eat dhal?—They generally do.

Even the labourers?—Yes. They make what they call *charu*.

You say that C wage was not adequate?—No.

You give reasons why people deteriorated?—Yes.

At that time were fines in force?—At the beginning they were.

So that people did not even get C wage?—In a majority of cases they did. Sometimes they got D wage.

Were fines introduced to any great extent?—Not to any great extent.

Did you inspect people on the works frequently?—Yes.

Do you think they saved anything from the wages?—I should think not.

Did you hear that they saved anything?—No. Looking at their condition I asked them if the food was sufficient and if they had anything to say, and the constant cry was that the food was not enough.

When they got their wages where did they spend them. Were there bunyas on works?—No bunyas on works.

Where did they go?—They went to their villages in the evening.

Were there shops in the villages?—Yes.

Their cry was that the wages were not sufficient?—Yes. If you saw a man in poor condition and if you asked why he was so, the universal cry was that the food was not enough.

(*President.*)—Do you think they divided it with the people at home?—They must have.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—Did whole families come to the works?—In some cases they did. In some cases they had their cattle and left some one to look after them and in other cases they had infirm people to attend to at home.

Did old and infirm people come?—No. I could almost say whether a man was single or a family man by looking at him.

How was it?—A single man looked in better condition than others.

You are inclined to think they shared their wages?—Yes.

Would not that explain that C wage was sufficient?—C wage would be sufficient if the dependants had gratuitous relief at the beginning. Suppose they had a long stretch of famine, they would require more than C wage.

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Of course the men were conspicuous by their absence?—They were less in number.

The old and infirm were comparatively few?—Yes.

Chiefly they were able-bodied men, women and children?—In many cases nursing mothers also. If I may add one thing, I have a word to say about nursing mothers. If these nursing mothers would be given gratuitous relief or only nominal work they could be saved from coming to work, for in many cases the work they did was unsuitable while the children were being exposed. They had baskets on their heads and children in their arms. Many of them suffered from sore eyes on account of the dust falling from the baskets.

Were nursing mothers put on gratuitous relief?—No.

I think it was the Bellary Collector who issued an order putting nursing mothers on gratuitous relief?—Yes; when I represented the matter to the Collector that they should only do nominal work, they were not put on carrying work. They used to sit breaking stones.

Your recommendation is that nursing mothers should be put on gratuitous relief?—Yes.

Did people walk to works at long distances?—Yes.

That was against them?—Against them in a way in that they had to undergo more physical work.

When they got to work they did less physical work. They had distance allowances?—At the beginning they had, but at the end they were taken away.

When?—In August. When the rains set in they were late on the works because all the streams and nullahs could not be crossed for some hours. They were sent back because they were not present at a certain time. I reported to the Collector that a gang of 30 at Tadpatri were clamouring for work and said that they would starve if they did not get work.

How far were the works?—Three miles.

Where were these coming from?—From a distance of 5 or 6 miles.

What did they want?—They wanted to be taken on works and they were refused.

Why?—Because the overseer had received orders not to admit them if they came late. They had natural obstacles. They could not cross nullahs and streams owing to flood.

Could not they have lived on works?—Yes, if Government provided huts.

No huts?—No huts except for nursing mothers. At one work in Gooty Taluk, there were many of the Binjari people. They were living on the works.

How did they live?—They made their own huts.

What did they make their huts of?—Mats and bamboos; just as they do in ordinary years.

Where did they get their bamboos from. Do they grow bamboos in this district?—No, they must have got them from overseers.

You say you inspected works. Did you see the classification of each gang, in what class each gang was placed. Did you ever examine the classification of the gang whether it was B or C gang?—They were all mixed up together.

The gang was either A or B?—We had no A gangs.

You had B, C and D gangs?—Yes.

Did you express an opinion that gang C or D ought to be in B?—Did you suggest any alteration in the classification?—No.

You did not consider that it was your business?—It never struck me.

Were they correctly classified as far you saw?—They were all mixed together.

You mean some weakly people were in B gang?—Yes.

(*Dr. Richardson.*)—You say the Medical Staff was not sufficient. Did the sick remain untreated?—No. I do not mean they were. One man had to be away from the work for two or three days, as one Hospital Assistant was in charge of more than one work. When cholera began to show itself we had to ask for more men and put one man to each work.

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Did you get men?—That was the difficulty because they were not to be got.

(*Mr. Higham.*)—With reference to the non-working children at the kitchens or works, can you tell me what rations were given them?—They had half rations.

How much is that?—25 tolas at first. It was reduced to 20 afterwards.

Ten ounces?—Yes. It was reduced to 20 tolas, D wage.

In addition to that what did they get?—Dhal, tamarind, salt and chillies.

Were there any signs of scurvy when they got 25 tolas?—Just about August I saw gums pigmented.

Had you any actual case of scurvy or signs of it?—Only signs of it. We had no actual scurvy.

Do you think they should get less grain and more vegetables?—I think vegetables ought to have been added to the ration.

Did they get enough to eat?—Some complained that they did not.

Did they give the half ration to every one?—In some cases they distributed less to the younger children and a little more to bigger children.

You think the ration was insufficient to prevent the danger of scurvy?—I should think so. If it was long sustained, if the famine lasted a long time, it would be insufficient.

You recommend a much more liberal ration to non-working people than what they get in Bengal?—I have no experience of Bengal. I speak only from my personal experience of what I saw.

(*Mr. LeFanu.*)—Do you remember that C wage was commonly used in November, December and January?—Yes, the C wage was commonly used.

Do you know cases of emaciated children?—I did in some cases.

You told Dr. Richardson that the children whom you saw suffering from scurvy were otherwise well-to-do?—I was only talking of children in the kitchens.

You saw emaciated children?—I saw them with nursing mothers.

You had many cases of sore eyes?—Yes.

You had cases of small-pox?—We had one or two and we gave them an inducement to get all the children vaccinated and the mothers were allowed D wages.

Can you say if it was given before the month of May?—I cannot say.

It was not given in the beginning?—Not in the beginning.

Are you aware that pigmentation is not necessarily a sign of scurvy?—Yes, when it is associated with the sponginess of the gums.

Pigmentation alone is not a sign of scurvy?—If that were well marked, I should think it was the beginning of scurvy.

Not necessarily a sign of scurvy?—By itself perhaps it cannot be.

I think you told the President that they got ragi at the end. You omitted to say whether they got ragi in the beginning?—I did say that in some cases they got ragi from the beginning.

Payments were made in ragi?—Yes.

Would not rations of maize and peas be more nourishing than rations of ragi weight for weight?—I cannot tell you that without looking into the nutritive value of both.

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MR. P. RAMA RAO, First-grade Pleader and Chairman, Municipal Council of Bellary, called in and examined.

I put in a written statement of evidence.

My evidence will chiefly relate to gratuitous relief.

About 3·5 per cent. of the population of this town were placed on gratuitous relief at the period of maximum pressure. They did not mainly belong to the agricultural classes.

They were not all incapable of work physically, but were not accustomed to the kind of work on the relief works. The persons relieved were mainly Hindu and Muhammadan women who, I believe, had relatives who were too poor to help them. In ordinary years a large number of these did domestic work such as pounding and grinding grains; some did spinning, preparing thread, dyeing and such sundry work.

The largest number relieved were women and children. I believe a pretty large number of them were *parda nashin*. I shall give figures at my examination.

It is not possible to form a reliable estimate for any given tract of the number requiring relief. The numbers will vary with the severity and stage of the distress. I would give gratuitous relief to an incapable person (No. 156)*.

It may be presumed (No. 157*) to some extent. In this the councillors aided by some gentlemen registered deserving cases and relieved them. A strong staff is necessary for a proper administration. As far as I know no caste stigma attaches to the recipients. The State relief does to some extent dry up private charity.

Some of the relieved could have been employed upon light manual labour; but it was difficult to have induced to do so.

*No. 163.—I answer, no.

I am of opinion that central kitchens were preferable, but people will not resort to them freely. There is caste stigma here. Only the very lowest will resort. Substitution of kitchens for gratuitous relief will practically exclude certain classes from relief. It is rather difficult to maintain a sufficient number of kitchens for all requiring gratuitous relief.

Government relief was given in grain, and I think it is the best. The persons were required to attend periodically at certain centres. Only *parda nashin* women were relieved at home.

There was no extortion in this town. The councillors distributed the relief personally with the aid of private gentlemen and the higher municipal subordinates.

(*President.*)—You are the Chairman of the Municipal Council of Bellary town?—Yes.

Does that include the Cantonment?—Yes.

Had you anything to do with gratuitous relief outside the town, villages too?—No.

When did distress first begin to show itself in the town?—About November 1896.

When was gratuitous relief begun?—There was a private kitchen started by subscriptions in the town. That was towards the close of November 1896. That went on till the end of March. In the beginning of April the Government started a central kitchen in the town. Later on about the 22nd May grain doles were being commenced by Government. In the meantime towards the end of March (22nd), the Famine Charitable Relief Fund operations commenced and we gave some money doles from that fund.

What form did the private relief take?—It was in the shape of a kitchen, where food was distributed.

One kitchen?—Only one.

In each part of the town?—No, only in Brucepettah, the eastern town.

Was there more distress in the eastern part than in the other?—There is a great distance from the western to the eastern and people from the former could not come into the eastern town. So Government opened one in the western town.

In what way did distress become apparent in November?—That was by failure of our rains. Our last rains were in November.

How did that show?—The poorest began to suffer. Relief works had been opened round about the town.

Did people beg for relief very much or did they look as if half starved?—Beggars began to increase in number.

People began to give less employment, I suppose?—Yes, sir.

Are there no manufactures in the town?—There are weaving manufactures. There is a mill close by. It is out

* The numbers refer to the questions drawn up by the Commission.

side the Municipality, but it is almost within the town. It is a spinning mill.

They went there, I suppose?—Yes, sir.

Were the wages of the mill hands altered in any way?—They were paid by monthly salary.

Were not the salaries raised?—I did not enquire whether they made special allowances on account of the higher rate of food-grains.

As regards weavers, did they suffer?—Yes, towards the latter part of the famine, sometime about May or June. They rushed in the beginning of December or so. I was directed by the Collector to make enquiries, and when we proposed terms according to the Famine Code they refused to work, but later on some time about May or June they were also given relief.

They were given Code wages?—Not Code wages. They were given advances of thread for weaving carpets and other cloths under the Code.

Advances?—Yes, advances for manufactures.

What did they do?—They wove carpet cloths and other things like that.

Had they to make over the cloths to Government?—Yes.

At fixed rates?—I do not know the exact rates. I think they were under the Code.

Is it easy to say who is a *parda nashin* and who is not?—That is very difficult. Some Mahomedan women did come and receive grain. They are generally covered with thick veils of cloth. Others absolutely refused to come and they were given doles in their homes.

Among Hindus?—There is no such *parda nashin*. They were going to central places and receiving relief.

Only Mahomedans?—Yes, I have got figures. The maximum number of persons in receipt of grain doles in the week ending 22nd July was 2,101. For the week ending 14th August the figure was 2,024. When it was 2,101, the *parda nashins* were 461.

In your written answer to question 156, do I understand you to mean that you would not refuse to give a person relief for the cause that he had able-bodied relatives who did not go to work on the relief works. You don't think that it is a sufficient reason for you to refuse him relief?—No, sir.

Suppose an able-bodied agricultural labourer in a village has got an old mother whom he ordinarily supports, and he does not go on relief work and contrives to pick up a livelihood in the village, and he says that he cannot support his mother, would you support her?—I would do so.

In your answer to 164 you say that central kitchens are preferable. Yet people will not resort to them freely. Only the very lowest class will resort. Can you tell me what classes do resort?—Yes. In the kitchens that I had charge of, three-fourths of the inmates were Panchamas, of whom there are two kinds, left hand and right hand. These formed the largest class. The rest were made up of Mahomedans, some Boyas and some few Korachas.

Who are Korachas?—They are supposed to be a thieving class. Some of them are useful people. Generally they are of a thieving class like Lambadies and other wandering classes.

Did Lambadies attend?—No.

The Mahomedans that attended were of the lowest class?—The very lowest of them, very poor people. They were either cripples or had some disability about them.

Is it correct to call Boyas Sudras or are they really underneath the Sudras?—They are supposed to be one of the Sudra classes, but among the Sudras they are looked upon as low and the higher classes of Sudras will not associate with them either in partaking of food or in social matters.

In Bellary did weavers go to kitchens?—Yes. In all I had only one or two weavers. One old weaver.

Are they chiefly Hindus or Mahomedans?—Weavers are mostly Hindus, but there are Mahomedans who do a particular kind of weaving. They take to weaving carpets and the Hindu weavers manufacture different kinds of cloth.

Are they supposed to be a good class of Sudras?—Yes, they are supposed to be a good class of Sudras.

To what class do blacksmiths and carpenters belong?—There are two kinds. Some wear thread and they are supposed to belong to *Visvakarma* sect. Others are a little inferior and do not mix with the other people of the first class. They are also supposed to belong to the higher caste of Sudras. They do not call themselves Sudras, but they call themselves *Visvakarma* Brahmins.

Did any of these carpenters and blacksmiths go to kitchens?—No, none of them. Except two or three women, none came even for gratuitous grain doles.

I suppose there was no particular stigma attached to the taking grain doles?—I don't think there is much.

Caste stigma, I mean?—No, I had a few Brahmins also. I think the total number of Brahmins in the whole period was 20.

Were there any works at all in the town or outside the town?—Just one work started towards the early part of May, and that was in the Cantonment for deepening a tank. It was only worked for a short time, two or three weeks. It was then supposed not a suitable time. The work was transferred to five miles out of the town on the Bangalore road. That was worked till the close of the famine, till October.

Were able-bodied townspeople going there?—I think a pretty large number had gone there. No doubt when the work was here half of them were townspeople.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—The Indian Charitable Fund was started before Government started relief?—*Yes*, before Government started gratuitous relief in the town.

Did Government take over from the Indian Charitable Fund?—Practically it was so, although orders were not to that effect.

There is a sentence here which you might explain. It occurs in the Collector's report for the fortnight ending 15th April: "The condition of the people on the works was generally good except in a few cases on the Daroji-Metri road work where wages of workers were found to be shared by the non-working dependants. Orders of the Board have already been solicited for the appointment of a Circle Inspector to introduce grain doles in this part of the taluk. In the meantime all such cases are being relieved by the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund." Apparently the Charitable Fund was first in the field in relieving the distressed people?—Yes.

That was all over the district?—Orders were issued, but when they began the work I do not know; the Committee commenced the work at once. That was in March.

When Government Circle Inspectors were appointed the Government gratuitous relief was started. It took over a certain number from the Indian Famine Fund?—There was no Government Inspector in the town. The town was entirely in the hands of the Municipality.

Was town gratuitous relief done entirely from the Mansion House Fund?—Just in the beginning.

Throughout the famine?—Not throughout the famine, not after Government gratuitous relief was started. From 22nd March to 22nd May the Famine Charitable Fund relieved. From 22nd May 1897 Government relief operations commenced in the town. After that there was no distribution of funds from the Charitable Fund.

Were *parda nashins* relieved by the Government or by the Fund?—The same thing in their case also. I may say one word here. After ceasing money doles, some cloths out of that fund we distributed after 22nd May, but no money or grain. In the beginning there was relief in the shape of money by the Mansion House Fund and afterwards in the shape of grain by the Government.

How did you employ the Mansion House Fund in this district when the Government took over?—In the beginning it was employed in the shape of money doles.

Afterwards when the Government took over all the people?—In the town in the shape of giving cloths mostly. I dare say that some townsmen and many agricultural people were given clothes.

You say Government relief was in grain?—Yes.

Was the whole dole given in grain?—Yes, with salt, chillies and pulses.

You would not give the whole ration in grain?—It was according to the rations given in the Code.

Was it done through the Municipality?—Yes.

You say that beggars began to increase in number?—Yes, some time in November.

Were they professional beggars?—A few more than the professional beggars. Some used to cover themselves and come

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in the night begging for food. There were some Mahomedans and others whom we cannot discover.

Coming round to houses ?—Yes.

Were they usually women ?—There were women also.

Were they from Bellary ?—We could not discover, that in the night time.

In the day time ?—They did not come in the day time.

You did not notice any large congregation in the market any day ?—I did not notice any.

You remember the scarcity in 1891-92 ? —I remember it, but there was not much in the town.

Was it not so noticeable as it was on this occasion ?—Not so much. It was not even noticeable in one-tenth degree.

You had not the same number of beggars asking for relief ?—No.

In November and December you saw, then, emaciated people ?—Not quite so early.

Later on ?—We used to meet occasionally a very few men, some time about April and May.

In the town ?—Yes.

Had you ever to go out into the country ?—No.

You say that there is a great caste stigma which prevents people from going to kitchens ?—Yes.

Do you think that objection to kitchens is stimulated by village officers and others ?—I do not think so. I have no experience of villagers, but I do not think that is the village officers' inducement. They do not interfere.

In the town there is no such inducement ?—No such inducement.

Purely caste feeling ?—Only caste feeling.

You had nothing to do with the weavers ?—I had nothing to do directly. I made enquiries under directions from the Collector, Mr. Campbell. As they did not acquiesce to the terms of the Famine Code, the relief contemplated was given up and I had nothing to do with it.

Later on did they accept the relief ?—I think they did it, next May or June and worked till the end.

Had you anything to do with it ?—No.

Weavers are more at Adoni than in Bellary ?—I think there are larger numbers there than here.

Do you think the special help given to weavers was a good thing ?—Yes. I myself sent half the number of weavers on gratuitous relief when the weaver operations had been commenced in the town. I had a number of them on the dole list, and when these operations commenced I sent a number of them and told them to find relief.

They were able-bodied men ?—Men would not turn up. They would send women and children.

What were the men doing ?—I think they must have had some coolie work, not enough to maintain their whole families.

They would not send their women and children to works ? —That is not a class for works.

They would not go to works ?—Not to relief works.

Mr. N. MACMICHAEL, Acting Head Assistant Collector, Anantapur District, called in and examined.

Mr. N. Macmichael.

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I put in a written statement of evidence.

(*a*) Very few departures were made in my division from the prescriptions of the Code in regard to gratuitous relief. The most important was the change in the ration allowed. The ration prescribed in section 122 was replaced by the D ration of section 120. The change was advisable, as it was not desirable to give a higher ration to a recipient of gratuitous relief than to a worker. Towards the close of the relief operations the allowance was given in grain only to those on village relief, and they were left to make their own arrangements about the condiments, etc. This greatly simplified both the distribution work and the accounts. Unless there are objections on medical grounds I think the alteration a good one.

As regards relief on works there were many departures from the Code. The Code favours large works (section 36): in this Division we had a large number of small works, but no large works with hutting accommodation.

The Code schedule of tasks was put aside, and the tasks in most cases were very much reduced by allowing deductions for the distance. There was also a great lack of uniformity in the tasks set on different works. I think it desirable that a uniform task table should be adopted. The Code classification was also for some time set aside, and this of course involved a change of wages. I think the Code classification is quite workable, and that no alterations are needed in this matter. The Code instructions about fining were modified, and for several months the overseers in charge of the works had great powers in the matter. It is not desirable that overseers should have so much power left in their hands.

(*b*) There was no loss of life in the Division due directly to famine, and very little, I think, if any, indirectly. There was a little cholera in parts, but not more than in ordinary seasons. I don't think there was any unduly profuse expenditure incurred at any time. The result of G. O. No. 216, dated 30th March 1897, was to give higher wages to almost all the relief workers than they had previously been receiving; if the Code classification and wages are sufficient, then there was some unnecessary expenditure for several months. That G.O. was, however, in force during the hottest months of the year only, and may have prevented a good deal of indirect loss of life.

(*c*) I do not think that any important alterations are necessary with regard to the measures of gratuitous relief set forth in the Code. As for relief works I think that the most effective system on the whole will be a combination of large works for the mass of the workers together with small works to be reserved for persons who cannot be expected to leave their homes, for example, small landholders who have cattle, etc., to look after, but are forced to seek relief. It would be fatal to make such persons leave their villages by drafting them on to large works. Distance allowances might be granted to such persons when the small works are far off from their homes. The worst objections to the system of small works which was in force here last famine are the difficulty of effective supervision, the tendency of persons living close at hand to resort to them though not absolutely in need of State relief, and the cost of the numerous establishments required for kitchens, etc. The objections to large works, on the other hand, deserve consideration. There is the initial cost of providing hutting accommodation; and, if a large work is finished before the famine closes, the cost of providing accommodation will have to be met a second time somewhere else. If the work is left half finished, the expenditure on it may very likely have been thrown away, supposing it is not worth while completing it afterwards as an ordinary work. Then there is the probability that some persons who really require relief will refuse to go away long distances from their homes. There is also a much greater risk of a heavy mortality from any epidemics that may break out. In order to minimise the objections I would recommend at least one or two large works in each taluk.

(*d*) I don't think that the proposal to start works on the piece-work system at the beginning of distress is advisable, or that the Code should be complicated by a number of systems of intermediate works preparatory to task and relief works. The classes that are first driven on to relief works would get very little benefit from these intermediate works, for piece-work would almost mean starvation for them. If there is going to be a bad famine, the sooner test and relief works are got into full swing the better: if not, a mere increase of ordinary works will be sufficient. As regards gratuitous relief in villages, I think section 85 of the Code might be amended, and that it would be an improvement to have the distribution made once a week. In some villages I had a great difficulty in getting grain dealers to take the trouble of weighing out the doles even twice a week. A single distribution each week would enable the Circle Inspector to be always present, and would lessen the risk of cheating.

As regards forest reserves (section 139) I think that the reserves should be thrown open for free grazing as a matter of course whenever scarcity of pasture is imminent.

I think it is most anomalous that the diet allowed to convicts should be considerably more liberal than that allowed to relief workers. If the jail diet is correct, the

wages and rations for relief workers seem to require to be raised. At all events, it is objectionable that a premium should be placed on dishonesty in time of famine.

Section 120 of the Code directs that children under 7 years are not to be allowed to work, and that the children of 12 years and over are to be treated as adults. It would be desirable to lay down some simple test for settling the age of children, such as a certain weight or height or number of teeth. In this Division last year each overseer decided the point himself, and the results were often deplorable.

(*President.*)—Were you acting Head Assistant Collector of Anantapur while famine was going on?—Yes.

Throughout it?—Yes, nominally I was placed as special Assistant Collector, but I was on famine duty the whole time.

You say that the ration specified in section 122 for gratuitous relief was replaced by the D ration, under section 120. When was that actually done?—About the middle of August I think.

August 1897?—Yes. I think it was about that time. I am not quite certain of the date.

Very little before the operations for relief were brought to a close?—No. It was at the end of July I recollect.

When did gratuitous relief cease?—At the end of October.

By the time the change was made, they had had rain?—There had not been any in my division. There had been some in the northern parts of the district where they had been better. In my own division there was not good rain until towards the end of August.

This change was made at the village centres also?—Yes, both in kitchens and village gratuitous relief.

How many centres were there in your charge. How many centres for village gratuitous relief?—Gratuitous relief was distributed in each village.

In each village?—Yes.

Who went round?—The Circle Inspectors visited each village once a week.

The dole was distributed twice?—On other days the Kurnam or the village head distributed the grain.

How did they get grain?—From the village merchants.

Were the grain dole lists revised?—The lists were constantly revised by the Circle Inspectors, Tahsildars and as often as possible by myself.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—May I ask what taluks you were in charge of?—Four, *viz.*, Dharmavaram, Penukonda, Hindupur and Madakasira. There were relief operations in three taluks—Dharmavaram, Penukonda and Hindupur. Hindupur was only slightly affected.

(*President.*)—In section 62 of the Code it is said that "gratuitous relief is admissible to all such who are idiots, cripples, blind, or so old or decrepit that they are not able to support themselves, and generally to those who are physically incapable of, or unfit for, labour and who have no well-to-do friends or relatives on the spot on whom their support would ordinarily and rightly devolve." Where did you draw a line as to the people who had well-to-do friends or relatives? Is it easy to draw a line? Suppose an ordinary agricultural labourer not on the work was picking up a livelihood in the village in some way,—would an old woman of his family be considered to be eligible or ineligible?—In some cases relief was allowed to certain members of such families. I did my best to find out how much the whole family was earning, and if the earnings did not amount to the B class ration, or the total earned amounted to R5 which is only sufficient to support three persons on the B ration, we allowed gratuitous relief to the other members of the family if there were two others that were to be supported.

Were many old incapable dependants of smaller pattadars kept on gratuitous relief at the villages?—When pattadars went to works we gave relief to those who could not go to works.

If they did not go to the works, even then?—I gave relief occasionally if I thought that the total wages earned by the family were not sufficient.

Do you think that with the policy of having large works at considerable distances from most villages, you could get the people required for the work to live on the works?—That would depend upon what the average distance was to a great extent. They would not come so willingly.

You think they would come if they are really pinched?—They would walk a certain distance. I had one case where the work was finished. About 200 coolies came a distance of 15 miles to the nearest work.

Did they stay on the works?—There was no hutting accommodation. They had to stay in villages as close as they could.

They could not go back to their homes?—No.

Those people, were they men, women and children?—Yes, some of all.

Do you think small pattadars who had cattle would be able to go to distant works?—I do not think they would go when they have a few cattle to look after. They may have a small piece of land for cultivation. They would wait for a time to look after these things. I think they would have to go back to attend to their cattle.

How big is your charge?—Four taluks.

What is the length and breadth of the charge?—About 60 miles in length and the breadth varies from 30 to 50 miles.

Do you know of any big work in that sub-division which could have been started?—There were no estimates ready for anything except the road works.

Do you know if there are any projects which have been considered?—I do not think any have been considered.

Would there be difficulty in providing hutting accommodation?—I think there would. We tried to get some hutting accommodation provided on one work, but it was a failure. That is a work to which 200 coolies came.

Do you know what the difficulty is?—No grass for thatching, and the only kind of huts possible would be mud huts. In regard to thatched huts, it was very difficult to make them proof against weather.

No bamboos?—No.

Is that work you were speaking of a road work?—No, it is a tank work.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—Which taluk did you say was not affected by famine?—Madakasira.

What is the distinction between that taluk and others?—They had better rains in the middle of 1896. They had pretty good rains and large bumper crops.

In the other three taluks was the crop a failure?—It was a comparative failure. In Dharmavaram it was a total failure.

Dharmavaram was the worst?—Yes.

The other two?—Penukonda was the next worst and the crop was distinctly better than in Dharmavaram; and in Hindupur there was only one part where the crop was a failure.

You gave C and D wages in October?—Yes.

Did you find total failure of crops?—Yes, it was practically a total failure.

What crop was it that was growing chiefly in the fields?—Mostly horse-gram.

Did they not grow cholum?—There was very little cholum.

Mostly horse-gram?—Yes.

Had they not an early crop of cholum?—It was sown, but the rains in September failed. There was a total failure of rains in September and that spoiled the earlier crops.

Were the earlier crops a total failure in Dharmavaram?—Yes.

Later on when did they sow horse-gram?—Mostly in September. They did not sow much then, but later on in November a little rain came. There was a considerable quantity sown, but it did not give anything at all.

Was there real distress in Dharmavaram?—I think so.

In the other two taluks which were distressed, was the distress very acute?—It was not at all so acute. The prices were considerably easier.

Madakasira was not supposed to be distressed?—No.

You had no relief operations in Madakasira?—None.

Were prices high in Madakasira?—They were much higher than normal. They were much lower there than elsewhere. Even in Hindupur they were much lower than in Dharmavaram.

What were the ruling prices?—Taking the 15th of January I find that in Dharmavaram ragi was sold at 17·46

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seers per rupee, 23·65 at Hindupur and 21·34 at Madakasira.

Ragi was much dearer at Dharmavaram?—Yes.

Is that the chief staple?—Yes, so far as my knowledge goes.

Even at Madakasira prices were much higher than usual?—Much higher.

How did the people get on when prices were so high?—Of course they felt the prices very much. There is always a little work for them to do.

That is in the fields?—Yes.

Hired labour?—Yes.

Were their wages the same as in ordinary years?—I don't think there was much difference. In some parts the tendency was to decrease the wages during the famine.

In your taluks what happened to the tanks?—Did they hold out or did they dry up?—The tanks hardly got any supply.

What happened to cattle?—There was a heavy mortality amongst them.

Was that all over your sub-division or in certain places?—All over my sub-division, there was heavy mortality.

From what cause?—Mostly from want of pasture.

And water?—In some cases also water.

Was that the case also at Madakasira?—In some parts of Madakasira there was heavy mortality.

Did the loss of cattle prevent the people from ploughing fields or were they able to sow the full area?—In many cases they were supplied with money from the Mansion House Fund to replace their cattle. I don't think very much land was left waste for want of cattle.

You say that for several months overseers had great powers in the matter of fines. Under whom were they supposed to be,—under you or the Public Works Department?—Under Public Works, almost the whole time. Most of the works were started by the Revenue Department, and they were handed over to the Public Works Department as soon as possible.

That is the overseers were the Public Works Department subordinates?—Yes.

You say they had great powers in the matter of fines. Did they abuse these powers?—Some of these overseers who were really competent men did not, but there were several overseers who were incompetent and they abused their powers for some time.

In what direction, leniency or severity?—I know of one or two cases where some extremely lazy men got on to the works and they were fined by the superiors if the gangs were not turning out proper tasks. They were told that it was slackness on their part, and therefore they found it much easier to reduce the task and make every allowance they could. In another case the overseer wanted to save himself from the trouble of taking large numbers on the works, and made the work as severe as he could.

In order to keep down the numbers?—At least that was my impression.

What did you consider were your powers with regard to the overseers?—To start with I never gave any orders directly.

Until what time?—About the end of July; till after the issue of the Government order defining the position of the Public Works and Revenue departments.

Up to that time you did not consider you had powers to give orders?—No.

The only revenue officer to give overseers orders was the Collector?—Yes.

If you saw things go wrong did you report them to the Collector?—Yes, at once.

Did you report these overseers reducing tasks excessively or tightening them up?—Yes, I reported them whenever I thought it necessary.

Afterwards, when the orders of July came into force, what did you do then?—Occasionally when I thought there was urgency I sent orders direct to the overseer. I always sent a copy of it to the Assistant Engineer.

Did the Assistant Engineer often come round?—I do not know how often he came round.

When he came round did you see him?—I often saw him.

Did you tell him about the overseers?—Yes, I often told him.

Did he act on your telling?—No one knows. He could not remove him because he had not another man whom he could place in his stead. That is the trouble. There was not a sufficient supply of men.

Was there any difference between you and the Assistant Engineer as to the way in which these Overseers did their work?—There was no difference.

He agreed with you generally?—Yes.

When an incompetent overseer was kept on, it was because he could not be replaced?—I presume so.

You say that the Code classification was sometimes set aside. In what way was this done?—That was when the omnibus order came out. Those who should have been classed as D were classed as C and even weak workers were classed as B.

Weakly people instead of being put separately as C and D, were put into B gangs?—Weakly people were classed C instead of D, and all the rest were B.

In B were there a certain number of people who ought to have been in class C or D?—There were according to the Code classification.

The result of that was the task was reduced for every gang?—Yes.

Otherwise they would have been excessive?—Yes.

B class gangs were somewhat weaker than the Code contemplated?—Yes.

You say "the worst objections to the system of small works which was in force in the famine was the difficulty of effective supervision"? That was one difficulty.

How many works had you in your sub-division?—I had 14 altogether, 10 of these were in Dharmavaram, 3 in Penukonda and 1 in Hindupur.

In consequence of having 10 in Dharmavaram, could any person who wanted relief, get relief and return home every evening? You had 10 works in Dharmavaram. Were they within walking distances of everybody in the taluk?—I do not know what you consider a walking distance. In the hot weather in the months of March to May if a man has to walk 7 miles each way in addition to his work it increases his task.

Were they within 7 miles of everybody's home?—Yes, almost all of them.

Then by getting distance allowance they were able to do this walking?—Yes, when they got distance allowance.

Before this distance allowance was sanctioned by Government on the 30th March, did they get any distance allowances at all in your district?—As a matter of fact till the end of April there was only one work opened. It was only after the end of April other works were opened.

In the whole sub-division only one work was opened?—The second was opened about 24th April.

Then you began opening one after another as people wanted work?—Yes.

When had you your maximum number of works?—At the end of June, I think.

How many had you in the whole sub-division of actual workers?—The maximum attendance was not then.

When had you the maximum attendance, what was the number?—15,000.

Of those people who came on works, were there any considerable number who did not actually require such assistance?—I do not think there were. They all required it.

They were all pretty well without resources?—In many cases one or two members of the family would come and others would be attending to the cultivation of their lands or a small part of it.

Were all classes pretty evenly divided or were men or women or children in a majority?—Women and children were in the majority.

Men did not come to such an extent?—No, women and children were slightly more than two-thirds.

During that time could men obtain private employment?—In all cases in which I made enquiries, I found men were either getting coolie employment, or attending to cultivation of their lands or looking after their cattle.

When men were in private employment and got wages, what wages did they get. Did you make enquiries?—Yes, I made some enquiry.

What was the average wage they were getting?—It went down to 1 anna 8 pies in some parts of the taluk.

It is for able-bodied men I suppose?—Yes, that is for agricultural works.

In ordinary years what is it?—It goes as high as 3 or 4 annas. As a rule, as far as I know, it is paid in grain for the most part.

On this occasion were they paid in grain or what?—I was told they were paid in money.

One anna 8 pies was the money wage?—Yes.

If a man was on works what did he get on B?—One anna 5 pies.

So he had a little more?—Slightly more.

Suppose you have what you recommend, one or two large works in each taluk, would that be sufficient to relieve the people?—Not by itself. Small pattadars could not have attended. They would not certainly have gone and resided on the works.

Then you would also have side by side with these small works for certain classes of people?—I do not know what the expenses would be for hutting the people in my division. I do not know if the expenses would be prohibitive.

Suppose you had one or two large works, you would with strict supervision have side by side with them small works?—Yes.

Then you would reserve these for certain classes of people?—People who could not be expected to leave their villages.

If you did that will you get other people to live away from their villages?—I really do not know.

Do you think the distance allowance sanctioned by Government in the order of the 30th March was excessive or not?—I do not think it was excessive for the hot weather.

Then the subsequent order reduced that distance allowance?—Yes.

Was that reduction a proper one?—I think it was. By the time it came into force the weather was much cooler.

The distance allowance allowed by the Government Order of the 30th March was given for every mile walked without a minimum?—Yes.

Is that right?—I do not think there would be any hardship in fixing a minimum at one or two miles.

When that order came out, when the distance allowance was given without a minimum, if a gang came from a mile you gave it to them?—I think it got a slight allowance. If I recollect right we did not differentiate for a mile. We added an allowance of $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, and so forth. I think under $\frac{1}{8}$ we have no allowance.

So that some gangs who came from short distances would not get any allowance?—No.

You state as regards gratuitous relief it would be an improvement to have distribution made once a week. How did you arrange about the distribution? Had you any contracts with grain dealers?—We gave the grain dealer in each village-centre a sum to cover expenses for one or two weeks and he supplied the grain.

Was the distribution made in the presence of the Circle Inspector?—He was supposed to be present once a week, and it was supposed that the distribution took place on other days in the presence of village panchayats.

Were different portions of the doles given out by the dealer?—Yes, weighed out separately.

Would not they take the trouble to give the dole twice a week?—They said it was too troublesome. At first I tried to have it 3 or 4 times a week or even daily, but I could not get merchants to agree to it.

Had you any difficulty in getting local grain dealers to undertake this work?—Towards the end in some villages.

Was there always a regular man or not?—In some villages there was always one.

Can you tell me what grain you took in fixing the relief wage—cholum or ragi?—Ragi the whole time.

Why was it ragi, do they always eat ragi?—No. They sometimes eat cholum and sometimes rice.

Why was ragi fixed upon?—It is the grain that is most used by the lower classes.

As to the forest reserves, have you any forests in your sub-division?—A good lot. A large proportion in the whole sub-division was under reservation.

Were they thrown open to free grazing?—At the end of May they were.

Not before?—Not before.

Do you think they ought to have been thrown open before?—I think it would have been better if they had been thrown open almost at the beginning before grass had withered. At the end grass had withered and there was danger of fires occurring in the forests, if the people had been allowed to graze cattle. If they had been allowed to graze cattle when there was grass, there would not have been the fire and they could have saved their fodder.

Was the forest department asked to open them?—I do not know.

Did you make any suggestion to the Collector?—Not till later on.

Did it occur to you?—No.

People did not ask for it?—I think about November 1896, if I remember right, I asked that the forests should be thrown open. At that time people were allowed to cut grass and take it from forests.

But not to take their cattle in?—No.

Do you think they should have been allowed to take their cattle in?—Yes. It would have saved their cattle.

You said there was loss of cattle?—Yes.

Did they take their cattle to Mysore?—I did not hear of their having done so to a great extent.

As to the condition of the people, did you see them in a distressed and thin condition at any time?—I saw one or two individual emaciated cases, but only a few.

When were they? At what stage of the famine?—When well on.

Were they on works?—They were on works. I only saw a very few such cases.

You had no hospitals attached to the works?—No.

When you saw these few cases did you take any steps?—They were mostly babies. I got them put on to special diet which was given at the kitchens.

Then did they improve?—I did not see them afterwards.

Was the death-rate very high in your sub-division?—I am not aware that it was so. Later on in August 1897 cholera broke out in some parts.

Otherwise you did not hear of its being very high?—I am not aware of its being very high.

(*Dr. Richardson.*)—You say in (*b*) in your written statement that as the result of G. O. No. 216 you had to give higher wages to almost all the relief workers than they had previously been receiving; if the Code classification and wages are sufficient, then there was some unnecessary expenditure for several months. Were these wages the result of your own observation of the insufficiency of the Code wages?—I did not notice any general falling-off in the condition of the people. I do not know what would have happened to them if these wages had not been given in the hot weather.

What is your opinion, is it that loss of life would have taken place but for these wages?—I cannot say.

Do you say that the expenditure was unnecessary or think that the expenditure led to the prevention of loss of life?—I am on the whole inclined to think that loss of life was prevented.

You say towards the end "I think it is most anomalous that diet allowed to convicts should be considerably more liberal than that allowed to relief workers". Are the conditions in jails the same as those of the free population? Don't you think that confinement has certain debilitating effects in itself?—I have not had experience.

Yet you think it is anomalous that diets allowed to convicts should be more liberal?—If a man wanted better diet he had only to steal a sheep and get 6 months. He would be fed much better.

In fact it is a premium on dishonesty?—Yes.

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You say "It would be more desirable to lay down some simple test in order to settle the age of children by certain height or weight or number of teeth". Some children are said to be born with teeth. Don't you think they have books giving the date of birth?—They are supposed to exist.

Don't they maintain them?—They do not always give the names of the children. Birth registers are supposed to be very defective.

There is a certain percentage of births no doubt omitted, but as a general thing, by reference to those hand-books which are prescribed in thanna registers, don't you think you can get the exact age?—It was about those children who are under 7 years that there was a difficulty. Parents said that they were over.

Any of those other means "weight, height or teeth" are open to doubt?—The trouble was that some overseers were slack about it. In one gang I once found at least 15 children who must have been under 7, and who were not so entered. That is simply owing to the slackness of the overseer. It was the interest of the head coolies to enter those children as able to work. It was the interest of the parents also to say so.

(*President.*)—You compare the depressing influence of life in Jail with the depressing influence on relief works. Which do you say is more depressing, having to walk some miles from villages to works and working all the day in the sun, or the life in Jail where there is loss of freedom, which do you think is more depressing?—So far as sub-jails go the work on relief works would be more depressing. I cannot say for certain.

(*Mr. LeFanu.*)—Have you ever seen a central jail?—No.

Have you ever seen a district jail?—No.

Is there one in Anantapur?—No.

You say that overseers had great powers in the matter of fines and tasks. The complaint has been that the Public Works Department had no power in enforcing discipline. Is that your opinion?—I thought they had sufficient power.

Had they the power of fining?—Yes.

They did not always use it as they might have done?—I do not think they did, in the case of certain overseers.

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MR. P. KASAVA PILLAI, Honorary Secretary, Gooty Committee, Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund, Gooty, called in and examined.

(*President.*)—From what place are you?—I am from Gooty.

What part did you take in the Famine Charitable Relief Fund?—I was the Honorary Secretary of the Famine Committee.

That is for distribution of the Charitable Fund?—Yes. For the distribution of the Charitable Fund in the town and also for seed-grain and cattle in the Division.

How big is your town?—It is a small town containing a population of 6,000.

In the town when did the distress begin to show itself?—It began in October.

How did it show itself?—Prices became high and people had no work at the time.

What classes of people went to work?—Agricultural labourers and ordinary coolies of the town.

How did you begin to give relief?—In the month of April we got relief from the Madras Fund.

Before that was anything done?—In the locality we tried to moderate the prices by starting some private depôts.

For the sale of grain?—Yes, we gave one seer more than what was obtaining in the bazar.

Did that relieve them to a large extent?—To some extent it relieved the people.

Do you know how many maunds or measures were sold in that way?—I think R200 or 300 worth, to the very poor and needy people. Afterwards there was rain in November and then a slight fall in prices and then we stopped. Again distress began. In the meanwhile the Charitable Relief Fund came and most of the town people also helped.

Did the Government give relief?—Not in the beginning. Just when we began the relief work, we took many of these people in hand. Then the Government stepped in and gave them grain doles and thus relieved three-fourths of the number.

When was it?—Latter part of April.

Were the people hard up?—Very hard up.

Did they show it in their bodies?—Yes, especially children were in a very emaciated condition.

Were any relief works started near Gooty?—Yes, two miles from Gooty.

Did any people go out to work on relief works from the town?—Most of the people went there.

Men, women and children all went out to work?—Yes, sir.

Any kitchens started?—There was one at Gooty, one near the relief works.

When did the Gooty one begin?—Very early, earlier than the other one.

What classes of people went there?—Madigas, Malas, a few Mahomedans, and one or two caste people who had none to help them.

Was that a Government kitchen?—Yes.

When able-bodied men went they could not get food there?—No.

Only the young and old people got it?—Yes, only those who were helpless.

You had nothing to do with relief outside?—No, I went to relief works to see how people were getting on.

When did you go?—In March and April.

How many hundreds of people were there then?—I saw 1,500 near Gooty and at Yadiki 2,000.

Did they seem to be in good condition?—The Yadiki people were not in good condition.

How far is the Yadiki work from Gooty?—Eighteen miles.

They were not in very good condition?—A large number of them were not in good condition.

When was it?—What month was it?—Just before the Government order was received changing the rations.

How much grain do you think an ordinary working labourer eats in a day?—33 ounces on an average. It was given out after examination, that what they ate was 33 to 44 ounces.

Forty-four ounces is a tremendous lot?—It was 80 to 120 tolas. That was the average quantity of grain that they consumed.

How was it settled?—I know it from my own experience. I have seen doctors stating the same thing. In 1864 the Sanitary Commissioner to the Government of Madras reported to the British Association for the advance of Science on the quantity and quality of food in India, and he also reported that for Bellary and Cuddapah the average quantity was 33 to 44 ounces or 80 to 120 tolas respectively. That is what the Sanitary Commissioner seemed to report in 1864. That accords with our own experience of the rural class.

(*Mr. Bose.*)—Did you make any selection of the people to whom you sold grain at cheap rates?—We generally know the poor people.

Did you sell up to any quantity they liked?—Not more than a rupee's worth.

Was the private trade in any way affected by your grain sale?—No. I do not think it was affected. No doubt we checked the arbitrary raising of the prices.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—What is the staple grain on which the poorer classes feed in Gooty?—Cholum.

Do they use ragi to any extent?—No.

How were the agricultural wages paid in your part of the country, in grain or in cash?—In grain. Some got food and a little money.

In the town?—All wages were in money.

What is the average wage that a coolie gets in the town?—3 annas a head.

During the famine was he getting 3 annas?—Not less than 2 annas.

You mean the wages have gone down?—Yes.

Why did they go down? Was the food dearer?—Yes. People had no work. Very few could offer work.

What work was there in Gooty?—Building stone walls and bringing mud to cover mud roofs, and such other work.

During the famine the coolies got 2 annas and in other years you paid 3 annas?—Yes. Now we have to pay 3 annas.

Was that partly the reason that there was distress among the dependants of coolies?—They could not get work in famine times. When they got it, they got less wages and the consequence was their dependants suffered.

Can he support a family with 3 annas?—Yes, he can support one woman and a child. His wife also works.

What work does the woman get?—Pounding rice or some other work in the town.

What does a woman get?—She gets 4 or 6 pies less than a man.

One anna 8 pies to 2 annas in ordinary years?—Yes, we have to give that to a woman.

Is there any employment in the town for children from 8 to 12?—Some of the boys are employed in tending cattle of the well-to-do people.

What do they get?—Food, and cloth once a year.

How many times a day do they get food?—Three times a day.

What sort of food?—Cholum food.

Is it cooked for them?—Yes.

Had you ever seen a scarcity like this before?—I saw the famine of 1877-78.

Was that worse?—Certainly. Many people died.

It lasted longer?—Yes, people were not relieved earlier.

Do you recollect how long it lasted?—It lasted for one and-a-half years.

When did the people die most?—Just before the rains began to come down.

Towards the end of famine?—Yes.

How were the prices then as compared with what they have been now?—The same.

But the people on this occasion did not die in the same way?—No.

What do you attribute that to?—Relief has been administered earlier this time and people were taken in hand early by Government.

Mr. P. Kasava Pillai.

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Do you think the relief given has been as much as they required on this occasion?—I think that at the beginning the wages were not sufficient to keep them in good condition.

How did you get information on this point?—I used to go to the works and see people.

Did you go frequently to the works?—Yes.

Were they near the town?—Yes, 2 miles from Gooty.

You thought they were not getting enough?—Yes. I used to hear complaints from people and labourers.

Did you represent this?—We presented an address to the Governor.

In the address presented what did you say about the wages?—We said that the wages were not enough. We said that they must be raised to A and B classes.

At that time were the people also fined in addition?—At Guntakal they were fined, but not so much in other places. I heard complaints of fining from Guntakal.

You have gone into the question of A, B, C and D wages?—Yes.

You have satisfied yourself that the C wage was not sufficient?—Yes.

D wage was not sufficient?—Quite insufficient.

What made you think so?—People were in listless condition. His Excellency the Governor also noticed it.

It is money wages they got?—Yes, calculated on the grain value.

You found out what each got?—40 tolas of grain according to the D wage. We also pointed out that what was given in the kitchen was much better, that being 50 tolas. We pointed out that this was insufficient for a working person.

Do you base your arguments on the fact that the kitchen rations were higher than the working wage or on the insufficient food?—Myself and Reverend Mr. Ure went to the works frequently and found they were deteriorating.

Did you say anything about the distances they had to come?—We said about the distances and fines. If they were absent for 2 or 3 hours owing to the long distance they had to come from, they might be allowed wage for half a day and not fined.

(*Mr. LeFanu.*)—You went to inspect the works in March and April? Why did you not go in May?—Till Karadikondah works were stopped, I used to go there.

Then?—I did not go on the works. Moreover, there was the new order of Government changing the whole situation, and the people were better off.

Mr. C. RAGHAVENDRA CHARLU, Deputy Tahsildar, Uravakonda, Anantapur district, called in and examined.

Mr. C. Raghavendra Charlu.

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(*President.*)—You are a Deputy Tahsildar?—Yes.

At Uravakonda?—Yes.

In what district?—Anantapur district.

Was it one of the affected parts?—Yes. It was the most affected part of Gooty taluk—black cotton soil.

When did famine become imminent there?—When did you see it was going to be a famine?—Early in November.

The early cholum in 1896 failed or succeeded?—Hardly any cholum is sown after the early rains. It is mostly reserved for the later rains. In the latter part of November we had two inches of rain, just enough to induce sowing. There was a total absence of rain and the first sowing had mostly withered. If there had been one good shower, some of it would have survived.

As it was, it was almost a total failure?—Yes.

In 1895-96 was there a good crop?—Yes. 1895 was an average year and 1896 was comparatively bad; 1892 was the best year when we had a bumper crop.

1890-91 was a bad year?—It was officially declared a famine year. As a matter of fact we had a succession of bad years. We never had a good year since 1892. The interval was very short.

When the failure occurred in 1896 you do not think the people had much resources?—No.

Some pattadars had grains reserved?—They must have had. But the stores were not very large. Since there were facilities for railway communication, ryots had taken to disposing of their crops to a greater extent than before.

Did those who had stocks hold them up?—Yes. Till April, until the hot weather they held them up. It was the very lowest strata of society that were affected at the outset, and the pattadars were able to hold themselves up till April.

In April did many small pattadars come on the works?—Several. In fact it is a common saying that a Kapu ryot would never go on a relief work unless compelled by dire necessity. Several Kapus did go on the works.

Whom do you call Kapus?—A class of agriculturists who take a pride in being called Kapus.

How did relief begin in your taluks?—First by opening works with kitchens as their adjuncts.

What month?—November 1896.

After that?—For six months we had only works and kitchens, and also what little private charity could do in the shape of giving grain itself. Village relief was actually begun in the latter part of April and was in full swing in May.

You had no charge of any works I suppose?—No.

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They were in charge of overseers?—Yes, Department Public Works overseers. At first they were in charge of local fund overseers or such other temporary men as the Revenue Department got in as overseers, but very soon they were handed to the Public Works Department.

How many works were there in your taluk?—About 14.

Road works?—Mostly. About four were tanks.

Was it your duty to go round and look after any of the works?—No. But I had ample opportunities of doing it. When I was with the Collector I went round most of the works and had several opportunities of seeing them.

(*Mr. LeFanu.*)—What were you?—I was the English Head Clerk and was lately appointed Deputy Tahsildar.

(*President.*)—You are Secretary to the Charitable Fund?—Yes. I was elected at a meeting as such, and I had to do that work in addition to my professional duties.

Did the Charitable Fund receive any money from Madras?—Yes, to the extent of about 2 lakhs.

When did the expenditure from that fund begin?—In the early part of April under head III for gratuitous purposes. That was continued till the end of May when it was discontinued and when there was State village relief in full swing.

After that what help did you get from the Charitable Relief Fund?—Advances for seed-grain and cattle under head IV.

That took place at the end of famine?—Yes. We received money early, but it was thought desirable to make advances when the rains had fallen, so that the money might not be used up for food in the meantime. No doubt distribution was rather late.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—You say there were fourteen works opened in your taluk?—Yes.

What is the area of the taluk?—I cannot say. There are 48 villages that are comprised in the division.

Were these fourteen works in the division?—No. About eight works were started *in* the division and the rest elsewhere.

What is the area of the division?—I cannot say exactly in square miles.

Have revenue remissions been given in your taluk?—Yes.

To what extent as compared with the demand?—About 50 per cent. of the demand so far as the dry lands were concerned.

Have there been any remissions in regard to wet lands in consequence of the failure of the tanks?—Yes, in regard to most of the wet lands, except those which had well irrigation.

In your part the soils are very poor?—They are very rich. They form the best black cotton soil.

In ordinary years, it is a good tract?—Yes.

Were tanks entirely dried up?—There are only a very few tanks, and they were quite empty.

Was there any special relief to weavers that came unde your notice?—The station where I was, was a relief centre, but only 100 people offered to take advantage of the relief given by Government. They were mostly maintained by sowcars and rich merchants who gave advances to them and who did not forsake them.

How many were on Government relief?—Only 100, out of six or seven thousand weavers.

Did others refuse to come?—Yes. When they were offered it they did not accept it.

Is famine over now completely?—Yes. The standing cholum crop at present promises a good harvest.

Good harvest?—Three-fourths, so that there is not much anxiety.

Prices still high?—Still high, but not very high. But they are high as compared with the normal prices. Cholum is selling at 20 seers, while 30 is the average.

Can everybody get work who wants it?—Yes.

What wages do they get?—Between 2 and 3 annas.

What about men?—If they can get work in the shape of cutting grass, they take it.

Is there a great demand for grass?—Yes. There is always some demand for grass, as horses have to be fed.

Can women go out and get grass and earn two annas?—Yes. There is a rich growth.

Can a man earn three annas?—Yes, even more.

What are they paid for clearing *nuth* grass?—Four annas on an average.

It is a hard work?—Yes, very hard work. They have to dig clods of earth and turn them. They can do very little work in the whole day. It is considered the hardest work.

Do women also go to work?—Yes, they do. In black cotton soil they cannot be said to be lazy. A family does a decent amount of work as far as it can, and also employs outside labourers at times.

Hired labourers can always get work now?—Yes.

(*President.*)—Did the rest of the weavers continue to do work for the sowcars?—Yes.

It is only the worst that came on Government relief?—Yes. It is only the lowest who lost credit with the sowcars that came on relief.

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MR. H. E. CLERK, Executive Engineer, Bellary Division, called in and examined.

I put in a written statement of evidence.

I joined the Bellary Division on 1st March 1897, relieving Mr. J. F. Somers-Eve, and remained in charge until the present time. I was in executive charge of all works in Bellary District. The works of Anantapur District were under the charge of another officer, but his accounts were audited in my office. I relieved the Executive Engineer of Anantapur on 10th October 1897. I have, therefore, had very little experience of Ananatpur District, and my evidence unless it is expressly stated to the contrary, applies to Bellary District only.

Sufficiency and economy of the relief measures.

Taluk.	Population.	Numbers on work.	Percentage.
Adoni	160,795	50,421	31
Alur	88,088	60,158	68
Bellary	180,353	21,104	11
Hadagalli	104,040	9,684	9
Hospet	92,512	12,854	14
Kudligi	94,296	1,878	2

The above statement gives the population and maximum numbers on relief works by taluks. The distress would have been greatest in Alur, Bellary, and parts of Adoni. I consider that the proportion of the population relieved was considerably greater than was necessary to prevent loss of life or severe suffering. It is very difficult to form any accurate estimate, but from enquiries made I believe I am erring on the side of moderation when I state that one-third of the people employed, when numbers were at their greatest, had no real need of relief. That large numbers were entertained on the works who had no business there is proved by the very rapid fall in numbers directly the orders for enforcement of tasks were brought into action. That order began to operate in the Bellary District on or about 1st August. I would also call attention to the fact that a very small portion of the small silver coins paid to the workers found its way back to the Treasury. The Collector, Mr. Stuart, brought this prominently to notice, and I have never heard a satisfactory explanation of the fact.

2. I attribute the large numbers on the works almost entirely to the absurdly lenient rules for the management of works issued in G. O., No. 216, Revenue, dated 30th March 1897, and to the fact that the officers of the Revenue Department, whose duty it was to interpret those rules, construed them to mean that tasks were not to be enforced. The all too liberal reductions for distance

rendered the task set a nominal one (in some cases it actually worked out to a minus quantity !), and even the enforcement of that task was discouraged. Officers in charge of works were always asked to explain, and give specific reasons for fining, and, in consequence, in many cases reduced the task to what they thought the workers likely to do. The result of this was a great and unnecessary increase in numbers and the utter demoralisation of both workers and subordinate staff.

3. The accompanying diagram for the Bellary District shows the rapid increase in numbers during the month of May and its subsequent rapid fall. During the earlier phases of the famine the tendency of Government was to insist on a too rigid adherence to the strict letter of the Famine Code. Fines were to be exacted rigorously when the outturn of work was deficient and no excuses of any sort were to be allowed. Had this policy been carried out in its entirety, I believe that some distress would have resulted. However, the pendulum swung suddenly the other way and from May until August the relief worker was master of the situation.

I attribute the large increase in May, and the still greater decrease in August and September, not wholly, but largely, to the changes above alluded to.

I certainly do not consider that the death-rate was at all affected by these changes. Cholera was introduced into the district in the month of July, and grew worse in August. This was one of the factors which helped to reduce numbers on works. Cholera will account for any increase in death-rate in August and subsequent months.

4. The changes of policy were so frequent that it was impossible to say whether attendance at the works opened was a test of distress. Up to the end of April, I believe, that it was, while from that date up to August it certainly was not. All persons, including women and children, who came on to our works were nominally subjected to the labour test, but as above described, the task was whittled away to a minimum, and was even then not enforced. I believe that under the rules that works were conducted on recently, the labour test would be efficiently applied to all who come to works. I have no experience regarding gratuitous relief in villages.

5. The relief works in Bellary were very numerous and in Anantapur even more so. It would have been much better to have massed the workers on large works, and hutted them, instead of bringing the work to their doors. They certainly for the most part dislike living on the work, and residence there, in conjunction with a living wage for a good day's work, would form a fair test of distress. I have given the information asked for in question 24 in paragraph 1 of my evidence, and the explanation of the high percentage is given after it.

EXTENT TO WHICH THE PRESCRIPTIONS OF THE PROVINCIAL FAMINE CODE HAVE BEEN DEPARTED FROM, OR FOUND UNSUITABLE.

6. In passing G. O., No. 216, Revenue, dated 30th March 1897, the Government practically departed entirely from the whole principle of the Famine Code. The result was that workers were kept in excellent condition, but the extra cost to the State was considerable. According to the present Madras Code, piece-work in any form is forbidden. This is a great mistake, and it should be tried (with safeguards) as much as possible. The regulations for the staff to be employed in superintending task work are too rigid and impracticable (*vide* appendix VI, paragraphs 8 to 19).

It is impossible to get men on R15 per mensem to do the work allotted to maistries, or sub-maistries at 6 annas a day, while the post of head cooly was a most difficult one to fill. I solved the difficulty in one case by abolishing sub-maistries and appointing maistries in charge of 8 instead of 16 gangs, at pay varying from R20 to R30 per mensem. This is a deviation from the Code which requires the sanction of Government. As a matter of fact, nearly the whole of the duties prescribed for maistries or sub-maistries devolved on the officer in charge of the work.

Relief Works.

7. The following statements show the number of relief works opened and the nature of the works.

The total length of new roads constructed was 18, metalled 9 miles, unmetalled but gravelled 9 miles.

138 miles of road were also repaired with 6 inches of metal, and in many instances converted from unmetalled into metalled roads.

8. I estimate that, for a metalled road (new), 80,000 day units can be employed, and for a gravelled road 19,000 day units per mile. The former includes collection of the full amount required for remetalling the road—the latter does not.

I consider that the repair of existing roads is a better work, as a rule, than the construction of new ones. A large number of new roads are never used, and no attempt is made to keep them up. In this district the main roads are so bad that the thorough repair of them is a most useful work to the community. It is a pity that during the recent famine the main roads were not taken up and repaired more systematically from one end to the other, hutting the workers where neces ary. There is room in this district for the construction of new roads, though I do not think that they are likely to be maintained.

9. Metal collection is a good means of employing relief workers, in that it affords employment to all, and is easily tasked. It is, however, rather too popular in this district, and I attribute this to the fact that the adult relief worker likes a sedentary occupation, and that the males, who are the laziest, escape their fair share of work as the women break quite as much as the men, when they are employed as breakers. I therefore prefer earth-work when available.

10. No village tanks have been dug in this district. They would be good works for famine relief as it would be easy to set tasks. They would probably be supervised by civil officers, and admission to the work would only be allowed to those who were not able to leave their homes. All those without special ties to be drafted to some large work under Public Works Department management.

11. In this district two small reservoirs have been constructed. They can in no way be regarded as a protection against famine, as in years of drought they will be dry. They ought to increase the power of resistance against famine, as they enable better and more valuable crops to be grown, but the people have no great liking for 'wet' cultivation under tanks in this district :—

	Acres.
(1) Basaladoddi tank	60
(2) Devagondanahalli tank	296

12. The Narraindevarkerri tank supply channel was nearly completed at a cost of R16,000. This is to feed a tank, and may really be considered an impounding scheme as it diverts a portion of the water from a local nullah to a tank. A considerable sum, about R3,000, will have to be spent on this before it is complete. The following are the areas that the above mentioned works may be expected to irrigate in ordinary years.

In years of drought the area will be practically *nil*.

13. Several irrigation projects might be carried out in this and Anantapur districts, which, though not financially remunerative, would afford useful labour and would give a return largely in excess of the expense of maintenance. An estimate for one, the Madhavaram tank, has been prepared. Its cost will be as follows :—

	R
(1) Earth-work which can be carried out by famine labour . . .	88,674
(2) Masonry works not suited for famine labour	78,775
(3) Compensation for land . . .	
TOTAL .	1,67,449

This project is estimated to irrigate 800 acres of land now cultivated as dry, yielding a net revenue of R3,800. If we exclude the cost of earth-work as done by labour which, if not employed in this way, would have to be given some useless work, the return comes to about per cent., 3·6 on capital outlay, allowing for establishment and tools and plant.

14. I have another similar scheme which has better prospects of paying, and I believe that several others can be found. The catchment area to be impounded may vary from 50 to 150 square miles. The principal difficulty in the black-cotton taluks is the unsuitability of the nature of the soil for making earthen bunds.

15. The famine programme failed, as far as the provisions made by the Public Works Department were concerned, in

Mr. H. E. Clerk.

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this way. Famine is most intense in the areas where there are no irrigation works, and therefore there were no works to include in the famine programmes for the Bellary, Adoni, and Alur taluks. In the Alur taluk there is not a single tank irrigating over 200 acres, and therefore under the charge of the Public Works Department works of the kind alluded to in question 69 have hitherto been omitted from programmes. They should be included.

16. The greatest distance a worker should have to travel to his village is 5 miles, and the greatest distance he should be asked to go and live on the work is 40 miles, but a certain number of the distressed population may perhaps have to leave work provided for them near their homes, *e.g.*, a family has a bullock, and some one has to look after it. I should recommend large central works—one for each taluk if possible, and also a number of small works near villages to which admission would only be by ticket for certified causes. I would not recommend transporting labourers long distances except for very good reason and under intelligent supervision. In this district residence on the works has been entirely the exception. It has never been made a condition of relief, but was always provided for any one who wished to stay, because of the distance of the work from their homes.

17. I am not in favour of making residence obligatory, but I would concentrate works so that the large proportion of workers would have to live on the spot. Residence on the work is doubtless very distasteful, but I do not think it will actually keep people away who really needed relief. In any really widespread famine it would be utterly impossible to supervise under Code rules the numerous works necessary to allow the majority of workers to return to their homes. In the recent distress, when two taluks were entirely unaffected and two others only slightly affected, the strain on the staff was very great, and in Anantapur even greater difficulty was experienced in getting competent men.

18. The distance reduction varied during the famine. It was first introduced by my predecessor, Mr. Somers-Eve, for all those who came from over 3 miles, and was calculated on the assumption that the worker walked 3 miles per hour. This worked out to a deduction of $\frac{1}{15}$ of the task for each mile over 3, from which the worker had to come. The rules introduced in G.O., No. 216, extended this to all comers from all distances and reduced the rate of walking to $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour. This was equivalent to a reduction of $\frac{1}{10}$ of the task for each mile of distance of village from the work. Thus a worker who came from 5 miles off had only to do half the task and could come to work two hours late, and go two hours earlier, thus rendering the whole day's work of the gang a half day's work.

The distances could be checked from a map, and were generally fairly correct, but it was almost impossible to ascertain whether the workers really returned to their villages.

After the beginning of August there was a return to the system originally adopted in Bellary, with the exception that women were given slightly larger allowances than the men, which only had the effect of slightly lowering the task of the whole gang.

19. The hutting provided was very often not used and destroyed, and no register of those who actually used the huts was maintained, but I estimate that hutting in Bellary District would cost about 10 annas 3 pies a head which includes cost of repairs for a period of eight months.

The cold on the work did not affect the health of the people.

Task-work and Piece-work.

20. I would adopt the classification proposed by Mr. Higham with the modification noted by me in my minute of dissent from the recommendations of the Madras Famine Conference. I would fix the wage for Z class recommended by Mr. Higham rather higher than he proposes—say at .70 tolahs or 14 chattacks—which corresponds with the male D class wage at present. I do not think it necessary to maintain the alternative system alluded to in question 96.

21. If Mr. Higham's classification is adopted, I would make the men who are employed in Z class do half as much again as the prescribed task, in order to earn Y class wage. If they failed to do this, they should get the same wage. In the case of carrying earth, there would be some difficulty in taking measurements, but the cases where able-bodied men are employed as carriers are so few that this objection may be neglected.

22. Children from 12 to 16 should be put into class III and receive the task and wage of that class.

Children below 12 should receive half the class III wage and have one-third the class III task. No child below 7 should be admitted on the work, and the officer in charge should be empowered to send to the kitchen children older than this whom he finds will not work properly.

23. I would impose fines for short work as laid down in paragraph 28, Appendix VI, Madras Code. Fining below minimum should have to be approved by the Executive Engineer or Divisional Officer of the Revenue Department, accordingly as the works are under the Public Works Department or the Revenue Department. Some restriction in fining is necessary, but it is also necessary for the officer in charge of a work to have the power of severe fining in exceptional cases.

24. Nearly all the workers in this district were on B class wage nearly all the time. As far as I could see, they grew fat on it. The few gangs who were on *D* class wage for a short time were *ipso facto* enfeebled, and therefore it is hard to express an opinion on them.

25. I think that any additional wage is troublesome and unnecessary, but I would give a rest day once a week to all those who have attended the work regularly during the previous week.

26. A standard task for carriers should certainly be introduced. Mr. Higham's formula for reduction of lift to terms of lead is a good one where there is an inclined plane of moderate slope to walk up, but where lifting out of gravel pits or up steep slopes is required, a higher coefficient than 12 is required. (I write this from memory, unfortunately I have not Mr. Higham's formula at hand.) I consider his duty of 10,000 a very fair one. The usual load actually carried by measurement in this district averaged 35 cubic feet. With such a load a worker can walk five miles loaded and five miles unloaded in the day, and the duty works out to 9,340, or very near Mr. Higham's 10,000. I consider that with large and concentrated works it would be quite easy to insist on a proper proportion of diggers to carriers being employed, and women can be made to act as fillers though they cannot be expected to use a pickaxe.

27. I think the number in the Madras Code is rather large, and I would prefer to sub-divide the gang into two: One head coolie or Muharir, having charge of two gangs of 50.

28. During the greater part of the famine the adult male workers formed about 10 per cent. or less of the gang; of those quite half were elderly men. Of men in full working vigour there were seldom more than 5 per cent. There were a better portion of men in Alur where the distress was greatest, than in the western taluks where it was very slight. On the Narraindevarakeeri tank work in Hospet taluk there were never any men (properly so called) at all. The great preponderance of women was accounted for by the fact that really strong men found plenty of work to do in or about their villages in such work as removing "*nuth*" grass, etc. The wage they earned at this was in excess of famine wage, but I do not think it was enough to support their whole family. At the same time I am sure that the families of many who were earning enough to support them came on to the relief works. There was a good deal of emigration of able-bodied men from Bellary District to work in Mysore. They returned in the end of June and sent up the proportion of males on relief works.

Relations of Civil and Public Works officers in management of Relief Works.

29. All large works, that is to say, those employing 5,000 people and over, should be under the charge of the Public Works Department, all smaller works being carried out by the Revenue Department. In this connection I cannot do better than append a copy of my minute of dissent from the Resolutions of the Famine Conference as regards this subject.

Whatever powers of control the Collector may have, none should be delegated to his Assistants. This was agreed to at the Famine Conference, and if it is decided that the Collector is to have power of direct interference with relief works under the Public Works Department, the arrangements come to at the Conference are probably best.

30. The services of a Civil officer to assist the Public Works subordinate would only be necessary in the case of a large work, and here again I consider the proposals of the Famine Conference sound. The Civil officer must be placed under the direct orders of the officers of the Public Works Department. I think that the officers of the Public Works Department, who are responsible for the execution and inspection of relief works (this I take to mean the officer in charge of a work), should be responsible for every thing connected with the work except payments. In that respect his responsibility should cease when the rolls are handed over to the paymaster. The responsibility for the checking of the paymaster should rest with the Executive Engineer, his Sub-Divisional Officer, when the Sub-Divisional Officer is not also the officer in charge of a work, and the special accounts staff who should be appointed for the purpose of checking vouchers before recoupment of imprests. In all such matters as conservancy, kitchens, bazaar arrangements, he would have the Civil officer to assist him, but he would remain responsible. It would probably be convenient, though not necessary, that the Civil officer should have third-class magisterial power.

31. Practically all works were carried out by the Public Works Department in Bellary. They were nearly all too large for management by the Civil officers, but in Anantapur, where they were very numerous, many of them might well have been carried out by Civil officers.

Other details of management.

32. I consider that task workers should be paid twice a week. I have had no experience of piece-work on famine works. It would probably be enough to make payments once a week when distress was slight. I think that payments should be made to the nearest pie by the ready reckoner. The payments should be made by independent paymasters. If made by Mukarrie, they should be made every day, but I think that whatever safeguards were adopted the practice would throw additional power into the hands of the already unscrupulous head coolie, and therefore consider payments by a paymaster most advisable.

33. All comers were welcomed on relief works in this district.

34. As regards the numbers that should form a single charge, the limits may vary a great deal. I would not form any work for less than 200 people, and this would be special work to which labourers were admitted by chalan. Ordinary works should not be formed for less than 500 people, and the numbers may go thence upwards to practically any number that are likely to appear in this district. The staff would of course have to be increased as the numbers rose. I consider it is necessary on task work to have one subordinate capable of taking fairly reliable measurements and setting out the work (what we called a sub-overseer during the recent famine) for every 3,000 workers.

35. The only relief given to non-working children should be in kitchens as far as the experience of Bellary District goes.

36. A table of the cost of actual and normal expenditure has been forwarded to Government, and I will not increase the bulk of this report by repeating it here. It will doubtless have been put before the Commission. I do not attach much value to it, because the work was carried on under such varying conditions that the figures form no fair criterion of what could be done on works conducted on a uniform system. The figures from the beginning of the famine until the end of April might form some guide as to what work ought to cost, but the variation in wage is so great that even that would need some modification. I consider that on a well-conducted work during a famine, where prices corresponded to those ruling recently, twice the normal cost may be taken as the fair ratio of the actual wages to workers on a really well-conducted work where no deductions of any kind are made. The actual cost, including all incidental charges, would, in most cases, include hutting, and I am not prepared to give any figures at present. I will attempt to make some estimate before the Commission arrives at Bellary.

37. The question of famine accounts is a very important one, and I regret that I have not time to work up this subject as much as I should like. Much more definite instruction is required in all branches. It should be clearly laid down at the beginning what the accounts are intended to show. For instance, if a comparison of actual and normal cost is going to be asked for, the account should be drawn up so as to show it.

38. The way in which paymasters are kept in funds is another point which deserves consideration. During the recent famine each Executive Engineer had his own way of dealing with paymasters' imprests, and acted in absolute ignorance of how things were done in other divisions. In this division Tahsildars were imprest holders under Executive Engineers, and the paymasters were sub-imprest holders under the Tahsildars. The Tahsildar had no responsibility with regard to check of vouchers, but simply recouped the paymasters' imprest and forwarded the vouchers to the Executive Engineer's office, where they were at once checked *before the imprest was recouped.* To do this, it was necessary to give very large imprests to Tahsildars, and owing to the enormous rise in numbers in the months of June and July, the checking got somewhat into arrears. I consider, however, that my action in refusing to break through the rule that no Tahsildar's imprest was to be recouped before credit was justified by the following facts: (1) Irregularities on the part of paymasters were brought to notice very shortly after the payments had been actually made, and being aware of the fact, hardly any serious irregularities were committed; (2) although the imprest with Tahsildars at one time amounted to ₹7,96,000, it was found possible to close the greater portion of them within a very short time, and at the present date there is only ₹330 unaccounted for, every voucher in support of the expenditure of about 25 lakhs on wages in Bellary and Anantapur having undergone careful audit in my office.

39. In future famines it is probable that an entirely different system will be employed, and assuming that large relief works will be under the Public Works Department, would make the following suggestions. Each large work I would have the necessary number of paymasters, who would be kept in funds by the Sub-Divisional Officer through his drawing account. Arrangements would, of course, have to be made by the Civil officers for providing necessary escort for cash. The Sub-Divisional Officer's duty with regard to these imprests would be merely to check totals, recoup them at once, and forward them at once to the Audit Office. This of course would not absolve him in any way from his personal duty of inspecting accounts and checking them while in the hands of the paymaster.

40. The Audit Office would, while distress was light, be in the Executive Engineer's office, but as soon as it is seen that famine is to be severe, a Central Audit Office should be formed at the head-quarters of the Superintending Engineer of the Circle. Such office to be controlled by a Deputy or Assistant Examiner under the rules of the Superintending Engineer. It would be the duty of this office to audit all wage vouchers at once, and the establishment would have to be kept large enough to audit all vouchers within ten days of their receipt in the Accounts Office. Sub-Divisional Officers would, if engaged on ordinary as well as famine works, be bound to keep two cash books; the ordinary accounts being sent to the Executive Engineer as usual. This would relieve the Executive Engineer's office of an immense mass of accounts work, and would enable a division to get into working order again within a comparatively short time. It would also admit of a uniform system of audit being adopted. Of course, if necessary, an Audit Office might be found in each division, but under the control of the Superintending and not the Executive Engineer.

On reconsideration I wish to withdraw this suggestion as I consider that the accounts should be audited in the Executive Engineer's Office.

H. E. C.,—30-4-98.

Extract from Minute of Dissent alluded to in my evidence, paragraph 30.

POSITION OF PUBLIC WORKS OFFICERS.

Paragraphs 17 and 18 may be taken together. The position taken up by the majority of members of the Conference amounted to this. The Government of India having affirmed its adherence to the principle laid down in paragraph 130 of the Famine Commissioner's report that the sole responsibility for relief of all kinds in a district rests with the Collector or Deputy Commissioner, the Conference considered that it is absolutely necessary that the Collector should have power to remedy any defects in the administration of relief works which might come to his notice. I cannot believe that the Government of India intended this to be taken in the literal sense in which it has

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been interpreted by the Madras Government and the Revenue Department. It seems to me that his reponsibility may be fully satisfied if he directs when and where works should be opened, and if his opinions with regard to the health of the people are received with due attention. This is the interpretation which has been put on this section in other parts of India, and I believe with the happiest results. I do not see that what has been done elsewhere with success cannot be done in Madras. If, however, the full responsibility of the Collector is rigidly insisted on, the resolution of the Conference seems perfectly logical. If the responsibility of the Collector for the proper administration of large works supervised by the Public Works Department is enforced, it is obvious that he should have the fullest powers to control all matters which in any way concern the well-being of the workers. It was on this understanding that the arrangements proposed at the Conference were agreed to by practically all the members, and I consider that they are probably the best which could be devised under the circumstances.

2. The scheme is, however, open to serious objections which may be enumerated as follows:—

(*a*) The Superintending Engineer is practically eliminated from all share in relief operations. This is a most serious waste of power and perpetuates the defect which Mr. Higham brought especially to notice with reference to famine administration in Madras. (Paragraph 27, Mr. Higham's Madras Famine Report.) The Superintending Engineer will, in times of famine, have little or no ordinary work to do, and at the same time he is, by education and experience, the man most fitted to manage with efficiency the large bodies of workers collected under the control of Public Works officers. A system which relegates to absolute ineffectiveness the officer who, above others, has been found most fitted for the management of works of this description stands condemned on its own evidence.

(*b*) The Executive Engineers of districts will lose the advice and assistance which they are entitled to look for in any cases of doubt or difficulty. In many cases the methods of carrying out the work are so inevitably mixed up with points which will be declared to be not purely professional that the Superintending Engineer will find himself unable to interfere. Further, the matters about which he is entitled to have a view are so limited that it is most probable that he would refuse to concern himself with famine relief works at all.

(*c*) The Chief Engineer, Public Works Department, is also eliminated from the scheme, and thus the experience of the only Public Works officers who have actually served in previous famines will, in times of distress, be lost to Government. I hope I shall not be accused of disrespect or of insubordination when I affirm that the inconsistent and vacillating policy pursued during the recent famine which proved so demoralizing to worker and subordinate staff alike would never have been carried out had the advice of the senior officers of the Public Works Department been obtained and acted on.

(*d*) The position to be taken up by the Executive Engineer under the system now proposed is a very difficult one, and with all the best intentions in the world, difficulties are likely to arise. Should the Collector agree to accept the views of his Public Works Department Famine Assistant, or should the latter succeed in subordinating all his ideas to that of the Collector, all will probably go smoothly. It is, however, almost inevitable that cases will arise in which an Executive Engineer of experience and strong views will find himself at variance with the Collector and obliged to carry out orders on subjects regarding which he believes himself to be better fitted to form a competent judgment than his temporary superior. Such a position cannot fail to produce undesirable and unnecessary friction in a machine which must be made to work not only rapidly, but smoothly.

3. All the defects I have above mentioned can at once be done away with, if the Government of India would consent to modify their dictum that the Collector must have sole responsibility in the matter of saving life in his district (*vide* section 24, Madras Famine Code). Although this section or one very similar to it exists in all codes except that of Burma and the Central Provinces, throughout India during the recent famine very extensive powers were given to Superintending Engineers, and I believe the results have been most successful. Please see Mr. Higham's Report on Madras Famine Works, paragraphs 27 and 28. It is a great pity, therefore, that the Government of India should have so worded the resolution with which Mr. Higham's Madras Report was forwarded as to prevent the Conference from accepting his proposals. I understand from the leading Revenue officers, whom I met at the Conference, that were the direct responsibility which is laid on them removed, they would have no objection to the acceptance of Mr. Higham's scheme. All that appears necessary is to explain that the words "solely responsible" are not to be taken too literally, or to modify them if necessary.

4. I would suggest that as soon as works are placed under the Public Works Department, the responsibility for everything connected with the work should be transferred to that Department. The Collector should have power to inspect and advise with regard to the general condition of the workers and the principles on which the works should be carried out. The fullest weight should be given to all recommendations which he may make, but the final responsibility for their rejection or acceptance should rest with the Superintending Engineer. With this alteration I believe there would be no objection to the introduction into Madras of the system which has worked so successfully in other provinces.

(*President.*)—Mr. Clerk, I think you are the Executive Engineer of the Bellary Division?—Yes.

You were employed from the 1st of March 1897 down to the present time?—Yes.

During the time of famine Anantapur was put under a separate officer?—Yes. But I had to audit all the accounts of the establishment in Anantapur, and as regards the execution of works I had nothing to do.

Mr. Stuart was the Collector all the time you were in the district?—Yes, during the famine.

(*Mr. Higham.*)—As regards the figures you have given in the first paragraph, have you any remarks to make?—The only remark I have to make is that these percentages are for people employed on famine works, exclusive of those who are gratuitously relieved. Mr. Stuart has given some figures, I believe, which include all those relieved under all heads.

What about the population?—The population does not agree with what is reported in the *Madras Mail*. I attribute it to the fact that I took the whole taluk, but he took a portion of the taluk. I took every taluk in which there was work, as if the whole taluk was affected.

What is the result?—My average percentage, which I have not given there, works out to 21 per cent. of the population. The figures reported by Mr. Stuart give 35 per cent. of the population, if the report in the *Madras Mail* is correct. He has taken a smaller population and a larger number under relief.

You say that one-third of the people employed had no need of relief. On what do you base that statement?—I cannot base it on any figures. One-third may be right or wrong. I have no evidence for that statement. I merely say that I believe that a very large number were not in need of relief.

When the numbers began to rise after the issue of the omnibus order, was there not a rise in the prices?—Yes, there was. The rise in prices took place just at the time that there was a rise in numbers. But I attribute the rapid increase in numbers to the omnibus order and only partly to the rise in prices, because a large number of people had no money at all, so that the rise in prices could not affect them. They were living on their stores of grain; and although there was a rise in prices, yet it could have brought in only a certain number of people on the works, but not a disproportionate number. Those who had stores of their own would not be brought to the works. I believe I am right in saying that in the Deccan districts an ordinary worker is paid mostly in grain at the end of the harvest, and he lives on that store of grain in the hot weather, and has little or no money with him, so that for the time being the current price of grain does not affect him at all, or only very slightly. I produce a diagram which shows the relation of price with numbers on the works. It seems to be at first sight quite against my theory. I have stated in my evidence that I believe the increase in numbers on the works was greatly due to the introduction of the omnibus order. But from looking at the diagram it would appear that the increase in numbers corresponds almost exactly with the rise in prices, and therefore it would be legitimate to suppose that the omnibus order had nothing to do with it.

What does the line in the diagram represent?—It represents all labourers and dependants relieved on relief works.

I understand you consider that the rise in prices would not by itself be followed by an increase in numbers?—Not so great as actually took place.

Then in regard to fines you say that before the issue of the omnibus order they were exacted very vigorously?—Yes.

Were payments made entirely in proportion to the work done?—Strictly in proportion to the work done.

As required by the appendix to the Madras Code?—Yes.

That is, if a man did one-tenth task, he received only one-tenth wage?—No. There is a minimum wage fixed in the Appendix VI of the Code.

Were fines restricted to the minimum wage, or did you fine in accordance with the table in Appendix VI?—We fined according to this table, subject to the minimum wage.

The minimum wage would involve a deduction of one-tenth or one-eighth only?—Class B could be fined from 95 to 70.

About one-seventh?—Yes.

Then the fines could not have been very strict, if you had restricted them to the minimum wage?—They were as a rule.

All this table in Appendix VI was neutralised by the minimum wage rule?—Yes.

After the introduction of the order there were no fines at all?—Practically.

The minimum wage did not come in?—No. A fine was very rarely inflicted indeed.

There are altogether 18 miles of new road?—Altogether 138.

But they are 138 miles of repair, but of the new roads there were only 18 miles?—Yes, that is all.

And the rest was repair?—Yes. Repairing was re-making the surface with metal.

Was metalling done continuously?—No. It was done at points already selected, so that relief might be given as near the villages as possible.

You worked only near villages?—Yes, as far as possible.

There were gaps in the road?—Several gaps. As an instance on one road near Bellary, there were 15 miles with 3 gaps of 2 and 5 miles between them.

The reason of the gaps was that it would involve the moving of the people out of their villages?—The reason was that the work was closed before it was finished. If the famine had gone on long enough, they would have been closed.

If it had gone on, would you have opened new works near villages?—I am not in a position to say that. That is a matter for the Collector to decide.

As regards the metalling of roads, you say that the metalling work was very popular?—Yes.

Do the women prefer being on metal breaking to carrying earth?—I should say that women do not have much voice in the matter. The voice of the gang is that of the male element in it.

Did men do carrying and women breaking?—No. I think they both carried and broke; but they did a great deal of breaking.

That is men?—Yes.

Do you think it would be possible to do collection of metal works with women and children and without the assistance of men?—I think women and children can do it very easily.

Unless you had to quarry?—Yes.

Did you have to quarry?—Very little. Stones were almost invariably picked up off the fields.

In paragraph 15 you remark that there are no tanks that irrigate over 200 acres and, therefore, the Public Works Department have nothing to do with them. Is that the rule here?—That is the rough rule on which the division of responsibility for looking after irrigation works is based.

That is, all tanks that irrigate less than 200 acres are under the District authorities?—Yes.

Would that apply to proposals to make new tanks in times of famine?—Certainly not. I meant that I could not put them in my programme for repairing tanks.

They would go into the district programme?—Yes.

Had you a separate programme from that of the District Officer?—My share of the programme is sent to the Collector, and he incorporates it in his general programme.

In paragraph 18 of your written statement you say that women got larger allowance than men. What do you mean by that?—A woman was expected to walk at the rate of 2½ miles an hour, whereas a man was calculated to walk at the rate of 3 miles an hour.

You mean the distance allowance?—Yes.

As regards the classification that you refer to in paragraph 20, the minute of dissent makes no reference?—I have appended only a part of it. The modifications are that I would allow any man who is naturally classed as a digger to have the opportunity of earning a digger's wage by doing 50 per cent. of the task.

I proposed it?—You said "If permanenlty employed." I would leave out those words.

Is that the only modification you would suggest?—Yes.

In paragraph 21 you say there would be some difficulty in taking measurements. I do not quite understand what you mean?—There would be difficulty in separating the measurement of work done by men. The work of the carrier would have to be measured separately in order to separate it from that of the rest of the gang.

I do not know whether you understand my proposal. I say that if you take these able-bodied men and put them as carriers; we should count them as 1½ units?—Then there would be no difficulty.

You are in favour of giving a distinctly higher wage to diggers than what you pay to a weak labourer?—Yes. You would not be able to get earth-work done in this district unless you pay well.

Had you to pay special wages to diggers?—On one work, the construction of a new tank, we found it impossible to get the work done without employing special men at special rates. We started with taking men who were called Public Works Department coolies, who were paid 4 annas a day.

It was not charged to relief works?—Yes. They were afterwards paid A class, but latterly they were reduced to B class.

I understand you to say that able-bodied males, who are capable of digging, hardly exceed 5 per cent. of the total number?—I must modify it. Since writing this I have looked up a good many returns, and I should say that it is between 5 and 10 per cent., and in some cases it went up to 10 per cent.

That is, after allowing for boys over 16?—Yes.

You think that if a higher wage had been paid to diggers, able-bodied men would have been attracted in greater proportion to works in place of women?—Not in place of women.

Less women would have come?—I do not think so. I think more men would have come.

Their place would not have been taken at home?—I do not think so.

Do you think that the present difference between the wage of a man and a woman is too small—is it insufficient to make the man come out?—No. I do not think it is that. I think the reason why men do not come out is that they have work to do at home or sometimes they emigrate.

I suppose they have work which the women could not do?—Yes.

What work?—There is a great deal of work done in the fields in removing *nuth* grass. But that can only be done by really strong men.

How long did they do it?—Till the rains set in.

Is it because they could not do it in the rains or it was completed?—They could not do it in the rains.

Is that the reason?—That is one of the reasons. Secondly, they returned in large numbers from Mysore

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In Bellary taluk there was a great influx of men who had come from Mysore.

Did many men go to Mysore in the first instance?—I believe a good many did.

What is your ordinary establishment for a gang of 5,000 workers?—I had a Public Works Department Overseer in charge.

He is charged to the Public Works establishment?—Yes. If possible, there would be a Sub-Overseer, under him, but not always.

In a charge of 5,000, would he have a Sub-Overseer?—Yes. It is rather too big for an Overseer.

Would he be charged to Works?—To Establishment—Public Works temporary establishment.

Under the Sub-Overseer?—We had a Maistry for every 16 gangs. For every 1,600 people we had a Maistry.

What sort of man is a Maistry? What pay did he get?—R15 a month, that is, 8 annas a day.

Does the pay depend upon the charge?—A man who has a charge of 4 gangs would get 6 annas a day.

What had they to do—to measure up?—The Maistry is supposed to measure up all the work of the gang. It is all laid down in Appendix VI of the Code.

The same proportion?—We adhere to that as far as possible.

Who kept your musters?—The Head Coolie kept the musters, but it was written by the Sub-Maistry.

Was the Head Coolie a relief worker?—No. He was not. He was paid separately. We took them from all over the place, including some petty village officers—a most miscellaneous collection of people.

Then they did not come from the village with the relief workers?—Sometimes they might have come, but they did not form part of the gang.

Were they separate as work establishment?—As work establishment.

They come under establishment and are not shown under relief wages?—Yes.

How many were these?—One for each gang.

For each 100?—Yes.

Head Coolie?—Yes.

What do they get?—4 annas a day.

Do they take the muster every day?—They took the muster twice a day.

They had nothing to do with pay?—Nothing whatever.

Had you any clerks for writing up?—Under each Overseer and Sub-Overseer was posted a clerk.

One clerk?—Yes.

What do you call him?—A clerk.

One clerk on each charge?—If there was an Overseer and a Sub-Overseer there were two clerks, if two Sub-Overseers three clerks.

Then as to payment, what were the paying establishments?—There was a Paymaster under the orders of the Collector. Rolls were sent by the Overseer in charge to the Paymaster for paying them, who sent them to the Tahsildar.

For a charge of 5,000 you required two Paymasters?—Yes. I think Mr. Stuart laid down that 2,400 was the limit.

What did the Paymaster get?—I had nothing to do with him. I believe he was paid R30 a month, but I have no official knowledge of it.

If there were any irregularities in payment, did you take cognizance of them?—It was not strictly my duty to do so. I used to look at the Paymaster's accounts sometimes, but that did not come within my sphere of duty.

I suppose there were establishments looking after tools, etc.?—We had store-keepers charged to the Works on each work.

Anything for conservancy?—We had so little hutting that we had practically no one for conservancy.

None of these establishments is prepared as a charge against relief labour?—It has all been accounted for under "33.—Famine Relief." It had been mixed up with it.

It is shown as work establishment—special establishment?—At present we have not separated the charges.

What I am driving at is how a certain percentage of establishment is charged. It is very difficult to compare it unless one knows what is charged to Establishment and what is charged to Relief Works. For instance, in some places those whom you call Head Coolies are returned as class A relief labourers, and that unfairly affects the question?—In those cases they were called work establishment, and I could, if necessary, with a great deal of labour separate the charges.

They are not shown separately?—No.

They are merely shown as charged to the Works?—Yes.

Besides the Overseer, you had a Sub-Overseer?—Yes.

If a Sub-Overseer was temporarily employed, was he charged to the Works?—He was brought on the temporary subordinate establishment.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—In paragraph 20 there is evidently a mistake. You say 70 tolas or chataks?—To tell you the truth I did not know what chataks were. I had no means of ascertaining it.

I understand, Mr. Clerk, that Mr. Higham proposes that the present B wage, 2⅜lbs. should be given to diggers, to men and women without distinction, and that a female D wage, 1⅜lbs., should be given to carriers, to men and women without distinction. Do you accept the proposal as regards the B wage?—Yes.

Then as to D wage you would give 1¾lbs. which is the male D wage?—Yes.

And you think that would be enough?—I am rather diffident to give an opinion about it, as to what would really be enough. We never tried it, we had not tried the D wage long enough. I would give something considerably less than the B wage, which was paid during the recent famine.

You consider that the B wage is too high?—Yes, too high as a general wage to all.

What makes you think it is too high?—I have several reasons. One is that I watched the condition of workers throughout the famine who were longest on the works, and as far as I could see they improved although they had no other means of support. On one work which was first opened in the district the people as a class no doubt steadily improved. I also judge by the people's meal in the kitchens. The children in the kitchen could hardly ever eat the whole meal which was allotted to them and which was then the C ration.

Do you think that people saved from their wages or spent it all. Have you got evidence?—No evidence. I know that in certain places they spent a good deal in drinking. That was not everywhere, but that was only in a few selected places which I could mention.

More than usual?—Yes. I think from the statement of workers themselves on the B wage, they were a good deal better off than in an ordinary year.

Did they admit it?—On one work they actually told the Overseer on works that they never had such a pleasant hot weather. The Overseer told it to me directly. They went on to say that in ordinary years they had a store of cholum and they had to live on it from the beginning of the hot weather to the end of it. But during the famine when they were on the works, they bought what grain they liked, and that was a sort of variation.

They did not tell you that directly?—No.

It was the Overseer that told you?—Yes.

What task table did you enforce—the one in the code or the one that you made?—It is the task table of the code but modified. It was a good deal modified. The Code task is an impossible task and therefore it was modified and the same principles were adopted.

Did you do it with the concurrence of the Collector?—The task table was worked out before I arrived in the district by my predecessor and it was approved by the Collector.

In this task table did you allow anything for distance from the homes of the workers?—That did not affect the task table though it affected the task.

Did you make any allowances in the district before the issue of the order of 30th March?—Yes. Allowances were made before that order was received.

Who suggested the allowances?—Mr. Somers-Eve.

You found them in existence?—Yes.

You continued them?—Yes.

You did not object to them?—I did not.

You objected to the distance allowance fixed by the order of 30th March?—Yes decidedly.

On the ground that it was excessive?—Very excessive.

Was this new distance allowance strictly given?—It took some time to get the subordinates to understand it before it was practically introduced.

Did you give full effect to it?—Yes.

To everybody?—If a man lived one mile and-a-half off, he got one-tenth deduction.

If you had a gang composed of different people, how would you fix the deduction?—They took so many units for 5 miles and gave a half deduction, and so many units of 3 miles and three-tenths deduction and so on.

Did you check the deductions as you inspected the works?—Yes, to a certain extent.

Do you think they were well made?—They varied entirely on the efficiency of the work. In some places they were very badly made and in others fairly made.

Was there any difficulty in ascertaining whether the people were living near the works or not?—There was great difficulty. I know that in many cases the workers who nominally went to villages 5 miles off did not do so, but there were no means of ascertaining it. I told the overseers to "dog" them, but it was a very difficult thing to do.

That applied to your original distance allowance also?—That did; but there were not so many people who got it, so that it was easier to check it.

You think that about one-third of the people employed had no real need of relief?—That is what I said, but I would modify it by saying "a large number."

On what did you go?—I made enquiries. I went on one fact that where the workers came from the longest distances the task was light and they were able to leave the works before the middle of the day and they would not even stay to get their wages, but preferred to get them later on. I also attach a good deal of importance to the fact mentioned by Mr. Stuart at various times that he could not get the silver coins back; and it seems to me very likely that they were hoarded up.

Did people seem in good condition?—I think they seemed in very good condition, that is to say, quite as good as in ordinary years.

In paragraph 2 you say that the officers of the Revenue Department construed these orders to mean that tasks were not to be enforced. We have been informed that it is the overseer that made the reduction and the revenue officers did not interfere with the overseer?—It was their duty. It is clearly laid down that it was their duty to do it.

The overseers were under the Public Works Department?—As regards everything of that sort they were practically taken out of the hands of the Public Works Department. If you take any of these circulars you will find it is the Revenue officer who is to regulate the task. Paragraph 4 of Mr. Stuart's circular based on G. O. No. 216 says "Tasks specified in the task table will ordinarily be enforced by the overseer in charge of the works who is empowered to reduce the task subject to the sanction of the Collector or the revenue divisional officer." Again it says, "The divisional officers will give special assistance to the case of weakly persons." If you take the circular you will find that the Executive Engineer or the Assistant Engineer is absolutely ignored in it and he has no position whatever.

Is that a Government circular?—It is the Collector's circular based on G. O. No. 216.

That is his own circular?—Yes.

I understand you to say that at the beginning of famine there was too great a stringency in the matter of task?—I had only just come to the district and there was a tendency in that way.

Did you ever come across cases where people have been fined for long periods?—No, because just after I came there had been a tendency to reduce it. Just before I came there had been a good deal of fining. On that, however, I am not competent to speak.

Then you suggest in paragraph 10 that tanks would be good works for famine relief. Are tanks possible in black cotton soil?—That is a very difficult question which has not been solved by the Madras Government, whether black cotton soil is suitable for growing wet crops. As far as I can make out it is doubtful but in this district there is a considerable extent of land which is not black cotton soil.

The severest distress was in black cotton soil?—Yes.

Are there any tanks at present?—No tanks of any size.

Are there no tanks under the Public Works Department?—Yes there are, but not in the Alur taluk.

I ask you this because if you have big works would the tank works be the best?—I think they would be the only ones possible.

It is an important question whether you can have tanks in black cotton soil?—Yes.

But you say it has not been solved?—I don't think it has been solved.

Then as to hutting, is there any great difficulty in finding materials for hutting?—There is considerable difficulty. They have not got bamboos in the district and they have to be imported.

Would you ask the workers to do that sort of work?—I don't think they could do it. They might possibly build mud walls. I think we would have to make grass sheds and get men to make them.

You would have to employ men other than famine labourers to make them?—Yes, I think so.

Would you make them at the beginning of famine or would you allow people to lie out in the open at first?—If it is foreseen that famine is likely to last any length of time, I would make them at once.

On road works which go on progressing can you make huts which can be moved?—Yes, I can put up grass sheds and move them along.

Have you had any experience in making grass sheds?—We made a good many.

Were they used?—Occasionally, very few.

For the convenience of workers?—Yes, but they preferred to get the distance allowance.

If you had done away with the distance allowance, do you think they would have stayed?—A good many more would have stayed.

Your proposal is to have large and small works?—Yes, small works would only be for select people who for some reasons could not go to large works—reasons which would be satisfactory to the officers of the Revenue Department.

Others?—I would make them go to large works.

(*President.*)—Make them go?—Yes. I would use pressure.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—What sort of pressure?—That is a thing which the officers of the Revenue Department would decide. I think they can persuade them.

When a road work was taken up for repair and the work progressed, did people follow that work or did you get a new set of workers as it progressed?—Various things happened. When the work was not close at hand and got to another stage, some would leave and go to a work nearer their homes, but some stuck to the old work.

In that case they would have had to walk long distances?—Yes, sometimes.

You lay stress on the difficulty of effective supervision over small works in paragraph 16?—Yes. There was difficulty in getting people to supervise them.

You experienced that?—Yes, in getting a number of subordinates. There is a limit beyond which you cannot get people to supervise them.

Did you reach that limit?—Yes.

Can you turn off a person and find another?—No. It is very difficult.

When works are concentrated what reduction of staff can you effect—suppose instead of 10 works you had 3?—I think we might say roughly that there would be a reduction of 25 per cent. I do not think there could be much more.

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Then with reference to paragraph 25 would you give a wage for the rest day?—Yes, I would give the wage to all those who attended the works regularly for 6 days.

That is to say if they attended from Monday to Saturday?—Yes.

In paragraph 28 you say that of men in full working vigour there were seldom more than 5 per cent. Is that based upon actual observation or statistics?—It was written from memory, but since I came to head-quarters I happened to study the returns and I would say about 8 per cent.

Then with regard to paragraphs 29 and 30 you say that the Collector alone should have the power to give orders?—Yes.

You do not quite agree with the proposal you refer to therein?—I think it is a great pity that the Superintending Engineer should not have something to do.

In the proposal to which you refer is the Superintending Engineer entirely left out?—Yes practically. His only function, as far as I can understand, is to see that the Executive Engineer is keeping up the supply of tools.

Would he have the power of inspection?—Yes. He would have the power to interfere with what you call purely professional duties.

I suppose he would be able to inspect and make suggestions to the Collector?—Presumably, he would.

Though he would not be able to order anything?—Yes.

In paragraph 38 you consider that your action in refusing to recoup Tahsildar's imprest before credit was justified. Did that lead to any difficulty?—Hardly any. I did not recoup it, but I increased his imprest. He got very large imprests.

He did not run short of money?—He did not. But in one case he did, when the numbers went up very suddenly.

Why was the Tahsildar brought in in connection with payments?—You see that the paymaster was under the orders of the Revenue Department.

He was not placed under the Public Works Department?—No. He worked under the orders of the Tahsildar. The Tahsildar was a sort of intermediary imprest holder.

What you propose would be that the overseer in charge of the works should be the paymaster?—No. What I propose is based on the supposition that the sub-divisional officer of the Public Works Department should keep the paymaster in funds. He should be placed under the Public Works Department and the Sub-divisional officer should keep him in funds.

The account will go in as public works account—Yes.

The whole thing would pass through public works account?—Yes, as it does now.

In that case the Tahsildar would have nothing to do?—Yes. But he would cash the cheques.

(*Dr. Richardson.*)—So far as the health of the relief workers was concerned, do you think there was any necessity for the introduction of the omnibus order?—Not in this district.

Did people show any signs of deterioration in condition when the C and D wages of the code were in force?—They were in force so little that I had not the means of judging their effect. Even before the introduction of the omnibus order, a very large proportion of people were on B class wage. There were a few gangs on C class wage.

Then you think that the code wages were sufficient without the introduction of the new order?—Yes.

Was the C class wage not in force?—Prior to the introduction of the omnibus order there were a very few gangs on C class wage throughout the district. I do not think that any were on D class wage.

With regard to those in C class do you think they were insufficiently fed?—I do not think so. The gangs in C class were of poor physique. I was not able to watch them long enough, but I do not think they deteriorated in condition.

That is only your impression?—Yes.

(*Mr. Bose.*)—When you say that workers were well off on B wage do you refer to the wage earned by individual workers or by all the members of a family?—I refer to the general appearance of the gang.

Did all the members of a family club their wages together?—They lived on them. Whether they clubbed them together or not, I do not know.

Did not the members of a family work?—The whole of them received B wage.

Children?—They received a proportionate wage based on B class.

Whether they lived on individual wage or accumulated wages you cannot say?—Yes.

Do you consider that B wage is too high without allowances of any kind?—For a carrier who is probably a member of a family, I do.

The omnibus order allowed weakness and distance deductions. Suppose there are to be no deductions and full task is to be exacted, do you consider that the B wage is too high?—Under general conditions of work I would consider it too high.

Even for a digger?—Not for a digger. That is right for a digger.

For a carrier?—Yes.

(*Mr. LeFanu.*)—Mr. Clerk, you said that before the introduction of the omnibus order there was fining according to Appendix VI of the Code subject to the minimum wage. Does the Appendix VI prescribe the minimum wage?—Section 106 of the Code does.

There was fining then subject to the minimum wage before the omnibus order was received; but when the omnibus order came out, the fining was very rare indeed. Why?—Because they were given so many excuses not to fine. Pressure was brought to bear on the officer in charge not to fine.

By whom?—By the officers of the Revenue Department.

Was that on paper?—I do not think it was, but there is a circular, and if anybody reads that circular he would interpret it that they are not to be fined.

The circular cannot go beyond the order of Government G. O. No. 216, which gives you the power of fining, subject to the minimum wage, for not longer than a week, without the approval of the divisional officer?—The fining was to be resorted to only in clear cases of malingering or insubordination. The overseer has to prove clearly that the gang was malingering or was insubordinate.

It does not say that he is to prove it?—He is asked to explain.

He is asked to assign a reason?—He is asked to explain.

If he does not give a reason he is asked to explain?—Officers of the Revenue Department were put in charge of the exaction of tasks while the omnibus order was in force, and I do not think the officers of the Revenue Department ever asked the overseers to fine. The overseer was never ordered to fine.

Had not the overseer the power of fining?—The overseers believed that they were not to fine.

He was given on paper the power of fining?—Yes.

As a fact they had the power of fining, but they did not use it?—They did not use it because they were given to understand that they were not to.

That is not on paper?—That was very clearly understood.

Can you mention any particular cases in which pressure was brought to bear on the overseer?—I would give an instance of a case in which the Divisional officer with whom I had conversation, in the course of which I gave him my views distinctly, told me that it was the intention of Government that they were not to be fined.

You say the Collector gave the overseer power to reduce the task subject to the approval of the Divisional Officer and himself, and still you say that deprived you of the power of altering the task?—You cannot have two men doing it.

Your overseer is your own subordinate and you must have the power that he has?—Theoretically he was my subordinate and this order removed him from my control altogether. It is altogether distinctly laid down that it is the Revenue officer that has the control. The Executive Engineer has been put aside entirely.

The Code says that the Executive Engineer has power to alter a task with the sanction of the Collector?—Yes. The order also gave power to the Divisional officer.

The omnibus order gives power to the overseer to alter the task with the permission of the Revenue Sub-divisional officer. His power is subject to approval ?—Yes.

It did not deprive you of the power which the Public Works Department had ?—Yes. But you cannot have one man giving an order in one direction and another man upsetting it altogether.

You understand that you are deprived of all power to alter a task which you had ?—Yes, I do.

And that the order put you in a worse position ?—In an absolutely different position. It was interpreted in that way, and I think it is a reasonable interpretation.

You assign as a reason why the people were not generally in distress that they had the means of being paid in grain in the harvest ?—I believe it is.

How do you reconcile that with the fact that at the end of 1896 there was no harvest ?—They had some, and they had stores of previous grain.

Do I understand you to say that a labourer keeps from year to year grain stores ?—These were not mere labourers. Many of them were small pattadars.

I suppose you know that many of the pattadars did not have grain ?—Many of them did not, but some did.

Would you be surprised to hear that there are 50,000 pattadars who pay Rō and less ?—I would not be surprised.

You say that small silver coins were hoarded ?—I don't say that they were hoarded, but it seems probable that they were.

Do you know personally anything to that effect ?—I do not know.

You said that you never heard a satisfactory explanation of the fact ?—Yes.

Do you know it as a fact ?—I have taken Mr. Stuart's words.

Do you know it personally ?—I do not know.

You propose that all the works employing less than 5,000 people should be carried out by the Revenue Department ?—Yes.

You would limit the Public Works Department to 2 or 3 large works in each taluk ?—If possible, to one in each taluk.

For the reason that you are not equal to the management of a certain number of small works ?—It is much easier to manage large works. We would not have the establishment to manage all the works.

You propose to have smaller works near villages ?—Yes.

You propose to have 20 smaller works to one large work ?—I would not have smaller works, unless urgency for them was shown.

Shall we say ten ?—It is left to the Revenue Department to decide the number.

Have you formed no idea of the number of smaller works that would be required ?—I think possibly 10 for one large work.

Some of these small works would have 5,000 people ?—They will be very small works indeed. I would have only small village works. All others will be drafted to large works.

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Minor works would not contain more than 200 people ?—Probably not more than 300 or 400.

If the Public Works Department finds it so difficult to manage more than one or two works in a taluk, how do you suppose that the Revenue Department could look after even 10 ?—They would not want any officers. They would only be small works that would not require any professional skill, and they would be looked after by village officers.

Would they not have to measure up and pay under the Code ?—They would have to learn it up.

Would not they have to keep accounts under the Code ?—Yes.

Would not that require a considerable amount of establishment and supervision ?—Yes. I think it would be difficult.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—I understand that Mr. Higham's proposal would entirely alter the Madras system of gangs ?—It would.

Do you think it an advantage ?—It is a distinct advantage.

The effect of it would be instead of a person being found according to the gang he would be graded according to his working capacity ?—According to my classification if he is an able-bodied man he would be classed in II Class and given 1½ units.

The effect of it would be that a gang would be composed of people of different classes ?—Yes.

In a gang you would have one man on A or B and another man on C or D ?—Yes.

Do you see any difficulty in that ?—They would have different wages as they have now. A gang under the present system has three different wages; men, women and children get different wages.

This would only increase it ?—This would decrease it. You could not have more than three. Practically you would have Class II and Class III wages and the child's wage.

The wage of a digger would be very much more than that of a carrier ?—Yes, very much more.

The wage of carriers would be reduced to D male wage ?—I do not want to adhere to that. It would considerably be lower than the B wage.

(*President.*)—I understand from enquiry that generally in Madras and Mysore the custom of the country is for the women's wage to be from half to two-thirds of a man's wage, and we also heard—it has been said by a good many witnesses—that one reason why men did not come to works was that they said that they would not go on works for the same wage as that of a woman. Can a real objection to Mr. Higham's proposal be based on that ?—I do not think so. I did not hear that objection raised.

You do not think that would prevent men from coming ?—I do not think so.

MR. J. C. LARMINIE, Superintending Engineer, III Circle, Bellary, called in and examined.

Mr. J. C. Larminie.

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I put in a written statement of evidence.

During the period of Famine I was in charge of the 1st Circle, joining this, the 3rd Circle, early in December.

2. I am not consequently in a position to give any reliable statistics as to expenditure or numbers employed on works in the 1st Circle. Mr. DeMorgan who was in charge of a heavy Famine division (Ganjám), and who has succeeded me in charge of the 1st Circle, will no doubt have furnished all necessary information on these heads in Madras.

3. I shall therefore confine myself to a brief general review of such details of administration as came to my notice, taking them in the order set forth in Mr. McIntosh's letter No. 60 of 13th January 1898.

4. First premising, that in the 1st Circle, Famine Works were almost entirely confined to the Ganjám and Vizagapatam Districts.

In the latter there were no relief works carried out during the Famine of 1877*—a fact which only tends to confirm an opinion which I am not alone in holding that, on the late occasion, the amount of distress and necessity for relief works were vastly over-rated. Other circumstances further support this view, as will be noticed further on.

* Although prices then ruled as low or lower than in 1897.

5. Taking up the four heads (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*d*), *seriatim*—

(*a*) Relief works in Ganjám and Vizagapatam were almost entirely under the control of the Revenue Department and were carried out in accordance with the Famine Code; any interference or suggestions by the Superintending Engineer or Executive Engineers giving rise to considerable friction and were resented in the strongest manner.

6. Two instances may be noted.

In Ganjám the principle followed was to open a work near any locality where distress was considered to exist. The

Mr. J. C. Larminie.

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result of this procedure was an incessant demand for Public Works Subordinates. A large number of the regular staff were transferred from other Circles and Divisions until the supply was exhausted, when a number of outsiders were appointed as sub-overseers; but before the latter system was adopted I pointed out to the Collector the impossibility of complying with his demands any longer and suggested the concentration of work in large centres, as it was nothing unusual for labour to travel long distances and reside on a work.

7. The Collector's reply to these suggestions was that he would manage works as he chose, and that it was my duty to supply him with subordinates.

8. The correspondence on the subject I forwarded to the Madras Government.

9. Pretty much the same system was followed in Vizagapatam though on a smaller scale. The great difficulty being to provide works of any real utility.

10. Here also, in reply to urgent demands from the Collector for useful works, I pointed out the difficulties, naming one large work of great utility (connected with Vizagapatam harbour) and suggesting that with a railway right through the district there could be no possible difficulty in concentrating labour.

11. His reply was that he was bound to act according to the Famine Code. Had my suggestions been sent up for approval and acted on, much subsequent trouble and expense in providing subordinates and opening of unnecessary useless works would have been avoided.

12. (*b*) There can be no doubt whatever that the relief operations were eminently successful in furnishing useful, if not profitable, employment to the people at a time when they are usually otherwise idle (except a very few doubtful and isolated cases). There was no loss of life whatever (from starvation).

13. In Ganjâm on most of the works the people were singularly contented and happy, earning a wage as much as they received in the best of times (of course high prices prevailed).

14. Most of the ordinary Public Works works were closed, but in Vizagapatam two notable instances occurred where coolies refused to leave famine work to take up ordinary. To provide labour for one of these, men were refused work on the former with the result that the adjacent relief work was soon over-crowded with women and children, and it was a common thing for the women to absent themselves from this work and send a substitute.

15. My official notes on this state of affairs were strongly objected to by the Revenue Department, but Government held that they were fully justified.

16. I have mentioned the foregoing incidents to illustrate the impossibility and absurdity of attempting to administer expenditure and works on a large scale, under a dual system of control.

17. In regard to economy—for the reasons given—I cannot give figures for the 1st Circle, but I have no doubt that net results are vastly in excess of what the same work would have cost at normal rates.

18. For this Circle statements have been made out, comparing work done with normal cost.

For the Bellary Division the excess varies from 1·72 to 5·25 times the normal cost, the average being 3·18.

In Kurnool the average is 3 to 1 for metalled roads in both districts, while for earth-work it lies between 3·3 and 3·9 to 1.

In the Cuddapah Division I have just seen some simple easy earth-work in the excavation of a channel (Chepaud Project). The famine expenditure was Rs. 57,912, normal value (at rather high rates) Rs. 19,976—nearly 3 to 1.

On another work (Pedapasupula Project), the expenditure was Rs. 47,609, normal value Rs. 8,126—say 5 to 1.

19. Many instances might be given or, if desired, the statements will be laid before the Commission. They illustrate in a striking way that under the system followed economy was not attained.

20. Future mode of working—

(*c*) I do not think it will be possible to improve on Mr. Higham's suggestions* recently made after a very extended tour of famine works (it is greatly to be regretted that he did not inspect those in Ganjâm and Vizagapatam).

* Paras. 34 and 41 of his report.

21. A difficulty, however, arises in regard to responsibility for preservation of life. The Revenue officers naturally claiming supreme control, if they are to be responsible, coupled with this appears to be an idea that considerations of humanity cannot be expected from the Public Works Department!

22. But if it be remembered that the country is covered with works, many of them of vast scope which employed labour on very extended lines and carried out as a rule (bar epidemics) without much loss of life. It must be conceded that, at all events, Engineers are capable of making judicious arrangements, and they certainly ought to be better judges of individual physical capability than Revenue officers, who, as a rule, will have had no experience of the kind.

23. Taking all these facts into consideration I am convinced that once the responsible Revenue officer of a district has declared the necessity for relief works, all other arrangements should be in charge of the Public Works Department: but here an important proviso is essential.

24. It is futile to suppose that suitable works can be started anywhere at a moment's notice. The Public Works Department must do the best they can as to locality, but with the Revenue officers must remain the task of collecting the labour wherever it may be possible to provide work.

25. If work is started in time, there can be no doubt that the piece-work system is the only economic mode it can be carried on.

By starting in time, I mean before the people shall have run down in physique, when it might be difficult to induce them to apply themselves to work with sufficient energy to earn a subsistence.

26. (*d*) Whether the chief responsibility for the works is vested in the Revenue or Public Works Departments, there can, in my opinion, be no question that all disbursements should be made by the latter. The system of entrusting large imprests to Tahsildars and the like, as in the recent famine, seems to have given rise to considerable confusion in the accounts, and, besides, whoever is responsible for the execution and outturn of work should also control expenditure.

27. Another question, and one which, in the nature of things, caused some bitterness of spirit, arose during the recent famine, and this was the power of punishment of Public Works Subordinates pressed for by the Revenue Department on the ground that authority without power to punish was a phantom.

The motive underlying the whole transaction seems insignificant to a degree and quite unworthy of the correspondence and discussion bestowed on it. Government practically admitted the arguments adduced against such a procedure, but still the concession claimed by the Revenue Department was allowed and the wretched Public Works Subordinate (if not an Executive or Assistant Engineer) has now in consequence to serve two masters. I have not heard that the power was ever enforced, but the fact remains. A statement is appended comparing the late famine in this circle with those of 1877-78 and 1892; the figures for the latter two periods have been taken from Benson's Statistical Atlas of the Madras Presidency, a work containing much information on the Presidency generally.

G. O. No. 2009 W. of 24th July 1897.

Statement comparing the numbers employed in the late Famine in the III Circle with those of 1877-78 and 1891-92.

Month.	Bellary.				Anantapur.			
	1877.	1878.	1892.	1897.	1877.	1878.	1892.	1897.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
January	217,986	3,395	5,586	22,860	140,110	611	515	3,306
February	226,106	3,184	6,035	34,515	79,168	...	487	4,294
March	168,261	4,361	7,297	45,554	48,598	...	910	6,503
April	163,697	4,207	9,138	62,128	54,502	...	1,159	14,008
May	181,652	7,369	12,806	94,348	74,544	51	1,211	42,240
June	213,285	11,405	18,010	105,956	70,466	455	1,234	55,901
July	231,196	17,071	10,730	155,270	76,601	1,051	141	63,375
August	324,506	20,529	5,429	149,741	71,947	1,788	...	61,500
September	106,236	16,855	601	48,021	28,957	1,969	...	32,142
October	56,122	...	...	...	17,244	...	...	1,783
November	20,904	...	...	...	10,326	...	...	...
December	6,631	...	...	...	6,396	...	...	...

Month.	Cuddapah.				Kurnool.			
	1877.	1878.	1892.	1897.	1877.	1878.	1892.	1897.
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
January	193,886	4,983	2,997	2,325	289,173	5,251	6,956	3,620
February	134,318	2,379	3,513	2,559	239,208	428	13,020	9,904
March	60,311	165	5,094	9,594	195,415	...	20,263	21,331
April	75,867	120	9,095	26,600	209,146	...	24,421	48,025
May	63,175	144	11,959	46,714	206,356	...	28,647	87,525
June	103,757	...	11,402	70,161	206,557	4,597	25,100	97,334
July	134,575	...	5,680	99,336	208,421	13,216	17,904	152,566
August	144,620	...	2,383	44,730	212,819	14,781	10,141	126,543
September	138,754	...	...	13,014	178,695	15,365	2,339	57,488
October	62,379	...	...	180	111,272	...	...	11,044
November	26,807	...	...	...	54,134	...	...	...
December	11,293	...	...	...	20,055	...	...	...

Replies to and notes on some of the questions framed by the Famine Commission.

Question 11.—I have furnished a printed statement giving numbers employed on relief works month by month during the famine, these by comparison with the population will give the required information. Percentage of relief workers to population in July as under Bellary 17 per cent., Anantapur 9 per cent., Cuddapah 7·8 per cent., Kurnool 18·6 per cent.

Taken taluk by taluk in Bellary, some percentages were vastly higher, as much as 68 per cent. in one case, only five out of eight taluks should really be in question, these percentages are on the whole population of each district.

28. (1)—Relief works have been numerous.

(2)—Residence on them not the rule.

(3)—Residence disliked and constitutes a very fair test of necessity.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Bellary and Anantapur	3	10	4
Cuddapah	4	12	6
Kurnool	4	2	7

30. In G. O. No. 62 of 25th January 1898. The *total* cost for all four districts up to 31st December 1897 is given at Rs. $\frac{77,30,575}{19,34,648}$ = Rs. 3-15-11 per head.

50. Statements showing particulars of all the works carried out in the three divisions and comparing the cost with normal rates have been sent to the Famine Commissioner. I have copies of them with me if the Commission wishes to see them.

53. Most of the roads will be useful, but it is not likely that they will be effectively maintained in the future, owing to the poverty of the Local Fund Boards.

54. It is not easy to suggest new roads that will really be beneficial; railway feeder roads are the most promising.

55. Metal breaking affords one of the readiest means of employing relief labour, but for ordinary roads (up north) stocks are in excess. Some special works to break for the East Coast Railway were opened.

57. Village tanks are also convenient for relief purposes. Whether they are a real benefit to the villages is another question, forming as they do, stagnant ponds. I have known a village lose most of its inhabitants from cholera all through its dirty tank.

59. One village tank in Vizagapatam employed 2,100 coolies (of these only 150 were classed as men). Many of the coolies came from surrounding villages. The only way to carry out scattered works is by piece-work, payment by results.

Where road work has to be carried out, supervision must be provided.

Mr. J. C. Larminie.

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60. It is always possible to excavate a drinking tank where none exist.

61. I know of none, unless an attempt made in Salem years ago; it is a useless work and was never completed.

62. I am convinced that there is but little scope left for the construction of works of the kind, it must be remembered that the old native rulers of the country formed tanks in almost every possible nook and corner, most of them of more or less utility.

In Bellary, however, several failures can be seen, these and keeping in view the character of the rainfall, do not promise well for further attempts of the kind.

63. I consider that there is not much prospect of constructing impounding reservoirs. Of several that have been proposed,* I find only one of any promise, as a famine work (Mahdavapuram), and the financial return would be small. The others would involve masonry dams of a costly kind and the financial results are very doubtful. It has been stated that "tanks, anywhere, must be useful someway or other." No doubt, but there are few cases where a reservoir can be formed without expensive masonry works not at all suited for famine labour. Even, where fine reservoirs exist in Bellary and Anantapur, the people do not always appear to turn them to the best advantage. And unless a large catchment or feeder stream can be impounded, the prospects become still more doubtful.

* For this circle.

64. Various repairs to tanks have been carried out, some of which would only have been undertaken as a means of relief. As a rule, the really useful works will have been kept up to the standard of efficiency, leaving so much work the less for famine requirements.

66. In years of drought, cultivation falls off or fails altogether except under sources having an unfailing supply (*e.g.*, Toongabadra Channels).

67. I obtained sanction for the restoration of a large tank in the Godavery District. It would be beneficial, but the returns therefrom would be doubtful.

A number of works, tanks and anicuts are entered in the Famine Programmes, but for most of them details are wanting. As remunerative works or even as works that would help to extend irrigation, I have but little hope of them. These districts* are essentially dry crop ones, from the point of view of custom, climate, character of the soil and what best suits the scattered population. Water if it can be stored will no doubt be useful and may yield an indirect if not a direct benefit, but I do not believe in any material extension of wet cultivation.

*i.e.—Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah and Kurnool.

69. A programme of fairly large works exists, but much further investigation is required, and my opinion is that the ultimate utility of most of them is doubtful, as they would not be worth the subsequent heavy expenditure required to render them efficient, or even to put them into safe working order for those occasions, when they come into use (*i.e.*, hold water).

70. Programmes are kept up, but few reliable plans or estimates are available. To prepare them a special staff would be required. The ordinary Public Works Department staff can barely cope with current work.

71. I have known professional labour come to works from long distances.

(*a*) Five miles would be enough for the ordinary villager.

(*b*) If a railway was available, any distance within the district.

72. Yes.

73. Yes.

74. The exception.

75. No.

76. Yes. No direct evidence. A high task and low rate of wage are excellent tests.

77. Labour can and does come from long distances to any large work.

78. No, certainly not large enough.

84. Piece-work has not been tried.

85. I think it should be enforced, but it will take some time and trouble to get it going.

88. Labour of this class might be employed on light village work under the Revenue Department.

89. The amount to be earned on piece-work should be limited, otherwise it might happen, as in the Northern Circars where professional earth-work labour abounds, that able-bodied labourers would compete.

90 & 91. As the piece-work system would be new to most of the class resorting to relief work, the size of the gang would be regulated by local circumstances. Gangs should be formed by villagers and families and much would depend on the managing capabilities of the heads. And it is here that difficulties will arise, *i.e.*, to find headmen for each gang capable of fairly distributing the earnings of each. So at first start, at all events, of piece-work, probably 50 would be a convenient size. Proportion of carriers to diggers will vary with every varying condition of work. All my experience of earth-work has been confined to the professional class called Bantadars or tank-diggers, and this question they regulate to a nicety amongst themselves to suit local conditions.

92. At first start of piece-work, and until the gangs become more independent and can be expanded in size, I doubt if there can be much reduction of establishment, unless under the head of Gang Maistries. A Public Works Department subordinate would still be required for every 3,000 to 4,000 labourers. Payments would, of course, be fewer and more easy of disbursement. And as work extended the same staff could control it better than under the task system.

93. There would be a difficulty as only the other day exemplified in Nellore, but herein would be constituted an excellent test. When distress becomes really genuine, I do not expect the aid of the Police need be invoked to compel them to come in.

103 & 104. I would start piece-work and let them work when and how they pleased, subject, of course, to Public Works Department conditions as to execution.

105 & 106. I have no data to offer in support, but Mr. Higham's conclusions are very clearly worked out, and as far as theory goes, may well be accepted; but I must confess that I would have more faith in half an hour's observation of a gang at work on any particular job and so regulate the proportions than in any formula.

107. After a little experience any intelligent subordinate should be capable of so regulating the proportions of diggers and carriers, but it requires a subordinate with a good idea as to how coolies should work.

112. In Ganjam and Vizagapatam the proportion of men (including boys so classed) was from 1 : 6 and 1 : 7.

118. For general control of relief camps as to order, sanitation, etc., the most suitable officers are those of the Revenue Department, not lower than the grade of Deputy Tahsildar. The Public Works Department officer if of sufficient standing might well be invested with Magisterial powers, when the Revenue officers would be unnecessary, and for subordinate control Salt officer may well be employed.

119. Yes, most decidedly.

120. Conservancy, kitchens and bazar arrangements would best be managed by the Revenue Department. But they could, of course, be undertaken by the Public Works Department if some officers of this Department were invested with Magisterial powers.

121. See foregoing; no very great powers required, probably a mild use of a rattan, or to put in the stocks, would suffice for most cases, with simple imprisonment or to commit for trial for more serious offences.

124. Payments may well be made at weekly intervals for both task and piece-work.

131. Statements have been prepared and sent to Famine Commissioner comparing cost of work with normal rates. Cost of work is from Public Works Accounts of expenditure. See my general note, para. 18, for further particulars.

146. It was not possible to provide anything like a sufficiency of ordinary Public Works to obviate the necessity for relief, as determined by the Revenue authorities. In this connection I would refer to the accompanying letter from the Executive Engineer who had charge of the relief works in Vizagapatam. The letter deserves consideration and throws much light on the relief works in that district.

Copy herewith.

272. As far as this Presidency is concerned, I have no hesitation in characterizing such a theory (connection of malaria with irrigation) as an absurdity. In the course of

twenty-nine years' service, I have served in many of the chief irrigation districts and know them to be on the whole the healthiest. Fevers of course prevail at times, but they generally prevail during the cold season and are due to chills and insufficient clothing.

113A. The special employment of labour by the Public Works Department would no doubt be beneficial, and could it be continuous and on a sufficient scale would avert famine in any particular locality.

113B. This course would also be beneficial.

113C. Were works available the expenditure might come under ordinary.

113D. Mr. Higham's suggestions cover every thing required.

282. Compared with local failures of crop the rise in grain prices cannot be considered reasonable, but prices are regulated by a wide-spread system tending towards equalization of prices due to the present-day facilities of communication.

283A. A comparison of prices which prevailed in the highly cultivated and watered Godavery District with those in the adjacent Vizagapatam and Ganjam districts, will show only slight differences in favour of the former, due to the levelling up influence of railway communication; there seemed no lack of supply to the latter districts, but the market rates were pretty uniform.

304. If Government had imported grain and paid relief wages in grain so imported, some reduction in cost of works might have been effected, but the effect on market prices would not probably have been great.

No. 2916, dated 2nd October 1897.

From—P. ROSCOE ALLEN, Esq., Executive Engineer, Vizagapatam Division,

To—The Superintending Engineer, 1st Circle.

I have the honour to inform you that all famine relief works have now closed in this district, and it seems to me to be a suitable time in which to enter into some enquiry into the causes which led to the relief works being started. Although I have been instrumental in disbursing some R3,00,000 to relief workers since the month of April, I have been forced to the conclusion, paradoxical as it may seem, that there has been no famine in this district properly so called.

The only relief works which had any sort of durable existence were at—

Gazvaka.	Rega.
Pendurti.	Dakamarri.
Padmanabham.	Chipurupalli.

If you study the district map you will find that these places are all situated either actually within the limits or on the borders of the Vizianagaram estates. Two other works which existed but for a short time were, one in the Bobbili Rajah's estate and one in the Kurupam Rajah's estate. These two latter were, however, not opened until very, late and were closed very soon after being opened.

I have already reported the ephemeral existence of such works as were opened in the Head Assistant Collector's charge.

I have been informed that the productive capacity of the Vizianagaram estates has been deteriorating for some time, and has caused extensive emigration from the estates amongst that part of the population best able to support the remainder.

I do not put forward this information as the result of any extensive enquiry, but more as a subject for enquiry. I consider that the fact, as noted above, of all our famine works being situated in these estates is, however, a proof of the correctness of my information, and more so because there is nothing peculiarly unfavourable in the situation of these estates which would render them specially liable to famine. Again, if reference is made to the permanent register, it will be noted that the proportion of men to women and children on the famine relief works was about 1 to 7, and this proportion included old men who, in the ordinary course, are entirely dependent on their relatives. There are no figures to show how many old and decrepit men there were on each work, but there were enough to warrant my saying that even their number omitted from the above calculation, the disproportion would have been greatly increased. Distress which arises from different causes cannot be expected to wear different appearances, and the distress which arises from mis-government cannot be expected to be distinguishable from distress which elsewhere arises from the failure of seasonable rains.

This district has, I believe, been markedly exempt in the past from visitations of famine, and this, I consider, it owes to its situation. A great deal of cultivation is supplied with water from rivers which rise in the agency tracts, and in these hills the south-west monsoon seems fairly heavy, and the rains fall with great regularity. At Jeypore the average rainfall of the season 71·75 inches. At Talur, at the foot of the Ghats, the average is 43·44, and this is about the average in Waltair on the coast. This rainfall is subject to variation, as for instance in 1894, the average of the above places was 94·18, 55·21, and 53·21, respectively, whereas in 1897 the average was 76·59, 28·25, and 19·86, respectively.

As you will see the greatest proportional variations occur in the plains and do not so much affect the agency tracts. In a smaller degree, therefore, the district enjoys those advantages enjoyed by the Deltas of the Godavery and Kristna, in which the rivers are supplied by the unfailing rains of the south-west monsoon, supplemented, except in occasional years, by the rain of the north-east monsoon.

In the two districts above mentioned the advantages are so extraordinary as to obviate even the least failure of the crops in the Delta in years of scarcity, and as above stated, similar advantages are enjoyed in this district in a lesser degree.

These facts I consider should not be lost sight of, as I see no reason at all to consider that this district should not retain in the future the comparative immunity from famine which it has enjoyed in the past.

No. 718 V. Z., dated 13th October 1897.

Copy submitted to the Chief Engineer for information. That distress existed there can be no doubt, but that the principles on which its relief was carried out were very much open to question is also an undoubted fact, in brief proof of which may be noted the fact of the impossibility of inducing coolies to leave relief works to work on ordinary Public Works Department works.

(*President.*)—Mr. Larminie, how many Superintending Engineers' circles are there in ordinary public works and irrigation?—Six. But there is no distinction between irrigation and provincial.

The same officer does both works?—Yes.

This is the III Circle?—Yes.

You only came to it in December 1897?—Yes.

Were you transferred with reference to this famine?—No. I asked for this circle as it was more convenient for me, and it was given to me.

Before that you were in charge of the I Circle?—Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Godavery.

Did you see any famine work in this Circle?—I did not see very much. I only saw two works in Vizagapatam.

What was your principal duty there, irrigation?—A great deal of irrigation both in Godavery and in Ganjam.

What were the works you opened?—One was a village tank. I ought to mention here that I have attempted to write replies to a number of questions which I did not understand to be necessary at first. I have alluded there to these works and also alluded to them in the note I sent in, in paragraphs 14 and 15.

You might tell us what those works were?—One of them was a village tank. There were about 2,100 coolies employed, of which only 150 were men—at any rate classed as men.

In what place was that?—Vizagapatam. There were adjacent public works going on; and as long as famine work was going on, we could not make them leave the famine work and come on the other work.

What are those adjacent public works?—Raising the channel banks.

What wages were you paying?—The contractor paid them. It was about 9 pies per cubic yard for that particular work.

The rates were not raised?—No.

Mr. J. C. Larminie.

21st Feb. 1898.

We have heard a witness stating—what is a fact here, may be a fact there—that private individuals could get labour done cheaper owing to the number of applicants?—I have not heard any instances of that kind as regards coolies employed by merchants. As regards shipping operations at Vizagapatam, I do not think there was any reduction in rates. They had to pay the ordinary rates.

With a rise of 100 per cent. in the price of food grains a man can hardly feed himself and his family on the ordinary rates?—There was another work going on in connection with water-works, and there was also a famine work ten miles away. The coolies could not be induced to leave the latter and come to the former.

Do you think that with your rates they can be reasonably expected to feed themselves and their families?—That merely shows that the other paid them better.

If the whole family went?—Yes.

You say that famine works were crowded by women and children?—Yes, those particular works were.

I suppose men were working somewhere else?—Yes. It was rather a rich piece of country where this paticular work was on. There is a lot of sugarcane plantation. The usual proportion is about 1 to 6—1 man to 6 women. I have stated so in reply to one of the questions.

I suppose what happened was that the man got employment at the ordinary rate, and with that, owing to the greatly enhanced price of food, he was able to sustain himself; and as to the women and children, they got their sustenance at the famine works?—Children of workers were fed at the kitchens. But as regards men, I would not be quite certain that they all got employment. They perhaps had their own occupation in getting the ground ready by ploughing it, as at the time I speak of ploughing had commenced all over the country.

You say that your remarks in the inspection notes were strongly objected to. What were your remarks?—I have got the notes with me.

What was the purport of your note?—The purport generally was that this particular famine work was quite superfluous.

How did you establish that it was superfluous? [In reply to this question the witness read his remarks contained in his note.]

I do not see how you prove it to be quite superfluous?—Because they came and went away just as it suited them. The fact was that the adjacent public works could not get men; and we had to refuse men on the famine works to induce them to go to the public works. That is the reason why the proportion of women and children was so great.

You say that men were refused admittance to relief works in order to make them go to the ordinary public works, and when that happened their women and children flocked to the relief work?—I do not think they flocked more than they formerly did. It lessened the proportion of men to women and children.

Is it not very reasonable that when you give a man an ordinary wage through contractors on ordinary public works—a wage which in ordinary years, in ordinary times and with ordinary prices would support the whole family, but which in times of scarcity would not support the whole family,—he would prefer to get work wherever he could, and send his women and children to relief works?—Yes, very reasonable. On another part of the work the contractor could not get men on these rates.

If the contractor got at all he would have got men' women and children—that is what they ordinarily got?—Yes.

It is probable that men got agricultural works?—No doubt.

And they could get through relief works food for their families?—Yes.

In that way they would get their subsistence?—Yes.

They would not have made a subsistence or even a living wage if they were getting only the ordinary rates?—That depends upon how they work.

Does it not follow with your rates remaining the same that a man who could only get a moderate subsistence or a living wage for himself when the prices were cheap would not be able to do so?—That is reasonable. Other works were attractive.

They could make more than what you gave them?—Yes. I admit that the 9 pies rate is particularly low. We paid one anna three pies to the contractor.

There is nothing extraordinary in what happened. That is what one could would expect?—Yes. The same thing happened elsewhere.

Had you anything to do in making out tables for relief works?—No special tables were prepared.

(*Mr. Higham.*)—When were relief works started in the Circars?—About March.

In Ganjam or Vizagapatam?—In both.

Are they both in your circle?—Yes.

Two divisions?—Yes; Ganjam is one and Vizagapatam another.

Were these works put under the Public Works officers from the very first?—They were first put under the Local Fund Engineer. Then they were afterwards taken over by the Public Works Department as soon as we got subordinates ready for them.

When was it?—About March and April.

Very few numbers in March?—Yes.

When were the numbers considerable?—In June and July. In Ganjam the numbers were highest in August.

You left the circle in December?—Yes.

You were there during 5 or 6 months?—Yes.

Did you exercise any control at all in the management of works?—No.

Did you inspect any?—I inspected only two.

You had nothing to do with tasking or fining?—Nothing.

Or with the arrangement of works generally?—Nothing.

What was your duty in connection with them?—My particular duty was to find the subordinates, and was connected with administrative details.

Then you saw very little of the actual work itself?—Yes.

Are there any orders by the Madras Government in the Public Works Department relating to the management of relief works when they are made over to your Department?—There is the Famine Code.

Has there been nothing outside the Famine Code, nothing of departmental orders—has there been no order defining your position with reference to works?—Later on several G.Os. came round.

I am speaking of the departmental orders?—No.

There have been no orders formulated in the Public Works Department and circulated by Government for the guidance of Superintending Engineers and others entrusted with the management of relief works?—No.

Have you ever been employed on any of the previous famines?—No, never.

Have you had any experience in piece-work?—As applied to famine, I have no experience of piece-work.

What do you mean by piece-work, ordinary contract work?—Such as unloading stone from a boat. We can call any ordinary earth-work piece-work.

Pay so much to the head of the party as the head contractor?—Yes.

You know nothing about piece-work in which work is divided among village families?—I have done work myself on a small scale.

Not relief work?—No.

Why do you think that is the only economical mode of work?—Because it does not require so much supervision. A coolie or a family does so much work, and gets so much pay; and it does not matter whether they are idle or do work.

Suppose they cannot make enough on piece-work for their subsistence, what would you do with those who are weakly or feeble?—I should have to put them on lighter work, if they are weakly.

You have to support them?—We have to give them some lighter kind of work. I have said so in my note.

Would you give them a higher rate?—Either that or transfer them to an inferior class of work.

As a matter of fact you have never had anything to do with the relief labourers?—Never.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—What is the date of the correspondence in which you objected to a certain work as famine work?—That is the month of May.

That referred to Vizagapatam?—Yes.

Did you see any works in the Ganjam district?—No. That is why I regret that Mr. DeMorgan has not come.

You do not know anything about them?—I saw nothing of them. Though I did not see them, I have heard a good deal about them (all the reports came to me).

Were there any difficulties in getting labourers for the public works?—There were no public works. Most of the ordinary works were suspended, with one large exception, that is the Surada reservoir. That was far away from famine works.

Then there was nothing going on in Ganjam?—Nothing worth speaking of.

In Vizagapatam were there many public works going on?—With my statement I have appended a note from the Executive Engineer of Vizagapatam in which he gives particulars of the famine works. They are not more than 6, 7 or 8 works altogether.

Famine works?—Yes.

What would a coolie earn at the rate which the contractor gave?—He might earn 2½ annas a day, and this would have to be divided among his carriers, but in order to earn that he will have to work very hard.

If a man was employed on this work with the whole of his family working hard how much would he earn?—If he had two women and 2 or 3 children he might earn 3 annas a day by working very hard, at the rate of 9 pies per cubic yard.

In ordinary years does the work attract men?—We had no difficulty in getting work done at the one anna three pies rate.

Can you get it done in Godavery?—Yes. Rates vary with the differences of lead and lift.

What is the difference between the rates in Godavery and the rates in Vizagapatam?—The rates in Vizagapatam are cheaper.

In Godavery prices are much the same as in Vizagapatam?—Yes, the same,—perhaps a shade less. *Mr. J. C. Larminie.* *21st Feb. 1898.*

No relief works in Godavery?—Not till last July or August, when they started some trifling works up in Rajamandry.

Although you had little or nothing to do with famine relief work, yet you had plenty of work to do?—Plenty of other work in Godavery.

You were in charge of all canal works?—Yes.

(*Mr. LeFanu.*)—You have stated that there are some water-works near Vizagapatam which would have been suitable for famine labour?—I said that the work in connection with the Vizagapatam harbour would be more suitable.

Is that the work with reference to the harbour?—Yes, that is for deepening it, but that has never been sanctioned.

No money allotted to it?—No.

Is it within the region of practical politics that it ever will be allotted?—I doubt very much whether the Government will allot the money. Funds might have been found by the Maharajah of Vizianagaram if he had been alive.

Are you quite sure of the water-works?—Yes. They were for supplying Vizagapatam with water.

They would supply Vizagapatam and not Waltair. Has that work been sanctioned?—No (*i.e.*, supply to Waltair).

You have drawn a comparison between the condition of Vizagapatam and Ganjam in 1877 and that in 1897, and you based that on the assertion that the prices were as high in 1877 or higher in 1877 than those in 1897. Do you know whether there was any failure of crops in Vizagapatam or Ganjam in 1877?—I cannot say. I presume there was.

Have you verified your assertion that the prices were as high as or higher in 1877 than those in 1897?—I gathered that they were from a reference to Benson's Statistical Atlas and fromwhat I saw in the fort-nightly narratives.

Will you look at this official table appended to the famine report which gives the district averages for the two periods?—I had not seen it before, but certainly according to this table the difference is great. According to that table prices in 1877 were not as high as those in 1897.

MR. T. RAMA RAO, Head-Quarter Deputy Collector, Bellary, called in and examined.

I put in a written statement of evidence.

I have been in charge of the Bellary division, consisting of the Bellary and Rayadrug taluks, for the last two years, and was on famine duty from the commencement up to the close of the recent distress in this division, except for three weeks, when I was on special duty, acting as Personal Assistant to Dr. King, Sanitary Commissioner, Madras, during his tour in the Bombay Presidency, while he was engaged in studying the various methods of famine procedure there for ten days, and afterwards in Madras.

In the famine of 1891-92 I had charge of the relief operations in the Badvél and Siddhavattam taluks in the Cuddapah district as Divisional Deputy Collector. And, during the great famine of 1877-78, I was the Collector's Head Clerk in the Kurnool district, and was, as such, in charge of the Famine Correspondence Branch of the Collector's office.

2. Bellary is one of the three taluks which suffered most in this district during the late period of distress. It is mostly a dry taluk, composed chiefly of what is known as black-cotton soil, and dependent for its cultivation on falling rains. About 70 per cent. of its population consists of persons dependent directly upon agriculture for their means of subsistence. It is subject to the influence of the south-west monsoon more than to that of the north-east monsoon. The former was almost a failure in 1896; the most wet months in the year, *viz.*, August, September and October, having had little or no rain. This drought proved disastrous to the early or mungari crops, and retarded all agricultural operations for the late crop. And as in this tract of country the failure of even a single harvest is calculated to deprive a number of petty landholders and labourers of their ordinary means of livelihood, the drought became a source of great anxiety. What, however, rendered the situation more critical was the sudden and rapid and heavy rise in the prices of food-grains, owing chiefly to the enormous exportations to the northern parts of India. But for this abormal high prices it would not, perhaps, have been necessary to start Government relief as early as it was actually commenced. Large numbers of people were seen migrating to Mysore, Dharwar, and other distant places in the end of October and beginning of November, some with their families taking their cattle along with them, others leaving behind them the young, old and infirm, and females. There was a great cry for work, and private employment was not available to the extent required. Steps were therefore taken to expand the ordinary road works on reduced wages under paragraphs 16 and 37 of the Famine Code in October 1896. *Mr. T. Rama Rao.* *21st Feb. 1898.*

The Board, however, wanted these to be converted into test works, and managed in strict accordance with the Famine Code rules on famine wages. The first test work was accordingly opened on the 11th November in the most affected tract. It was followed by another in another tract. These works attracted at once such large numbers of people that it became evident that they were not opened too soon.

3. Along with the failure of crops was the failure of grass and water, and the petty small landholders, who form the majority of the agricultural class, found themselves unable to maintain their live-stock, which was more valuable to them than any other property, inasmuch as on it depended their future livelihood. Large numbers were brought to sale in the Bellary market, but for want of purchasers they were sold at almost nominal prices. In the third week of November there was a pretty good rainfall all over the taluk, and though it was rather late in the year and did not sufficiently moisten the ground, the ryots went on sowing their lands to a very large extent. They then had to purchase cattle at enormously high prices. They also spent much for seed grain. They did all this in hopes of getting more rain and reaping a good harvest; but all their expectations failed and their condition became worse than what it would have been had they not got rain at all. Some of the emigrants who returned from Mysore and other parts and some who left the works after the rainfall, again resorted to the relief works.

4. If the relief works had not been started in November 1896, the condition of a large number of people would have, in my opinion, failed, and they could not have returned

Mr. T. Rama Rao.

21st Feb. 1898.

home in the best condition they did after the close of the works. It might be said that among those that resorted to the works, there were some who could afford to stay away for some time longer; but this would be true in the case of only a small minority living in close proximity of the work-spot or having some slender means on which they could depend for a few weeks or so. In my opinion, about 10 per cent. of the population in the rural tract would have stocks of grain for 1½ to 2 years in normal years, *i. e.*, when good harvests were had; about 10 per cent. for about a year, and about 50 per cent. from three to six months. The rest 30 per cent. mostly belong to the labouring classes, the majority living from hand to mouth. They are the first to feel the pinch if the early rains of June and July fail. They then begin to draw upon what they may have laid by out of their back earnings, but their resources would become exhausted in about two or three months, so that by October they would have nothing to fall back upon. In the early part of the past period of distress, some 5 per cent. of the population might be said to have left this taluk for Mysore and other places, and 5 per cent. to have found private employment nearer their homes. The numbers on the relief works in the beginning very nearly represented the remaining section of the labouring class. If the works had been delayed for any length of time, a number of these relief workers would have suffered not only in physical condition, but also otherwise materially. Some of them were small poor peasants owning a limited number of cattle. They left one or two members of their family at home to look after their animals by feeding them on prickly-pear or hill grass, etc., and thus managed to preserve one or two tilling cattle in each house. They would have sold all these if they had not been taken in hand by Government at an early stage. Yet they could not have maintained themselves for even a couple of months or so on the sale-proceeds; for the cattle had little or no saleable value, and would have, as in the case of the large numbers sold in October and November 1896, fetched but nominal prices. The timely measures adopted by Government for the amelioration of the condition of these poor ryots, and the liberal grants made to them from the Indian Famine Charitable Fund enabled them to push on with their agricultural operations without much difficulty after the distress was over. Otherwise, they might have found it necessary to give up their land or allow it to lie waste to the detriment of the State revenues. Another advantage which resulted from the timely opening of relief works was the prevention of crime in respect of property. A short time before the starting of these works the people entertained apprehensions of plunder, not only in villages, but also in the town of Bellary. Their disquietude increased as they received reports of grain looting in some of the big towns in other parts of the country. Grain thefts and highway robberies and dacoities, which were common in the great famine of 1876—78, were almost unknown in the recent distress in the Bellary taluk.

5. The area of the Bellary taluk is 960 square miles, and its population 180,000. The extent of the affected tract was 940 square miles, and its population 170,000. The number of relief works was two in the beginning. It was increased to six later on, as the distress deepened, and it became necessary to afford relief at different centres. Among the relief workers, the number of females predominated over that of the males throughout, though the latter attended the works in larger numbers at a later stage during the worst period of distress. This preponderance of females was mainly due to the proximity of the works to the villages, to the employment of able-bodied males on private works, where they could get better wages than the famine wage, and to the absence of a large number of males in other parts of the country, more especially in the beginning of the famine. The females would have suffered a good deal if the relief works had not been started nearer their homes. They are so averse to leaving their villages that they would undergo any amount of privation rather than travel a few miles to earn their livelihood. Some of them are burdened with a number of children, and they say they cannot travel long distances with their burden or live far away from their homes. The wages earned by their male members would hardly be sufficient for the maintenance of the whole families owing to the prevalence of very high prices, though the amount might be higher than the famine wage. If these females had not resorted to the works in the early stage of distress, their condition would have become so bad that at the worst period a large number of them would have to be simply admitted to gratuitous relief, even if they, when driven to the extreme necessity to go to a distant place for their subsistence, expressed their willingness to do so. Withholding work in the neighbourhood of the villages would have resulted in increased expenditure under gratuitous relief.

6. Kitchens were opened on each of the relief works almost simultaneously, for the non-working children and other dependants of relief workers. Destitute persons of villages in the vicinity of the works were also admitted into them. Cooked food was supplied to the inmates twice a day without the condition of residence. These kitchens were no doubt necessary, as the wages earned by the labourers were intended to be just sufficient for their own maintenance, and they would be shared by their dependants if the latter were not provided for otherwise. But the concession was not availed of to the fullest extent, the lower orders only accepting this form of relief. They were chiefly the Panchamas (Madigas and Malas) and Boyas. There were also a few Mussalmans, barbers and shepherds. The caste Hindus, *viz.*, Brahmins, Lingayets and Kapus, would not send in their children to the kitchen. They thought that a great social stigma attached to those that ate at the kitchens. No amount of persuasion could overcome their prejudices. And, as they continued to share their wages with their dependants, it became necessary to afford relief to the latter in some other form. Grain doles were soon afterwards introduced both with this object and in order to relieve other deserving destitute persons in the villages. The taluk was for this purpose divided into convenient circles and Inspectors appointed for each. Lists of recipients were carefully drawn up by the higher officials, such as the Tahsildars and Deputy Tahsildars, after personal inspection and enquiry, and were revised from time to time. They were also closely scrutinized by the Divisional officer. The distribution of grain doles was made in each village generally twice a week in the presence of the village officers and at least two respectable private persons, the Circle Inspectors constantly supervising the distribution and checking the accounts. The Tahsildar and Divisional officer, who were constantly on the move, also exercised close supervision in this matter, the result being that the relief reached the hands of those for whom it was intended, and there was no speculation on the part of village officers or others.

Central kitchens were opened in eleven different villages which were of sufficient importance and which sent a large number of people to the relief works. These served the purpose for which they were opened, but only so far as the lower orders were concerned, the feeling of the caste Hindus towards taking cooked food being one of extreme repulsion as stated already in connection with the kitchens attached to the works.

At the early stage of the distress, the Bellary public opened a kitchen in the town and maintained it for a little over four months. They then having expressed their inability to keep it up any longer, the Government took it over. A Komati lady fed a large number of paupers, especially children, once a day for more than five months from the commencement of distress. Her charity as well as that dispensed at the private kitchen above referred to helped Government to some extent.

7. The most economical and one of the most useful measures of relief adopted was the grant of advances under the Land Improvement Act. A sum of R1,00,658 was spent under this head in the Bellary taluk, a special agency consisting of a Tahsildar and two Revenue Inspectors being appointed for the work. They conducted the necessary preliminary enquiry, and after getting the required security bonds executed, advanced the loans, payments being made by the Tahsildar himself. While the Government gets back what it has spent in this direction, it has conferred a boon upon the ryot. It may be said that the debt is a charge upon his property; but it is a gain rather than loss, inasmuch as it has enabled him to effect improvements upon his land which in consequence would become more remunerative. A number of able-bodied male labourers were employed by the recipients of these advances in the removal of what is called "nuth" grass (a kind of noxious grass peculiar to black-cotton soils, taking deep root and rendering the land on which it grows either totally unfit for cultivation or very unfertile). The bulk of the loans granted in this taluk was taken for this purpose. The land when cleared of nuth grass becomes very productive and repays all the money and labour spent upon it. The employment of males on this kind of work accounts to some extent for the paucity of labourers of this sex on the relief works—*vide* paragraph 5 above. In the case of recipients who had a number of their own men to do the work or who were in straitened circumstances, the work was done by themselves or their relations or friends and no paid labourers were engaged. Anyhow this measure of relief afforded employment to a pretty large

section of the labouring class at a time when it was most needed.

After the rains fell in September last, advances for the relief of distress were given to small landholders (generally to such as were on relief works) in order to enable them to maintain themselves and attend to their agricultural pursuits till the crop came under the sickle. The loans granted under this head consisted of small sums ranging from R15 to R20, and were intended to be repaid within two or three years. The procedure to be followed in granting these loans being simple and summary, the applicants received the amounts expeditiously and were much benefited thereby. The total amount advanced came to R18,706.

A sum of R63,727 was also advanced under the Agriculturists' Loans Act for purchase of fodder.

8. Another measure of relief concerted during the past period of distress was the grant of remissions of land revenue. Owing to the failure of rains, a pretty large extent of dry land was left waste and the crops sown on a very large area suffered very seriously. The fields were carefully inspected by the different officers concerned, and on the recommendation of the Collector the assessments in all deserving cases remitted under the orders of the Board of Revenue and Government. The amount thus remitted came to R2,36,238 (R89,237 on account of waste, and R1,47,001 for shavi or withered crop). The State revenue has thus suffered to the above extent; but I do not think that it is a loss on an economical point of view. The ryots concerned are for the most part petty landholders owning only a pair of tilling cattle and a house (or more properly a hut) besides their land. Under the rules in force, the single pair of cattle cannot be sold for arrears of revenue. Even if some possess any other moveable property, it could not, in the majority of cases, fetch much. If the land were proceeded against, it would in many cases have to be bought in by Government itself, and a large extent would thus be thrown out of occupation. And it would take several years for its re-occupation, as was the case in the great famine of 1876—78. Another concession shown to the landholders was the suspension of the collection of revenue in the case of lands on which a portion (certain percentage) of assessment was remitted for partial loss of crop, *i.e.*, where the yield was between 2 and 6 annas, and also in the case of whole inam villages where the lands suffered as much as those in the neighbouring Government villages, and the inamdars could not realize their dues from their tenants, and it would be very hard on them to pay their revenue to Government during the famine. The suspended amount was realized after the distress was over.

9. The timely starting of relief works wherever they were found necessary, the admission of all deserving people to gratuitous relief, the grant of State loans and the remission of revenue have had no insignificant effect on the economic condition of the ryots. To crown the whole came the liberal grants from the Indian Famine Relief Charitable Fund. In the Bellary taluk a sum of R11,029 was granted for purchase of fodder, R11,999 for seed-grain and R74,551 for tilling cattle. The poor ryots who had lost all their cattle either by sale at a time when they could not maintain them, or by death, had grants to replenish their live-stock. The grants for purchase of fodder saved a number of cattle from death. The advances for purchase of seed-grain were made just at the commencement of the sowing operations. The distribution having been chiefly made by superior officers, the charity reached the grantees. Owing to the numerous advantages derived by the ryots, they were not obliged to part with their landed or other property. It might be that the land had no saleable value owing to the prevalence of distress. At any rate there have been no sales of either moveable or immoveable property in excess of those in ordinary years. I have not also had any instances in which the ryots became involved in debts to a larger extent than in normal years.

10. The departures from the prescriptions of the Madras Famine Code during the recent famine have reference to the following points so far as I have noticed them :—

(*a*) In section 121 of the Famine Code, it is said that the price of grain to be taken for the calculation of wages is the retail price of the grain ruling at the cusba of the taluk, or if the work is distant from the cusba, at the nearest market. It was ordered in G. O., No. 216, dated 30th March 1897, that the prices ruling at the villages near the relief work should be adopted and not the prices ruling at the cusba. The change ordered in the Government Order seems a desirable one. During the prevalence of famine, the prices in the villages are generally higher than those ruling in the cusba, and as the relief workers make their purchases in their own villages or in villages near the work, they would be at a disadvantage if their wages were calculated on the prices ruling at the head-quarters of the taluk.

(*b*) In the same Government Order the C class of relief worker was abolished except for the very weak, who do only nominal work and will not resort to kitchens. The D class relief worker also was abolished. But the order was subsequently cancelled.

(*c*) In G. O., No. 216, dated 30th March 1897, it was directed that "boys between 12 and 16 should be considered as equal to only 2 or 3 units for work, but as full grown so far as regards wages." These boys cannot turn out as much work as adults. They may be treated like women and paid women's wages, each being taken at 2 units.

(*d*) In the same Government Order it was stated that half a day's wage might be given for half a day's work; that late attendance not excusable by the distance of the workers' villages might be punished by fine not exceeding quarter day's pay, and that a walk of 2½ miles to the work should be regarded as the equivalent of an hour's work, *i.e.*, 24 minutes should be allowed for every mile walked to and from the works, if no shelter was provided on the works. All these modifications were, however, subsequently cancelled.

In regard to the last modification the following changes have been ordered :—

(i) "No allowance should be made in the case of persons whose homes are not more than 1½ miles from the work."

(ii) For distances exceeding 1½ miles the deduction will be—

(1) in the case of men at the rate of 3 miles per hour for the distance in excess of 1½ miles;

(2) in the case of women and children at the rate of 2½ miles per hour for the distance in excess of 1½ miles.

I think that some allowance should be made for the distance to be travelled by the relief workers from their homes to the works, and that the latest instructions issued on the subject very well answer the purpose.

(*f*) A women in an advanced stage of pregnancy or a nursing mother was ordered to be taken as being equivalent to 1½ units. This is also a desirable change, inasmuch as such women cannot turn out the same amount of work as ordinary women and if they are taken as 2 units for purposes of calculation of the task set to the gang, the whole gang suffers.

(*g*) The District Medical and Sanitary officer was not given such assistance as is contemplated in section 28 of the Famine Code. He was not able to devote sufficient time to the supervision of the sanitary and medical arrangements connected with famine relief. Not even a medical subordinate was attached to each work. The works and the kitchens attached to them were not inspected for weeks together sometimes, and much inconvenience was felt in consequence. One or two were appointed to look after the works and kitchens when cholera broke out. The permanent District Medical and Sanitary officer left the district on leave some time before the famine operations came to a close, and his successor, who had military duties in addition to his own, could not go out of the Bellary town. It would be a good thing if a special medical officer were appointed for famine duty as in the Sholapur District in the Bombay Presidency.

(*h*) Section 52 of the Famine Code requires the Revenue Divisional officer to take all steps necessary to procure the requisite tools. This provision was not observed in the past distress. It may be omitted. The Public Works Department or the Local Fund Engineer would be in a better position to attend to this work.

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(*i*) No Civil officer was appointed for any work as required in section 55. No such officer, I think, is necessary. So long as the Revenue Department has powers of inspection and control over the works, the Tahsildars, Deputy Tahsildars and Divisional officers will be constantly visiting the work at least once a week, and they can attend to most of the duties of the special Civil officer. No inconvenience whatever was felt during the recent distress for want of such an officer.

(*j*) In section 87 rest-houses are required to be provided for the emigrants *en route*. This was not done and was not found necessary, though emigration was large. It was not known beforehand what routes they would adopt and where they had intended to go.

(*k*) Under section 113 the Engineer officer is to make arrangements for preparing accommodation for children's kitchens. This work was, however, attended to by the Revenue Department in the late famine, and the arrangements were satisfactorily carried out.

(*l*) The ration prescribed in section 122 of the Famine Code was cancelled and the following ration substituted for it:—

	Tolas.
Unhusked grain . . .	43
or	
Flour	40
Pulse	5
Salt	1½
Tamarind	1½
Chillis	1½

The new scale was introduced during my absence on special duty, and a few weeks after my return the works and the kitchens attached to them were closed. I have had not sufficient time to test properly the effect of the change. Some of the kitchen inmates, more especially adults, said that the new ration was insufficient.

(*m*) Government directed the introduction of the following additional rules for the management of relief works:—

"(1) Every executive officer of the Public Works Department in actual charge of relief works or employed in immediate supervision of their execution shall be subordinate, as to all matters not strictly professional, to the Collector."

"(2) Officers of the Public Works Department below the rank of Assistant Engineer, employed in the same manner, shall be subordinate to the Revenue Divisional officer."

"(3) The Collector of the district shall have the same power of punishing the Public Works staff in charge of, or employed on, relief works that a Superintending Engineer has."

If the Revenue Department is to have anything to do with the management of works, the above rules are, in my opinion, necessary.

11. *Other recommendations or opinions thought likely to be useful in future famines.*

The tract which is most subject to drought in the Bellary district is that which is composed of black soil. Almost the whole of the Bellary taluk is included in this tract. Here the amount of inconvenience felt on account of water difficulty, even in ordinary years, is inconceivable. Whatever is done to mitigate this evil adds not a little to the essentials of life. In several villages we have no drinking-water supply. The streams that run close by some of them get dry during the hot season. The cost of construction of wells is almost prohibitive, and even if they were dug, they would in nine out of ten cases tap very brackish water. Much was done during the recent distress to alleviate the sufferings of the people by digging holes in the beds of streams; but this relief would be only very temporary. I would recommend the construction of small tanks ("Vakkaranis" as they are called in this part of the country) in as large a number of villages as possible, for the surface drainage water to be stored therein, so that the supply might be sufficient for a year or so, as has been done in a few places. This work may be undertaken in the very early stage of the distress. The taluk may be divided into a number of groups, each consisting of about 20 villages which are situated within a distance of about 15 miles, and the work started in one of those villages. After it is completed, another village in the same group may be taken up, and after that is over, a third village, and so on. This work may be simultaneously commenced in all the groups so that the work in any one village may not attract undue numbers from other places. In order to prevent people who may not be in need of Government relief flocking to the works which are started nearer their homes, discretion may be given to the officer in charge for taking on the labourers. He can easily find out with the help of the village officers and others, who are deserving or who are not, in his limited range. Of course the work should be conducted strictly in accordance with the provisions of the Famine Code, suitable tasks being fixed and rigidly enforced and famine wages paid. If the numbers on any such work happen to be rather too large, a few gangs might be usefully employed in the improvement of village roads and village sites. All this work would be most acceptable to the people, and would be done most cheerfully and most willingly by the labourers.

12. A number of petty respectable small landholders who have some slender resources would feel the pinch very severely in two or three months after the failure of both the rains. To such I would recommend the grant of State loans for the relief of distress in the early part of January. This would enable a great number of middle class ryots, etc., to tide over a brief season of distress without resorting to relief works. This would not constitute a heavy charge upon their estate, and they would not feel it difficult to repay the loans if the succeeding season prove favourable. The case, however, would be different if the succeeding monsoon rains also fail. We should then have a great famine, and the condition of these ryots as well as others would be one of misery, and the debts they already contracted with Government would form only a small item of their misery. It may be said that the object in view would be gained by the grant of advances under the Land Improvement Act. But the formalities which have to be gone through in spite of the discontinuance of the practice of issuing preliminary notices as recently ordered by Government, are sure to entail delay, and the ryot cannot get speedy relief. Besides the loan he gets under the Land Improvement Act must be spent for the purpose for which he takes it. If he were given the maximum amount allowed by law, of course on sufficient security on account of relief of distress, he may utilize it both for his maintenance and for improvement of his land for which purpose he may employ a number of labourers. No encumbrance certificates from the Registration Department need be obtained, nor should the procedure be made otherwise than summary.

13. There are several tracts of Government waste land in black-cotton soil villages, which are overgrown with "nuth" grass and which are in consequence not taken up for cultivation. Famine labour may profitably be employed in clearing such fields. The land being thus rendered fertile would, if sold, fetch good prices which would, in a great measure, repay the expenditure incurred by Government. These petty works may be executed in the same manner as those referred to in paragraph 12 *supra*, a single village in a group being taken up at a time and a few able-bodied relief workers put upon this work, while the others are engaged in other kinds of work (construction of tanks, etc).

14. During the past period of distress, hutting accommodation was not provided till at a very late stage, *i.e.*, till about a month or two before the close of the works. The huts were not used to any appreciable extent, only a very few that came on at a late stage having remained there. As a rule residence on the works is not liked by the labourers unless they are provided with accommodation in the immediate vicinity of villages. The huts that were put up were not quite suitable. They could not stand the high winds or heavy rains. They leaked very badly during the rains. They were chiefly grass huts of a triangular shape made at the head-quarters of the taluk and conveyed over long distances to the work-spot. Much of the large expenditure incurred on this account might have been saved if the labourers themselves had been made to build huts of the kind they are accustomed to live in, *i.e.*, with walls built of mud and roofs composed of grass or leaves or scrub jungle bushes which they could collect. Grass huts cost between R3 and R4 each, and bamboo ones (which were supplied to some of the works a week or two before their close) R7

or so each. Several of the grass huts fell down in the storm, or became rotten after the rains set in, or were pulled down by stray cattle as they served as good fodder. There were no purchasers for all the remaining ones, and suchas were sold could not fetch more than As. 3 or As. 4 each in villages. The bamboo huts too could not be sold for more than R2 each. A saving might also have been effected in the supply of baskets, handles for tools to the advantage of the villagers. As it was, all these materials were purchased at Bellary and sent to the works. Arrangements could have been made with the local manufacturers in the adjoining villages for a supply of at least a considerable portion of the required number.

15. On some works the relief labourers were employed to drag water carts on A class wages. The employment of carts drawn by bullocks is preferable both in regard to economy and in view of the physical condition of the coolies. A cart with bulls could be hired for As. 10 or As. 12 a day. Eight people or so would be required to drag a cart. Their wages would amount to about R1-4-0 to R1-8-0 per day. The distance to be travelled from and to the water source would be sometimes 2 or 3 miles. For three or four trips it would come to 8 to 10 miles. A large amount was spent in the purchase of carts and supplying them from Bellary to the different works. This could have been avoided if the required number of carts were hired in the villages as was done at the early stage of the famine. As there were no agricultural operations during the distress, any number of carts and bullocks was available for hire in the villages. It would be desirable to fix the quantity of water required for each coolie and to see that each gang or a number of gangs was separately supplied with the prescribed quantity. During the recent famine, no such limit was prescribed and there were complaints in some quarters that the watermen did not supply as much as was required.

16. As stated in paragraph 6 *supra*, none but the low caste people take to cooked food at the kitchens, and as the famine wage is barely sufficient for the maintenance of the worker alone, it is necessary to relieve the non-working children and other dependants of relief workers with money doles in all cases in which there are caste prejudices against taking cooked food. The doles may be given to the worker. The parents to whom the dole is given may be trusted to spend it on their children. When village relief is started and grain doles are distributed in the villages, it should be made a rule that the additional wage allowed to a relief worker on account of his dependants should be given only if the latter attends the work-spot daily and his attendance is properly marked. Otherwise there is the risk of the same dependant being relieved twice (once with grain doles in the village and once with money doles paid to his parents on the work).

Bellary Taluk Prices—Cholum.

1877.		1897.	
February	8·4	July	9·2
March	9·2	August	8·4
April	9·0		
May	8·2		

Total number of persons relieved in the Bellary District—

At the end of March 1877—

Works	225,485
Gratuitous relief	82,519
Total	308,004

At the end of April 1877—

Works	229,233
Gratuitous relief	101,623
Total	330,856

At the end of May 1877—

Works and gratuitous relief	420,573

At the end of July 1897—

Works—

Bellary	161,156
Anantapur	69,099
Total	230,255

Gratuitous relief—

Bellary	29,061
Anantapur	12,267
Total	41,328
Grand Total for July	271,583

At the end of August 1897—

Works—

Bellary	158,273
Anantapur	66,406
Total	224,679

Gratuitous relief—

Bellary	28,121
Anantapur	12,480
Total	40,601
Grand Total for August	265,280

Percentage of numbers relieved to population—

	Highest number of persons relieved in	Percentage to population.		Highest number of persons relieved in	Percentage to population.
March 1877	308,004	18·4	July 1897	271,583*	16·3
April „	330,856	19·3	August „	265,280*	16·4
May „	420,573	25·2			

* Includes weavers also.

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Bellary District alone—

Percentage to whole population—

July 1897—

Works	17·9
Gratuitous relief	3·2
Total	21·1

August 1897—

Works	17·5
Gratuitous relief	3·1
Total	20·6

The population of the old Bellary District as per census of 1871	1,668,006
Add—15 per cent.	250,200
Total	1,918,206
The population of the old Bellary District as per census of 1881	1,326,164
Difference	592,042
The loss of population for 1,918,206	=592,042
∴ for every 100	30·8

(*President.*)—You are the Head-quarter Deputy Collector at Bellary?—Yes.

Did you hold that position during all the time of famine?—Yes.

How long have you been serving in the district of Bellary?—Two years and three months.

How long have you served in the Deccan districts?—23 years.

You say that steps were taken to expand the ordinary road works on reduced wages in October 1896?—Yes.

Where was it?—In Bellary.

Throughout the district?—Only in Bellary taluk.

Did people attend?—In fact they were not carried ut.

Why were they not carried out?—Orders were received from the Board to open test works.

You say the test works were started in November?—Yes.

Did test works attract people?—Yes.

What is the system on which test works were started?—The same system as task-work—on the Code wages.

Were people put into all classes?—No A class or C class. There was only B class.

Some B and some D?—No D.

Some B and some C?—Very few in C, but the majority were in B.

Did many men come?—The number of males was less than that of females, but the total number was very large. On the very first day we had 3,000 on one work, and 1,700 on another work.

That was in November?—On the 17th November and 21st November.

On what grain did you calculate the wages?—We took first of all yellow cholum, inferior kind of cholum.

When did they begin to sell their cattle?—In October and November—early part of November and latter part of October.

They did not sell their plough bullocks?—Some did.

Can you give us any idea as to how many were sold out of 100?—I think 50.

Who bought them?—Butchers bought them in the Bellary town.

Are there many sheep and goats in this country?—Yes.

To whom do they generally belong?—To shepherds.

Is it to shepherds or to pattadars?—Pattadars have very few.

How did the shepherds get grazing, do they give anything to ryots?—Yes. They get a sort of allowance for their manure for allowing their sheep to lie in one field for a night or two, and afterwards another field is taken up.

The ryots pay them for the sheep lying on their fields?—Yes.

On the other hand they pay the ryots for grazing?—Yes, sometimes there is a mutual understanding. The shepherds don't pay anything for grazing and the ryots don't pay anything for the manure supplied to them.

How did the shepherds get along?—We had a large number of shepherds on the works.

Are you quite sure that in Bellary from the very first all the labourers were put in B class?—Yes. There were very few in C.

Was any distance allowance given at first?—No.

Did the people get on well?—Till the time fining began to be carried on to a large extent they got on very well, but after enforcing fining they used to get sometimes 9 pies a day when there were cries. The fining was afterwards restricted to the minimum wage.

When was that done?—In December.

At first it was not restricted to the minimum?—No.

Things continued like that till the hot weather?—Yes.

Were the people in good condition?—Yes.

Were there any new orders in the hot weather?—In April we had one.

What was it?—That omnibus order of Government.

That order was not necessary so far as your works were concerned?—It was necessary.

Why?—Because in the hot weather people could do very little work.

From what distance did people have to come to works?—8 or 9 miles.

Did they walk it every day?—Some stayed in the neighbouring villages, while others went back to their homes.

Were there many small pattadars on the works?—Yes.

Their wives and daughters?—Yes.

In paragraph 7 of your written statement you refer to the advances made under the Land Improvements Act?—Yes.

That work was done under your directions I suppose?—Yes. There was a special Tahsildar appointed for the purpose and he was under me.

Do you think money was always spent on the purpose for which it was taken?—Not altogether. A greater portion of it was spent in removing what is called nuth grass.

Is it only for that purpose?—It is mostly for this purpose. This being black cotton soil we cannot dig wells.

Was it given to pattadars?—Yes.

Were they big or small pattadars?—Both, but generally they were big pattadars.

I suppose the work of clearing nuth grass goes on every year?—Yes. But once it is removed the land can get on for ten or twelve years.

Do you know what wages the men who took the advances gave to the labourers?—Yes, about 3 annas.

For a man?—Yes. It is only men that can do that work.

Within what time will this money be recovered?—Ten to 20 years.

In instalments?—Yes, only in instalments.

Without interest?—The interest is charged.

At what rate?—6¼ per cent. As regards loans for wells under special well rules, interest is charged at 4 per cent.

Where was fodder bought—I see you advanced R63,000 for the purchase of fodder?—We got some wet villages in this taluk and in the neighbouring districts. The people went 60 or 70 miles to purchase fodder there.

How did you satisfy yourself that the man was really taking money for fodder?—Whenever I went into villages, I used to go into the houses of each ryot and see whether he had purchased fodder or not. I also made enquiries of the village officers and others. I was constantly on the move.

Most of it spent on straw or grass?—Cholum straw or bed straw.

Do all petty pattadars have their own cattle?—Yes, most of them.

Own plough cattle?—Yes.

Some of them only own about an acre of land?—Yes, some of them have only one bull and they would take the loan of a neighbour's bull for the occasion and lend his own in turn to him.

Some of the pattadars hold about 100 acres and more?—Yes.

How do they cultivate their lands—have they sub-tenants?—Yes.

How do they take their rent—in cash or kind?—Mostly in kind.

What was the common rate?—Half.

Did people sell their jewels?—No. I did not come across any instances.

They generally kept them?—Yes.

Have all classes got more or less jewels?—Not all; the poorer classes have not got any jewels at all. They have jewels made of tin or brass, but not of silver.

Have they all got brass pots?—Some of them have got very few. The lower orders use earthen pots.

Do you think that nursing mothers or women in an advanced step of pregnancy should be made to go on works?—Should be separated at least from other workers. They should not be allowed to work in the same gangs. Others suffer a good deal by it and the work suffers too.

Do you think that they ought to be separately employed?—Yes.

I suppose they must go to the works to be with the children?—Yes. We cannot persuade them to stay away.

If you gave them relief in the villages?—They prefer the Code wage to the grain doles given in the villages.

Do they?—Yes.

Why?—Because the grain dole is less.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—You went with Dr. King to Bombay, didn't you?—Yes.

Did you find many gangs on D wage?—On some works we found the C workers.

Those on C and D wage, were they in good condition?—Yes.

Do you think that C and D wages as worked in Madras are reasonable?—I don't think it is.

Will you explain how it was that in Bombay workers got on well on C and D wages?—Different practice prevailed on different works, but the common practice was that all wage was calculated upon the price of the best cholum. That was one difference. Here we took the most common grain, the grain which was the cheapest.

What was that?—Ragi at the late stage of the distress, and yellow cholum in the middle; for some time the mean between yellow cholum and white cholum and for the greater part of the time half ragi and half cholum. In another place there was an order from the District Collector of Ahmednagar to the effect that if any worker was falling off in health, he was to be sent to the kitchen for the mid-day meal, he was to be relieved from the charitable fund at the kitchen in addition to the Government wage which he got on the works.

That is only in the District of Ahmednagar you found it?—Yes. That was one. In Bijapur there was a shop opened from the charitable fund, and all the grains were sold very much cheaper than in the bazar, and the famine workers could get any kind of grain they wanted from that shop. The prices in the shop were much lower than those current in the bazar, and the wages were calculated not upon the prices ruling in the bazars, not upon the grain which they purchased, but, I was told by the Overseer in charge of the works, on the mean of the prices at which they were sold in the bazars and in the shop.

Was that shop opened at the time of your visit?—Yes. Further, non-working children were paid liberally. Here they were not paid but were asked to go to the kitchen, and if they refused to go to the kitchen they were not relieved at all. There they would give 8 or 9 pies for every child, while nursing mothers had A class wages. For six weeks they got A class men's wages.

When you went with Dr. King, were children being paid cash wages?—Yes, on some works.

Not all?—Not all. Where there were kitchens there were no cash payments. When they went to kitchens they did not get cash allowances; but if they were too young to go to kitchens, they got the allowance.

On some works there were kitchens, while on others there were not?—On almost all there were kitchens.

Payment to children was exceptional?—Those who could not go to the kitchens got the allowance. If children had two front teeth, they should go to the kitchens: but if they had not the two front teeth they were allowed the cash wage.

I suppose the idea was they could not eat?—Yes. In other cases if the boy did not like the kitchen food he might be relieved by cash allowance.

In your opinion what is the effect of these orders on the so-called D wage of Bombay?—The D wage of Bombay would be very nearly equal to our B wage, if not more, because the prices were nearly the same here as they were there at the time I went there.

Do you think that the B wage on the whole is sufficient?—Yes.

Do you think it might be reduced a little?—I don't think so.

Mr. Higham has proposed to abandon the Madras gang classification and to give each person that is classed as a digger, whether a man or a women, 2¾ lbs., and to each person that is classed as a carrier, whether a man or a woman, 1¾ lbs., what do you think about it?—I don't think it is sufficient for a man.

What does a man eat?—80 tolas, not less than that.

Is it unhusked ragi?—Unhusked cholum.

If it is ragi how much would that be?—It would be a little more than 80 tolas.

Unhusked?—Yes.

In addition to that what would he eat?—Salt, tamarind and chillis, these three are indispensable. They also use greens in the winter season. Mostly they use curd and butter milk in the hot weather.

Still you think that the cash value of B wage is on the whole sufficient?—Yes.

How does this late famine compare with the famine of 1877?—The famine of 1877 was no doubt more serious.

How?—The famine of 1877 lasted for two years, while this famine lasted only for ten months. In that respect it was more serious. In the former famine relief works were not started in time and the people deteriorated in condition before they were taken on the works, and the consequence was there were a great many deaths and great mortality. But in this famine we had not any such thing, because the people were taken in hand in time.

In Bellary Taluk was the failure of crops very great?—Yes, in this famine.

It was very serious?—Yes.

Both the early crop and the later crop?—Yes; there were failures in three successive seasons.

What were they?—In 1896 the early rains were almost a failure and we lost that crop. The later crop was also lost, because we had no rain. We had a shower of rain in November and a large extent of land was sown, but the crop withered, and the second season was also a failure, as well as the third season in 1897. In June we had a slight shower and in July we had none, and in August none, so we lost the *Mungari* or the early crop. Thus we lost the three seasons.

Then what about the fourth sowing?—I cannot call it a bumper crop, as some portion has withered; we might have a six anna crop.

The late crop?—Yes.

A good deal of it has been reaped?—Yes, half of it.

How does this late famine compare with the famine of 1892?—In 1892 only one season failed and consequently the later crop was a failure.

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Did they get the early crop?—Yes, to some extent.

You say that the late crop failed?—Yes.

As bad as this?—Yes.

Your rains came on promptly?—Yes, in seasonable time.

Not much lost?—Yes.

In the early part of 1892, that is February and March, numbers on relief were very small as compared with those of 1897?—Yes.

What was the explanation?—The crop before that was not a failure. Most of them had some resources to fall back upon and did not resort to relief works.

Do you think that relief was given in this famine more liberally than in 1892?—I cannot say that. It was more necessary this time than in 1892.

Do you think that less was given in 1892 than ought to have been given?—No.

Adequate?—Yes.

You think it adequate on this occasion also?—Yes.

Not more you think?—Not more.

In paragraph 6 of your note of evidence you say that non-working children would not go to kitchens?—Yes, they would not go.

They got no relief?—No relief till June.

What happened?—We relieved them with grain doles.

Did they accompany their mothers to works?—Some did not accompany and were left at home.

They got grain doles?—Yes. We opened central kitchens in May in places which sent a large number of coolies, so that the children of these labourers might be relieved in their homes; and a good many people came to the works who would not like their children to go to the works.

You say that these children did not get relief till May?—Yes. But after that, *i.e.*, in June, they all got relief.

I understand you to say that the reclamation of land by clearing nuth grass only lasts for 10 or 12 years?—Yes.

The ryot repays his loan in 20 years?—Yes. This is the maximum period allowed.

The value of his improvement is exhausted before he repays the loan?—It will still hold on. The nuth grass will only begin to grow within that period.

In paragraph 8 you give some particulars of the remissions and you say that R2,36,238 have been remitted?—Yes.

What is the total amount?—Over 4 lakhs.

Besides that a certain portion was suspended?—Yes, a very small amount, R5,000.

Was any similar concession made in 1891-92?—Yes.

To the same extent?—I think it was 2 lakhs in 1891-92.

Do you think this very liberal?—I don't think so. If we had not granted these remissions we could not have recovered the arrears at all.

In paragraph 9 you say that the ryots have not incurred more debts?—No.

So that they have not been injured by famine?—No.

Is the full extent of land cultivated now?—Yes, almost.

Was the district pretty prosperous when this famine commenced?—The ordinary ryot is always poor and lives from hand to mouth.

Was he living more from hand to mouth when this famine commenced?—No.

He was just then in his normal state?—Yes. Before the famine commenced a large number of people left, and that was in October.

That is when prices began to go up?—Yes.

In paragraph 10 you say that deduction is made for 1½ miles?—I have made a mistake. It must be 3 miles and not 1½ miles.

Then he might walk 5¾ miles and still get no reduction?—Yes.

Do you think it is reasonable?—Yes.

The other thing was a little bit excessive—the omnibus order?—Yes.

In paragraph 11 you recommend the construction of small tanks, and you further say that this Bellary Taluk is all a black-cotton soil country. If that is so, can you make such tanks?—Yes. In black cotton soil tanks cannot be made, but small ponds can be made to hold surface drainage water during the rainy season.

Would they hold water?—Yes. That is being done now.

Where do you get money?—From the Local Fund. During the late famine we had some of these tanks built out of Government funds, but they were very few.

You would not advocate big tanks?—No, it is impossible to build big tanks.

In paragraph 12 you recommend the grant of State loans for subsistence?—Yes.

Was it ever done?—It was done at the late stage.

Was much given?—No, sir, only R18,000.

If you started by subsistence loans in January you would have to give 9 months' subsistence?—We go on the assumption that we might have rain in May or June, and till then they might be assisted.

You would give these loans to small ryots?—Yes.

To the middle classes?—Yes. I would not give them to the very lowest of the ryots, but only to the middle classes, so that they might not sell away their lands and become paupers.

In paragraph 13 you say that famine labour might be employed in clearing nuth grass?—Yes.

Would that give employment to women and children?—No, it is only men that can do the work.

But you would not get men?—When prices increased we had men.

But this particular form of employment would not give labour to women and children?—No, it would not.

You say that if huts are to be built, labourers should make them?—Yes.

Is it cheaper?—Yes.

Can they get the materials?—The huts would be made of mud.

Would they cost much?—No.

In paragraph 15 you say that water carts might have been hired. Can you get water carts?—Yes. They are only empty carts. The ordinary carts can be hired to carry water.

You suggest that instead of buying carts you might hire them?—Yes. This was done so at the earlier stage of famine.

(*Mr. LeFanu.*)—It has been stated by Mr. Clerk that silver was absorbed?—We could get any amount of copper or silver coins in Bellary. I got returns here which were kept in the Bellary Taluk Cutcherry. They show that a large amount of copper coins was received and exchanged for rupees. No difficulty was felt in supplying small silver coins.

How did coins come back to the Cutcherry?—There were agents who collected them from private individuals. We published notices in the bazars that we would receive small copper coins and silver coins without any restriction

What was the total of small coins that were brought into the Treasury?—On the 22nd July we had R1,201 worth of small copper coins; on the 23rd July R1,640 worth of small coins. I found that generally the same persons brought the coins to the Treasury. On the 24th there were R2,987 worth of small coins, on the 26th R536, on the 28th R609, on the 29th R1,780, on the 31st R4,560, and on the 3rd August R719 worth of small coins.

(*President.*)—What about small silver?—On the 26th July we had R535 worth of small silver coins, on the 27th July R520, 30th July R270, 31st R582, on the 2nd August R483, and on the 4th August R590.

You got as much as you wanted?—Yes.

(*Mr. LeFanu.*)—Were there many undeserving persons on relief so far as your experience went?—In the beginning there were, I might say, 10 to 15 per cent. They might have held on for two or three months if they had not resorted to the works. They would have had to sell away all they had, cattle, etc., if they did not come on the relief works.

Not completely ruined?—I should think so.

What would you consider to be the cost of living for a representative family consisting of six persons?—My experience is this: I made inquiry on the subject in the villages when cholum was selling at 32 measures to the rupee, and I found a family wanted R93 a year.

What does your family consist of?—Six persons, wife, husband and four children, one boy of 14 years and another of 7 years, a girl of 10 years, and a child of 4 years.

Is this an actual case?—Yes.

What is the cost of maintaining them when cholum sells at 9, or 10, or 11 measures to the rupee?—That will be three times the amount I mention. When prices rise very high, say to 9 or 10 measures per rupee, I think the family would want R25 per month.

Do you think that if they earn R15 a month on relief works, they would be earning an excessive amount?—No.

Do your figures make provision for clothes?—Yes.

They did not want clothes on relief works?—If the famine were to continue for a long time they would want clothes.

Is it your opinion that native women would strip themselves indecently to get clothes?—No.

Do you consider that the agricultural wages have recently risen or fallen?—Fallen now. The wages, as they now exist, are much below those which existed in good times.

What is the cause?—They say they cannot afford to pay so much. The harvest has not been good, owing to the failure of the season; but if they had bumper crops they would have paid good wages.

Have any of the seasons been bad except that of 1896-97?—1885 was a bad year; so were the years 1888 and 1891. 1893 was an ordinary year. 1894 was a bad year, when dry remissions were recommended. In 1885 remissions had to be granted, but in 1894 dry remissions were recommended but not granted. 1895 was a good year.

You say that years from 1892 to 1895 were good years?—Yes, except 1894.

Do you consider the rise in the number of relief works was due to the omnibus order?—I don't think so. The order was received in April, but brought into force in May. There was no appreciable rise in numbers till July. If the rise was due to the introduction of this order we should have had large numbers in May and June, but as a matter of fact we had not such a rise. I have got figures to show it. Because our early rains failed and the prices also rose very high, large numbers resorted to works in July.

You have served in the late famine in Kurnool?—Yes.

You have served in this district in this famine?—Yes.

Can you compare the number on the relief works in this famine with that of 1877 when prices were almost the same?—In February 1877 the price of cholum was 8·4, and in August 1897 it was 8·4. In March 1877 the price was 9·2, and in July 1897 it was 9·2. The numbers in March 1877 were 18·4 per cent. of the population, and in July in 1897 we had 16·8.

What is the total on relief in February and March 1877?—In March 1877 it was 308,004, and in July1897 it was 271,583.

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In the year 1877 Anantapur was also added to this district?—Yes.

Can you add Anantapur also and give the figures?—In 1897 the figures were 265,280, but in April 1877 the figures were 330,856.

Did people come more readily for relief on this occasion than in former years?—I do not think so. In comparing the figures we find that in January 1877 we had more coolies on the works than this time.

Is it your experience that women come in excess for relief?—Yes.

Has it always been so?—Yes.

In great excess?—Yes. Double the number of men.

What is the difference between the relief given in the two famines?—There was a great mortality in 1877.

What has that to do with the gratuitous relief?—They were not assisted in time, consequently they failed in condition. Taking the population by the census of 1871 and 1891, we find there is a large decrease.

The reason why the ryots did not incur debts and sell their moveable and immoveable property in this famine, is because they were taken in time?—Yes; exactly.

You say you would supply the huts for the coolies, you would have them raise walls built of mud and put on roofs composed of grass or leaves or scrub jungle bushes?—I would have some other material which we could purchase in the bazars.

Would these materials be proof against rain?—No.

Proof against the winds of the Deccan?—I don't think so, if high winds prevail.

What sort of country is this in the month of May?—It is very hot.

Like what?—Like a furnace.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—I see it stated in the Madras returns that the average outturn of a cholum field in Bellary is 840 lbs. Do you think that is right 240 seers?—Yes, just about right.

You say that your family of six will cost about R93 with cholum selling at 32 seers to the rupee?—Yes.

That works up to 2,987 seers?—Yes.

If you divide it by 240 it represents 12 acres?—Yes.

Would ryots of 12 acres come on the works?—Yes.

Twelve acres will be merely for the supply of food to the family, but there is the Government revenue to meet, so that you may take it that it would be 20 acres?—I took the earnings of the family also into account. They make about R100 a year in ordinary years.

By labour?—Yes.

You say that a family would make about R100 a year in an ordinary year?—Yes.

At the Collector's Office, Bellary.

NINETEENTH DAY.

22nd February 1898.

PRESENT:

SIR J. B. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. (*President*).

SURGEON-COLONEL J. RICHARDSON,
MR. T. W. HOLDERNESS, C.S.I.,
MR. T. HIGHAM, C.I.E.,
RAI BAHADUR B. K. BOSE, C.I.E.,
MR. W. J. H. LEFANU (*Temporary Member for Madras*).

MR. H. J. MCINTOSH, *Secretary*.

The REVEREND Mr. W. H. CAMPBELL, Missionary, Jammalamadugu, called in and examined.

Revd. Mr. W. H. Campbell.

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I put in a written statement of evidence.

I propose to give evidence as to famine operations in the affected parts of Cuddapah district, and some villages in Kurnool district. I have been working as a missionary in Cuddapah district since the end of 1884, and am acquainted with all classes of the people. During the famine I gave a

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great part of my time to looking into the condition of the people and doing what I could for their relief. I have visited almost all the relief works in the district, many of them several times, and have looked into the working of the weavers' relief scheme from time to time. As a member of the Jammalamadugu Taluk Relief Sub-Committee I visited some 50 villages in April and May and enrolled names for charitable relief, and in July I visited about 40 villages and made out lists of ryots requiring seed and cattle grants. I made notes of what I observed from time to time, and did what I could to make myself acquainted with what was going on in the various parts of the district.

Extent and Severity of the Distress.

The distress in the Cuddapah was acute in four taluks, and affected to a greater or less extent the whole of the district. It was due to the failure of the rains. The south-west monsoon failed entirely in 1896 and the north-west monsoon, which came very late, brought only a few showers which were insufficient for the crops. The ryots on the black cotton soil plain sowed twice, on the first occasion at the usual time in August, on the second after the showers which came in November. In both cases the crops withered before the straw was more than half grown. The ryots of the affected area are, as a rule, fairly well-to-do, although from the precariousness of the rainfall there is always more or less danger of a failure of harvest. There is, however, a very large population possessed of little or no land, who have nothing to fall back on, and are consequently reduced to great straits when, through failure of the crops, it is impossible to obtain employment. Since 1891 the crops have been below the average, and consequently the poorer classes generally, and especially the small ryots, have found it difficult to make ends meet. When the crops failed in the end of 1896, a very considerable proportion of the farming class and the whole of the labouring population, were almost immediately reduced to destitution. The weavers too, of whom there is a large number, were thrown out of work owing to the famine in Bombay and Central India, putting an end to the export trade of this district. Work was not to be had, and grain was selling at more than double the usual rates.

In the beginning of 1897 the extent of the distress and the exhaustion of the resources of the people was very much under-estimated by the officers in charge of the district. In the months of January and February there were only three relief works in the affected area. The poorer classes were wandering from village to village begging for grain; house-breaking became very prevalent, and not a few cases of dacoity occurred. A large proportion of the people were reduced to one scanty meal a day, and it was with difficulty that they obtained this. Bands of people—men, women and children—came in to me to Jammalamadugu almost daily to beg me to find them some kind of work. I made personal inspection of a large number of houses belonging to people of the lower caste, and found that in only a very few cases had they more than one or two seers of grain in stock. This was at harvest time when, in an ordinary year, each family would be in possession of from 100 to 200 seers earned in the harvest. At this time not only were the relief works far too few in number, but the tasks were so hard and the pay so small that those employed on them deteriorated very much in condition. Quite a third of the women looked weak and emaciated. This was due to insufficiency of food, and to the fact that, on account of the works being distant from their villages, they had not enough of time for rest and sleep. Had it not been for very energetic action on the part of the Famine Commissioner and a visit from the Governor in the end of February, very serious consequences would have resulted from the neglect of the district officials. In the beginning of the year there is little doubt that everything was done that could be done to dissuade the people from resorting to the works, and in many cases fines were so ruthlessly imposed that the people were practically forced to leave.

Some months later when the south-west monsoon was expected and a few showers fell a similar mistake was made. In July and August an attempt was made to dismiss the people from the works by largely increasing the tasks and rigorously imposing fines under the impression that work was to be obtained in the fields. This impression was entirely false, but the people were driven from the works by the policy pursued. A very grave catastrophe would have ensued had it not been for the altogether unexpected advent of the monsoon towards the end of August.

Sufficiency and Economy of Relief Measures.

So far as my experience goes there were very few people relieved in this district who were not really in need. Some did resort to the works who could have subsisted without State aid, but their number was very small in proportion to the total number employed. In some cases, to my knowledge, inspecting officers formed a wrong impression on this matter by seeing what they believed to be silver ornaments on the arms of the women. I was deceived by this myself, but found on examination that almost all the ornaments were of base metal not worth more than an anna or two at the best. Certainly very few people who could afford to keep away would care to work on the roads under a blazing sun during the terrible heat of April and May for the sake of the anna or 15 pies which were given as wages.

As I have already stated the relief operations in this district so far from being unduly extended were for some months so restricted that large numbers of the people suffered exceedingly. The people suffered not from any fault of their own, but simply because the head of the district failed to grasp the situation and refused to believe in the existence of anything like severe distress. As soon as works were opened the people flocked to them in spite of the inadequacy of the wages given. The change of policy notified in the omnibus orders issued in the end of March had a very great effect on the numbers and condition of those employed on the works. These made it possible for all who were really in need to resort to the works, and by prohibiting fining, unless in exceptional cases, made it possible for the workers to earn what was about sufficient for their sustenance. On account of the lessening of the task and the increase of the wages the condition of the women, which was very bad in February and March, actually improved during the hot weather.

Labour was exacted from all who were fit to work, and from very many who were anything but fit. For the hot weather months the tasks were undoubtedly a good deal below the working capacity of able-bodied labourers, but as very few people are in the habit of engaging in out-door work during the extremely hot months, this was unavoidable. Except during the hot months the tasks were quite up to the capacity of the gangs. A great many persons were employed on the works who ought to have been receiving gratuitous relief in their own villages. Amongst these were old and sickly persons, mothers with young infants, and women in an advanced stage of pregnancy. Many little infants suffered acutely through their mothers being compelled to carry them morning and evening five or six miles from their homes, and keep them out in the sun all day while they attempted to break stones and carry gravel. I have seen women with twin babies on their knees attempting to break stones.

The distance test told very hardly on the people, especially in the earlier stages of the famine. Even after the conditions were improved many of the people had to walk a long distance to and from their homes. In cases where there was a family of five or six little children this told very hard on both parents and children.

I met with a considerable number of "famine babies," miserable little creatures reduced to mere skin and bone because their mothers, owing to over-exertion and insufficient nourishment, had no milk for them.

The people have, and very rightly I think, a decided objection to leaving their homes and living on the works. In this district in most cases the workers were able to reside in their homes, and in the few cases where distance prevented this, they put up with friends or acquaintances in the neighbourhood of the works. Those who thus left their homes suffered much more than those who did not. In very many cases their huts were almost in ruins when they returned to them, and a considerable expenditure was needed before they were fit for occupation. In two neighbouring villages, Chinna Chettipalle and Pottipad, the Mala people, who are Christians, had to leave their homes on account of the failure of their water-supply. When they returned, their houses were so badly out of repair that we had to give them a grant from our Mission Relief Fund.

Gratuitous Relief.

Gratuitous relief was not given in this district until long after the need for it had become most pressing. Though the Government Order providing for it was issued in the end of March, nothing was done to carry this out until the 12th of May. Until the district authorities took action the whole burden of providing for the aged and infirm fell on

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the Mansion House Fund, which was being administered by local committees. The Provincial Relief Committee in Madras approached the Collector several times, but no notice was taken of their remonstrances, until quite a month had elapsed. So far as I have seen gratuitous relief was confined to people who were really in need. Any error there was, was on the side of defect rather than excess. I can give the names of a number of persons who were utterly destitute and quite unfit for work, who were removed from the lists when Government officials undertook the distribution of charitable relief. When the Committees were managing village relief money doles were given, when Government took it up grain doles were substituted. I consider money doles the best form of home relief, as they offer on the whole less opportunity of defalcation on the part of the village officials who distribute them. Relief by means of kitchens is more expensive, as it necessitates the erection of buildings and the employment of a staff, and it is much less acceptable to the people than grain or money doles. Where people are really weak and unfit for work it is needless cruelty to compel them to walk two or three miles morning and evening to and from a kitchen. Money and grain doles were distributed by the village officials assisted by a panchayat. I have heard of a good many cases in which short measure of grain was given and of some in which the officials kept back several days' allowance. There were also complaints as to the bad quality of the grain given, some of which seemed to be well founded.

In my opinion relief kitchens ought to be employed only, or chiefly, in connection with relief works for the dependants of workers. It might also be advisable to have one or two in large centres for the relief of strangers and wanderers. Where careful inquiries are made it is quite possible to prevent misuse of charity by excluding from the village lists all who are not in absolute need of relief. The kitchen test is, in my opinion, unnecessary where inspecting officers are conscientious in the discharge of their duties.

There are several particulars in which people resorting to relief works have suffered through those in charge deviating from the spirit if not the letter of the Madras Famine Code.

1. On several occasions I found that people who came to the relief works to apply for employment were sent away and told to come on a Monday as they could not be received and enrolled on any other day. This was obviously contrary to section 93 of the Code.

2. In very many cases the payment of wages was delayed for a week or even nine or ten days. In one or two cases this was the fault of the paymaster, but in most cases it was due to the taluk officials failing to send money in time. This delay occurred occasionally at several of the works in this district, and on one occasion I found that the coolies at Nossam in the Kurnool district had not been paid for ten days. The people complained very bitterly of this and undoubtedly suffered by it. Some people left some of the works in Proddatur taluk in despair at the delay in receiving their pay. The Code prescribes (section 102) that labourers should be paid twice or thrice a week.

3. At the commencement of the famine, and again after some showers had fallen in June, fines were imposed contrary to the spirit of (section 106). In December 1896 the daily pay was, on some works, reduced to six pies by rigorous fining, and in July 1897 it was reduced still lower. In July on the road works at Kodur, Cuddapah taluk, the people were fined so rigorously that some did not receive more than three pies a day. As a natural consequence the people left the works in crowds. There would have been great suffering had it not been for the unexpected arrival of the monsoon already alluded to.

4. Appendix D prescribes that the roll be called each morning at 7-30 A.M. This rule was set aside in July, and orders were given that the roll be called at 7 A.M. In some cases it was called at 6-30 A.M. All who were not present at roll-call were cut off for the day.

5. Allowance was not made for the badness of the tools supplied to the workers. This was especially the case in the earlier periods of the famine. On some of the works the hammers supplied for stone breaking were almost useless. I have seen men using little toy-like hammers with shafts no thicker than one's little finger and others with hammers with 4 lb. heads and a handle not more than 4 inches long. In some cases through lack of hammers some members of the gangs used a large stone instead.

Loans to cultivators.—The recommendations of the Famine Code with regard to encouraging the people to take loans for well sinking, land improvement, the purchase of fodder, etc., were entirely disregarded in the Cuddapah district. Early in the famine the ryots began to apply in considerable numbers for such loans, but their applications received such scant consideration that most of them gave up in despair. I have known a large number of cases where it was several months before any notice was taken of the application put in, and in almost every case that came under my notice the delay was so great that, even if the grant was made, it was too late to meet the necessity of the case. The taluk officials seemed afraid to deal with the applications presented to them, and showed no desire whatever to forward the business. In one village where three ryots put in applications for such loans, they heard nothing of the matter for three weeks and then received a notice that their applications ought to be on a printed form. In other cases ryots who had put in applications never received any reply. A great many ryots put in applications and petitions for loans to purchase fodder, but these, like the applications for loans for sinking wells, were disregarded. I believe many cattle have died which might have been saved, had anything been done to help the ryots in this matter. A special officer was at last appointed to deal with loan applications, but his appointment was delayed so long as to be practically useless. It is a great pity that the people were discouraged from sinking wells, as over a great part of this district this is really the only safeguard against drought. Had it not been for the wells already in existence, under which the people grew small patches of ragi, the distress would have been very much worse than it was. The people have seen the value of irrigation wells and would gladly have sunk them wherever practicable had they received the slightest possible encouragement from Government.

Suspension and remission of revenue.—Up to the end of February 1897, kist was being levied and levied by distraint even in the worst affected parts of the district. The district officials took no notice of the complaints of the ryots, but the Board of Revenue in response to numerous petitions received by it, issued an order suspending the collection of dry kist pending inquiry. On this the collection for grain crops below eight annas yield was suspended in two or three of the taluks. The order was not however put into force in Pulivendla taluk, which was perhaps the worst part of the district, and collections went on there for quite a month after the Board order was issued. When this became known the Board insisted on its order being carried out in its entirety, and the collections were completely suspended. No orders have yet been given as to remissions, so the ryots are still in suspense. Two years' kist is now being collected for wet lands in many places. In some cases the crop withered last year and in others it was brought forward by hard work at wells. In many cases this year's crop is withering.

In this district the suspended revenue cannot, in the case of the small land-holders, be recovered without causing very severe hardship. The ryots put in two crops last year, and they have had to strain their resources to the utmost to get in a crop this year.

Charitable relief from private sources.—In the town of Jammalamadugu a Committee collected subscriptions and provided daily meals for infirm and helpless persons for a period of four or five months. About 40 people were fed daily. This is the only organized local relief I have met with. In March Committees were formed for the administration of the Mansion House Fund. As I have pointed out, the whole burden of gratuitous relief was borne by these committees for quite a month. Members of the taluk sub-committees went from village to village, made careful inquiry into the condition of the people and drew up lists of those who were destitute and unable to work. These lists were sent in to the taluk secretaries, signed by two members of the sub-committee. Tickets were issued to those on the lists and money doles were distributed to them through the medium of the village officials. The revenue authorities were very slow to render help in the matter, and it was with difficulty that the local secretaries got money sent to the villages. When Government undertook the distribution of charitable relief, the Committees' lists were taken over and made the basis of the Government lists.

In July and August the Committees distributed cloths to those employed on relief works who were not decently clad. It would have been well if more money had been spent on this, as many in sad need of clothing were unaided, and in consequence suffered much when the rains came.

The allotments under head IV were hardly sufficient for the needs of the district. Had they been expended, as in Kurnool and Anantapur districts, most, if not all, of those really in need would have received assistance, but the Collector, to whom the distribution was entrusted, set aside the lists drawn up by the Committees to a very considerable

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extent, and gave grants larger than was originally intended to a restricted number. In consequence, some who had no cattle and owned mere patches of land received R20 or R30, while many very needy cases were neglected. The revenue establishment was made responsible for the matter, and the village officials were thus able to obtain a considerable share of the grants made. In distributing relief of this kind it does not much matter whether distribution is made by officials or by non-officials, but it is of the utmost importance that it is not made through the usual official channels. In almost every village in the affected parts of this district there are little complaints as to the distribution of relief under head IV, while in villages in Kurnool, which I have seen, the people seem generally satisfied. The relief given under IV has undoubtedly done a great deal of good. It would, however, have done much more had the fund been more wisely administered. The Provincial Committee in Madras had entrusted the work of administration to the Local Committee, but from some reason, the Calcutta Committee overruled this and handed it over to the revenue authorities.

Interference with the labour supply.—We had a good deal of building work going on in connection with our mission in Jammalamadugu, and had never the least difficulty in getting as many coolies as we required at the usual rate of pay, *viz.*, 3 annas for men and 2 annas for women. It might be, and probably would have been, difficult to get people for a single day's work, as this would have meant the loss of their Sunday wage on returning to the relief works. In some villages when field works commenced the ryots had difficulty in getting coolies because they offered a miserably low wage, very little above that given on the relief works.

Food-stocks and Prices.

As the harvests have been under the average for several years, there was not at the beginning of the famine as large a supply of grain in the villages as in ordinary years. As a rule, ryots, who had a surplus stock, and could afford to hold it, held it as long as possible. Merchants were very ready to buy and imported large quantities of grain, chiefly ragi, but as the general belief was that there would be a three years' famine, they were very slow to sell. At one period it was hardly possible to purchase grain in some of the towns, and local officials had to use all their powers of persuasion to induce the merchants to sell. The market was at first unduly raised by the speculations of the grain dealers, but before long it was, I believe, regulated by the loss of supply and demand. The ryots went in large numbers to Nellore and Mysore, purchased grain there and brought it back by road. This was for their own use. In some instances, village Magistrates or wealthy ryots sold a good deal of grain to the poor under the market rate. In other places, such persons combined to force up prices unduly. In almost every case relief workers were able to purchase at the rates supposed to be current. Except at the beginning of the distress, merchants were unable to make a large profit off their imports. The price of grain could, I believe, have been lowered, had Government imported large quantities from countries outside India. It was not the want of grain, however, so much as the want of work and consequent want of money that reduced the people to destitution. Very large numbers of cattle were sold either to obtain money, or because the owners could not afford to feed them. Jewels were largely sold, and in many cases at a price considerably under their value. The indebtedness of the people was, of course, largely increased, but not so much as might have been expected, as a general want of confidence made it very difficult to obtain a loan on any terms. The great mass of the people could not get any one to lend to them.

Measures for the prevention of famine.—In Cuddapah district a great deal more might be done in the way of irrigation works. The Cuddapah-Kurnool canal has proved an inestimable blessing to the people during the last two years. Over a great part of the district, however, canals are out of the question, and it is to the development of well cultivation that Government must look for the chief safeguard against famine. It would also be possible, I believe, to connect a good many of the existing tanks with river channels, and thus make their supply less precarious. Two important channel works were undertaken during the famine, and it is to be hoped they will be completed without delay.

Railway construction is not to be compared with irrigation works, but a railway running from the Madras Railway at Erraguntla through Proddatore and Jammalamadugu taluks to Nandyal would undoubtedly be of great service. At present, when there are heavy and continuous rains, road traffic is almost impossible, owing to the nature of the soil and the difficulty of crossing the rivers.

I believe Government could, to a very great extent, guard against scarcity of grain by the establishment of grain depôts in which a reserve of grain could be kept in stock, renewable year by year. This grain could be obtained by taking part payment of kist in kind instead of in money. Such a provision would not do away with the necessity of relief works in times of distress, but it would make these much less expensive by preventing the price of grain from rising very much above the normal. A reserve stock would, of course, have to be accumulated gradually in order to avoid a dislocation of the markets.

(*President.*)—Your station is Cuddapah itself?—Jammalamadugu taluk, in Cuddapah district.

Jammalamadugu is one of the affected taluks?—Yes, one of the worst.

What month did severe distress begin?—In October 1896.

Early harvest ought to have been in?—The crops were coming up, but they withered.

At that time was there lack of employment?—Yes, and the prices of grain were high.

Are there a large number of weavers in Jammalamadugu?—In Jammalamadugu and villages in the immediate neighbourhood there are a very large number of weavers, 10,000 to 12,000 at least.

Cloth they make goes generally to Bombay and Central India?—Yes. That is the cloth woven by caste weavers. A great number of the non-caste people weave cloths for use in the country. Thread is given to them by ryots and they weave this for a certain wage. Such cloths are used by coolies.

The demand for that too fell off?—Yes, entirely.

You draw a distinction between the caste weavers and others?—There are three castes belonging to the artisan class. They weave cloths for merchants for export, in Jammalamadugu and Proddatore taluks. The other weavers are Mala people—Pariahs—who do field work, but of whom two-thirds can weave and do weave for the ryots that employ them.

Caste weavers consider themselves a superior sort of people?—Yes, certainly.

They object to go to the kitchens?—Not on caste grounds. The same objection as is made by people of all classes is made by them.

What was the first measure taken in the taluks near you?—Opening test-works near Jammalamadugu.

When was that done?—At the end of October. The Famine Commissioner and Mr. A. T. Forbes, who was our Collector, came about the 15th November and opened a work at Goriganur, 5 miles from Jammalamadugu.

People before that had been asking you for relief?—For about three weeks 100 or 200 have been coming to our bungalow almost every day asking for work. I may explain this a little more. We have a large Christian population chiefly among the low classes, and they naturally crowded to our head-quarters. There was also a large number of other people—caste-weavers came in very large numbers.

What was the result of the test works. Were they attended?—Yes, attended very largely.

At that time what were the wages paid?—D class wages they received at that time—the minimum wage. At first they could not do anything like the task prescribed.

Code task?—Yes. The tools—many of them—were unfit for use and the people were in a very bad condition. When weavers were put to breaking stones it was miserable to see how their hands were blistered and cut. They were not accustomed to do work in the sun, so they did very little.

Did a very considerable number of weavers go on works?—A large number, until the weavers' special relief was started.

At that time did smaller pattadars go on works?—A few of them. Not in such large numbers as afterwards.

How long did those test-works go on?—The test-works were practically continued until the end of February.

How many works were there?—There were three test works opened, one in each taluk.

Kitchens, when were they opened?—Kitchens attached to works for the use of children and workers were opened at once.

Non-working children?—Yes, for the non-working children.

Did the people send their non-working children to the kitchens?—Yes.

People have less objection to send their children under seven?—Yes, they have less objection.

Who was the Collector when the work began?—Mr. A. T. Forbes, Acting Collector.

How long did he stay?—Until after the Christmas vacation.

Then who succeeded him?—Mr. Tate.

You say, "In the beginning of 1897 the extent of the distress and the exhaustion of the resources of the people was very much under-estimated by the officers in charge of the district." Do you think it is a general statement applicable to the officers in charge of the district?—I should say the "officer" in charge of the district is responsible for the work of the district.

You mean Mr. Tate himself?—Yes. Some subordinates themselves spoke to me of the great gravity of the condition of the people, and regretted that something was not being done.

You say that in the months of January and February poorer classes wandered from village to village begging for grain. Could not they have gone to any of the three relief works?—People who were very hard up and for whom no huts or houses were provided could not go to relief works 30 miles off. The relief works were still of the nature of test works.

Can you say whether it has been easy or difficult to provide huts for the people?—There would have been difficulty in getting thatch on account of the failure of the rains. The ordinary thatching would have cost a very great deal. Palmyra leaves may be used—that was done in the case of kitchen sheds—to shelter the people from the sun.

Are bamboos available?—Bamboos could have been got in any quantity from a distance of 15 or 16 miles.

What were these three works?—Road metal works.

They were stationary works. They never moved?—No The one at Goriganur was moved across the river after a while which made it worse for the people to reach it.

When you say "that quite a third of the women looked weak and emaciated," what month were you thinking of?—In February.

What was done then?—After the Governor's visit a number of works were opened.

The Governor visited in February?—Yes, towards the end of February.

A large number of works were opened?—Yes, and the conditions of work were made more favourable to the people.

You say, "In the beginning everything was done that could be done to dissuade the people from resorting to the works, and in many cases fines were so ruthlessly imposed that the people were practically forced to leave"?—Yes, the workers thought that the original task was very high and fines were exacted so rigorously that people could not have gone on under these conditions.

Do you know whether there was any limit to fining—up to minimum wage?—There was not.

You say that in July and August people were dismissed from works after the rainfall in June, which it was hoped would bring them crop?—That rain did not even bring up grass for cattle. I consider that after these showers very severe conditions were brought in which practically compelled the people to leave the works. Providentially rain did come when it was not expected and saved the situation.

Were those efforts made you think in consequence of the reaction from what you call the omnibus order?—It looked like that. It was the same thing that happened at the end of 1896. Rain fell, and the ryots, hoping to get a harvest, put in seed, but nothing came out of it because the showers failed. The authorities thought that the distress was coming to a close, but that was not the case. The same thing happened at the end of July and in the beginning of August.

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You say that "some resorted to works who could have subsisted without State aid, but their number was very small in proportion to the total number employed." What kind of cases are you thinking of?—Cases of men who were fairly well-to-do ryots who could have managed to get through and who could have borrowed.

Do you think ryots who had stocks of grain in their houses for prudential reasons kept back the grain and attended works?—Very, very few of the smaller ryots had stocks of grain by the time there was a general movement towards the works.

I suppose a considerable number of the larger ryots had grain?—Yes, but even they were buying some grain. In one night I know that 300 carts went to Nellore to buy grain. All of them were for well-to-do ryots who had money.

Those who had grain held it up, you think?—Yes, there was a tendency towards it. The universal belief was that the famine would last for three years.

Where did that idea come from?—There were a lot of strange predictions going about the country that a change was to come at the end of the *Kaliyuga*.

Of this period of five thousand years?—Yes.

There was very little sale of jewels even by those who had jewels?—Amongst the poorer classes a good many jewels were sold.

You say most of the poorer people had jewels which might be mistaken for silver, but which were not?—Yes.

Did you see any sale of cattle?—A very great deal indeed. A large number of cattle were sold.

Was that only by the poorest pattadars or by all?—By all classes.

They did not often sell their plough cattle?—They did sell them very often. Of the poorer people some sold them in order to pay kist, some sold them in order to get food-grains. A great many sold their cattle for next to nothing, because they were dying for want of fodder and they could not buy fodder for them. Very many thousands of cattle were sold.

You contrast the energetic action of the Famine Commissioner with the obstructive action of the head of the district. Could not the Famine Commissioner have made the head of the district take action?—I do not think he could. He could speak to him strongly, but he had no authority to remove him or do anything of the kind, so far as I understand. I cannot answer this question with full knowledge.

When did the omnibus order take effect in your district?—Towards the end of April. Before the issue of the order there was a distinct amelioration in the condition of things.

You say that the condition of workers, particularly on the works, was very bad in February or March. How did it show itself?—There was emaciation. If you watched them doing work, carrying gravel for instance, some of them were staggering under their load, although the load was a light one. They were weary and languid, looking like people who had hard work without having anything to eat.

I suppose March was hot?—That was the beginning of the hot season. April and May were bad, but May the worst.

Much wind and dust at that time?—Yes, a great deal.

No sheds on works I suppose?—They did put up sheds to a certain extent. They had sheds on most works in hot weather and had stone-breaking under the shade of trees.

Is it not a fact that nursing mothers prefer to go on works rather than go to kitchens?—Yes.

Why is that?—There is a very great prejudice against kitchens among all classes; they prefer to get their own food and cook it themselves.

Did nursing mothers and pregnant women prefer to go on works rather than have grain doles?—No, they would prefer money or grain doles at home to going on the works.

That would involve grain doles at home for all children if mothers stayed at home?—For working children it would not. They could go with their fathers. They did so in many cases. It seems to me to be almost more economical to have these people at home rather than on works. They hinder rather than help the works.

During the test work stage and afterwards during the relief work stage women and children greatly out-numbered men?—Yes.

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Did you ascertain what was the reason for that?—There were still a few odd jobs and the men went to such works when it could be had. I think the proportion was not at all extravagant—the proportion between men and women.

Did considerable numbers of men go to other districts?—Not taking into account the number of men employed in some of the villages, I may state generally that some went to Nellore and some went to Mysore, and I myself helped to send a number to Travancore tea estates. They included men, women and children. That is an extreme test of distress. The people do not like to go twenty or thirty miles, but still they went several hundreds of miles to a jungle country to work. About 600 men, women and children went.

What class of people did you send?—The majority of them were Pariah Christians, but a considerable number of them were of the ordinary ryot class and a few weavers. I could have sent 200 or 300 people more if people had been wanted. A number of people came to me and asked me to send them.

What were the wages?—Five annas for men, 3½ annas for women, and 2½ annas for children. Railway fare was paid, and on condition of their serving there for eight months the return fare was also to be paid.

Did you confine your inspection in your visit to these four taluks in Cuddapah?—I was in other taluks also.

In that district?—Yes, I was in Siddhawattam and Rajampet taluks, where there was little or no distress.

That was due to harvests not having failed?—Yes.

Did you go to any other districts?— I have gone across the borders into Kurnool and Anantapur and have seen about a dozen villages.

Was the distress as bad as in Cuddapah?—Yes, in some parts. In one or two villages I visited it was not so bad because they happened to be under the Cuddapah-Kurnool canal. There was considerable distress, though it was not as bad as it was with us. Our coolies from one or two villages went across the line to work in the Kurnool district. They got rather better pay there.

How was that?—The wage was higher.

You say that in cases of some workers you knew, when they returned to their homes, their huts were almost ruined?—Yes.

Why did that happen?—They were huts with mud walls thatched with grass and were not in good condition to begin with. They were very soon blown away by the high winds that prevailed. We had to help them to rebuild their huts before they could settle in their homes again.

What is the value of the ordinary household furniture of these people?—A cot or two as a rule, a large number of pots, a loom in the corner if the man can weave, a spinning wheel, and some baskets for grain, if they are fairly well to do. A great number of them have small pieces of land and such often have a buffalo in the house and probably a bull.

What for?—For cultivation and also for milk.

When they go away for some months do they leave any one in charge of their houses?—Those that went away generally left some people to look after their works.

Are their pots generally of brass or of earthenware?—Earthen.

You say that the Government Order as to gratuitous relief was issued at the end of March and nothing was done to carry it out till 30th May. So the interval was occupied in appointing inspectors or in forming circles?—I do not think anything was done so far as my information goes. The Deputy Collector in special charge of famine got no order on the subject till the second week of May.

You mean the Government Order was dated the end of March and did not reach the place till the second week of May?—It did not reach the subordinates till the second week of May.

Before that time relief was being given from the Mansion House Fund?—Yes.

There was a local Committee in your part of the country?—There was an Executive Committee in Cuddapah consisting of residents, rather more than half officials and the remainder non-officials. Each taluk had a small Executive Committee consisting partly of officials and partly of non-officials.

You say, "I can give the names of a number of persons who were utterly destitute and quite unfit for work, who were removed from the lists when Government officials undertook the distribution of charitable relief." What are the grounds on which such persons were removed?—In these cases the inspector told them they should go to the works. I saw a large number of such cases, and looked into them. Some of them were particularly bad cases.

The condition in the Code is that people incapable of work should be relieved if they have no relatives bound to support or unable to support them. Is that a difficult thing to arrive at?—It is not a difficult thing to know whether they had relatives on relief works or not. I know of cases where the relatives were on relief works.

The people you refer to were men or women?—Almost all women. I remember just now one or two cases of men who were crippled or diseased.

What were the women—old women?—In one case there was a woman with twins, little babies. It was a miserable sight. If she had taken them to the works they would have died. I gave her some money. The children were wretchedly emaciated. The mother was struck off the doles list and told to go to the works. After two or three week she was brought back and relief was given to her. In other cases they were old women and sickly people.

You prefer money doles to grain doles. You think that ought to be given at the villages. Is not that open to risk of embezzlement?—If the grain is not procurable in the villages, it is as likely to be embezzled as money. The poor people do not know exactly what they ought to get. Money doles only went on for a month. I do not think I heard a single complaint that the money was kept back. Probably it did not go on long enough to allow of embezzlement. As to grain doles there were many complaints.

Money doles are more popular?—Yes. If there were any complaints about keeping back the money, I should certainly have heard of it.

It has been said in certain places that if money doles were given to non-working children at the works or to children in villages, parents would starve or underfeed the children and take the money. Do you think that parents would do this? I am not talking of cases where there is acute starvation, but I am talking of cases where there is scarcity?—I have not seen anything of this kind. Even when there is very little food, the children get it. I have looked into their pots and seen what they had for the next meal. In the morning, there would be the liquid of the food consumed in the night. When the children came crying for food in the morning they were given this.

In your experience how do people who go to works manage about food; do they eat something in the morning?—The young children may. They would have a little food kept for them from the night before. In cases where they were getting six or eight or ten pies a day and the grain ordinarily used was selling at 9 to 10 seers to the rupee, they could not have more than enough for one meal. They might however pour some water into the pot and allow it to sour and scrape the inside of the pot and drink the mixture in the morning.

Do they cook one meal at the works?—No.

Wait till the evening?—Yes. In some cases the better classes were able to take something with them to the works.

Cooked food?—Yes. The lower classes complained that they could not be expected to do work in the same way as the higher classes, who had some reserve by them and who could take some food with them to the work, whereas they had to do the work without food at midday.

You are in favour of giving a great deal of relief in the form of village relief?—Yes, to those who are unable to work, not to those who are able to work. I would make the latter work or let them starve.

To do that you should have small circles and good inspectors?—I do not think the circles we had were too large.

Can you tell me what the area or the number of people in your circle was?—In Jammalamadugu taluk there were four circle inspectors. Each man would have about 30 villages.

He would be able to get a thorough knowledge of all?—Yes, he could see what is going on if he moved about.

Were village officials thoroughly reliable in famine?—Not unless they were thoroughly well watched.

You say that in July 1897 on road works at Kodur people were fined so rigorously that some did not receive more than three pies each. I suppose that owing to the omnibus order people got into the way of doing next to nothing?—I should not say next to nothing, considering the constitution of the gangs.

What do you mean by the constitution of the gangs?—You had women, children, the aged and the infirm—all classes of people in the gangs.

Who was in charge of the road works at Kodur?—The overseer was Sergeant Ruck. He did not know Telugu I believe, and consequently he had difficulty with the people.

Do you think it would be impossible to arrange for the works being done at night in hot weather?—I should think not. I should not agree with bringing crowds of people together at night.

When did the special officer appointed to deal with loan applications begin work?—It was in July—not until July. It was pretty well on in July.

Are the wells numerous in the taluks around you?—Fairly numerous in Pulivendla and certain restricted parts of Jammalamadugu and Prodattur. They are not general on the black cotton soil.

Commoner in red than in black?—Yes.

If they existed in black soil, were they utilized?—Yes. Old wells that had not been used for years were put in order and some ragi was grown under them.

Do they grow vegetables?—Yes, near the villages, to some extent.

Have you any idea of the area generally irrigated in the black cotton soil?—Five or six acres—that is only an approximate idea, and I cannot exactly say what the extent is. Of course it depends on the well.

What could be the reason why the order of the Board was not put in force in Pulivendla taluk for a month after the order was issued?—I have heard no explanation. The only explanation I can think of is that the head of the district did not think that it ought to be put into force. It was not sent to the taluk cutcherry.

You say that a Committee in the town of Jammalamadugu provided daily meals for infirm and helpless persons for a period of four or five months. What four or five months were those?—From November onward. Our money was exhausted just about the time the Mansion House Fund became available.

Did people of the town subscribe liberally?—Yes, they subscribed fairly well. We got ₹1,500. There were comparatively few subscribers.

Where were the meals served out?—On the bank of a river beside an old *chatram*.

Any caste objection made?—None whatever. Cooking was done by a Brahmin inside the *chatram* attached to the temple. Brahmans and others could get inside.

People made strong distinctions between that kitchen and Government kitchens?—Yes, but I may say that those who came to our kitchen were the poorest people, and were very limited in number.

Where did they get the idea?—I do not know. There was an idea in a large part of the district that if people went to Government kitchens they would die. It may have been a reminiscence of the previous famine, but still there was the feeling.

That is the feeling prevailing about Government hospitals too?—Yes.

It has been proposed that in future famines the rates of wages shall be simplified, that the diggers should get one wage, that is the B wage, whether they be men or women, and that all carriers, whether they be men or women, should get the C wage; and that if a woman was able to dig she should get a digger's wage, and that there should be no distinction made between men and women, and that the wage should simply depend on the kind of work done. Have you got anything to remark on that proposal?—There could not be anything unfair in it provided you are able to find employment for as many people as would offer to dig. There may be a lot of people who would not only be willing to dig but able to dig, for whom you could not find work. In this case there would be a difficulty.

You don't think that there would be any likelihood of men revolting, as it were, against the idea of getting the same wage as women?—Not if the wage is sufficient. Of course it is very much contrary to the custom of the country, but at the same time if sufficient wage is given and if the woman's wage is raised to the man's wage, I do not think there would be any complaint.

You said that you had not any difficulty in getting coolies at the usual rate, *viz.*, at 3 annas per man and 2 annas for a woman per day. Do you think that they do work in proportion to their wages—that a man does one-third more work than a woman?—That is the ordinary wage we give.

Is the difference that you have in the wages due to custom or is it due to the fact that a woman does less work?—I think there is no doubt that a woman does less work than a man; but whether what you mention is a proper proportion or not I cannot say. We go by custom in paying the wage.

You say that in some villages when field work commenced the ryots had difficulty in getting coolies, because they offered a miserably low wage?—They offered a low wage, the same wage as people were getting on relief works. They would not accept it.

You say they are low rates?—Yes. At this time they gave the wage in grain deciding the quantity by the price. In paying harvest coolies they did not give them the ordinary customary quantity of grain. They considered what the customary quantity of grain cost and gave the grain which could be purchased for that money. In this harvest time the coolies fared very badly. Each family of coolies used to get 2 or 3 hundred seers, on which they could subsist for several months, but instead of that they got only 30 or 40 seers this year.

Do you think that the coolies got grain in their villages at the rates their wages were calculated?—There was only a slight difference. At some villages they could not purchase grain at all as there was no grain for sale. In a few villages there was combination to keep up prices artificially, but in most villages they could get grain and at the rate at which the wages were calculated.

You think that the price of grain could have been lowered had Government imported large quantities from countries outside India. Do you think that Government could have taken any action of that kind which might have made private trade stagnate?—I do not think it would injure private trade. If Government had imported grain, merchants would have imported it too and distributed it.

What are those two important channel works that you mention in your written statement?—One is the channel running for about two miles above Jammalamadugu to a large village near Peddapasupalla, where there is no water-supply. It will supply the people with drinking water and will also irrigate a large extent of land. The other is the Chiyapad project, a large branch channel from the Cuddapah-Kurnool canal, running some 15 miles to a group of villages where water can be distributed for irrigation purposes.

How do you propose to renew your stock of grain in grain depôts?—By purchasing it and also, as I have stated in the last paragraph of my written statement, by receiving a part of the kist in kind instead of in money.

(*Mr. Higham.*)—Can you give further particulars regarding those fines which you say occurred on the road works at Kodur. Can you say at what time in July that occurred—was it in the beginning or the end of the month?—At the end of July and the beginning of August.

Have you any idea as to how many people were fined down to 3 pies?—A large proportion of people.

Not merely one or two?—No. It was by gangs.

Gangs were fined all through?—Yes. There was no individual fining.

Did you investigate this yourself?—Yes. I got the head coolies and sub-maistries over a number of gangs and obtained from them the wages which had been paid for three days to their people.

They made this statement?—Yes.

It worked out to the figure you mention?—Yes.

Several gangs received only 3 pies a day?—Yes. That is on one particular occasion.

As a result of that people left the particular work wholesale?—Yes.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—You have been in the district for 15 years?—Thirteen years.

Have you seen a year as bad as this?—Nothing like this.

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What was 1891-92 like?—In that year there was a considerable amount of distress and help was given here and there to poor people. It was nothing like this year in which there was famine in four taluks.

In the present year outside the four taluks there were other taluks which were not distressed?—Which were not *seriously* distressed.

Was there any relief in these that you know of?—Relief was given in the sub-division for cattle and seed-grain, I know. I think there were no relief works.

There was no very serious distress?—No. Nothing like what it was elsewhere.

Were the prices as high as elsewhere?—Not so high. There was a difference of 2 or 3 seers to the rupee.

Throughout the famine?—Yes.

Did people from the non-affected taluks come for relief in the affected taluks?—Not to any appreciable extent. As far as I know a very few went from Siddhavattam taluk where it borders on Cuddapah.

In spite of high prices people in non-affected taluks managed to get on?—Managed to pull through.

How was it?—Some of them had great difficulty. They had a decent harvest, however, and even the poorer people got some grain and got some work.

By the harvest did these poor people lay up grain?—Yes, for 2 or 3 months.

Do they get grain wages?—Yes. In addition to the ordinary wage that a coolie gets, when the threshing floors are cleared he gets some grain.

You say that in July 1897 people were driven from the works by the policy pursued and a very great catastrophe would have ensued. As a matter of fact did a catastrophe occur?—No. The rains came in providentially.

There was no harm done by driving the people from the works?—The people suffered considerably.

Did it affect the death-rate?—I cannot say. It is very difficult to say that. During the monsoon cholera was prevalent and the death-rate increased; but it is hard to say how much of it is due to cholera and how much of it is due to the people having been driven from the works.

You are inclined to think that it would be an economy to increase gratuitous relief and decrease the number of kitchens?—Yes, I would give more in the shape of village relief.

Would not everybody be wanting grain doles?—But everybody would not get it.

Who is to draw the line?—It was actually done for a considerable time.

By whom?—In the first place our Committee carried out the thing. The Government then took over the list from us and altered it considerably, by adding some and taking off some.

As I understand, you started gratuitous relief from the Mansion House Fund?—Yes.

Then an order came to the Collector to start relief?—Yes.

Then he took over these lists?—Yes.

According to his reports there were a great many people on the list who could work. Do you happen to know that?—I do not know if he has made that statement. He made a statement that there were some people belonging to a respectable class who, owing to custom or caste, would not do work.

Do you think that what the Collector reports in the fortnightly narrative of 15th of May is a correct statement. He says: "In B.P., dated 6th May 1897, I was asked to take on Government relief 5,000 persons said to have been fed by the relief fund. From the fortnightly narrative received from the subordinate officers and the telegram received from the Secretaries to the Cuddapah Committee, it would appear that the relief fund has not been feeding any people, but has been giving money doles at the rate of one and-a-half annas per adult and 9 pies per child—a rate higher than the B class wage on works at present. All the persons relieved by the fund by these doles cannot, with due regard to the provisions of the Famine Code, be at once put on State relief, considering the facts brought to notice by the Special Deputy Collector. The Proddatur Tahsildar has also cited a number of cases in which able-bodied persons who should go to relief works have been admitted to relief by the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund. This shows that the recipients of relief from that fund cannot be drafted *en masse* to State gratuitous relief without proper enquiry." Do you think that is correct?—Not having the information before me I have not made special enquiries. I was not aware that such a statement was made. So far as I have seen it was only in very exceptional cases that people were taken on relief who could, strictly speaking, go to relief works. A woman with a child of two or three months old in her arms and two or three other children is a proper subject for gratuitous relief. But the Collector might say that she should go to the works. Several cases which were taken off the list improperly were of this nature. A mother with a child of two or three months old on the breast and with other children could not be expected to walk to a work which is five or six miles distant.

You would extend the Code to that class of people?—Yes. They come under the class of people unable to work.

Do you think they had to go very far to the works?—They would have to leave their homes and go to the works and come back.

If they go to their homes once a week the objection on the ground of the houses falling in would not exist?—Hardly. They might repair their houses to a certain extent.

Would it not be more humane to hut the people than make the children walk seven or eight miles?—Yes, certainly. It is better to put them in huts than to make the children walk seven or eight miles.

Those tanks you mention cannot be built without the concentration of labour?—You mean large tanks.

Those tanks connected with the existing river channels?—They would not employ more than three or four thousand people.

For some time they would give employment?—Yes.

You would expect the people to live on the works?—You could get quite that number of people within three or four miles of the place.

Then you say that at harvest the ryots could not get coolies to come for the wages they were offering?—Yes, for the famine wage.

If they were offering that wage, why should not the coolies go on the fields instead of on the works?—They would not leave the works to go to work which would not last and which might be given one day and dropped the next day.

Would not it last for a fortnight?—Yes, it might.

Would not it be easy to do that work if it is near their homes?—Yes, but this would not do in regard to coolies who live at a distance. In any case, the coolies would stand out and refuse to take a starvation wage.

Do you think that the Code wage is a starvation wage?—, Yes, the C and D wage.

The Code wage given was B?—Yes.

The ryots offered the B wage?—Yes.

The coolies would not go?—The coolies would not break their former rates, and the ryots had to come down afterwards.

You advocate the policy of Government storing up grain and you also say that there has not been a year like this for the past 13 years?—Not as bad as this.

During these 13 years the grain would not have been utilised?—In 1891-92 it would have been utilised. There was a great deal of distress then, though not to such a great extent as the distress that prevailed this year. If the Government had stores of grain then and put it on the market, the prices would have been very much cheaper than what they were generally.

That is the only year within the past 13 years?—Yes 1891-92.

I think you told us that people would send their non-working children willingly to kitchens?—Yes, in most cases.

Were there any castes who objected to this?—The ordinary ryot class, the Reddis, preferred not to send their children to the kitchens. In some cases they did—a very few of them sent their children to the kitchens.

What we have been told is that in certain cases workers refused to send their non-working children to the kitchens and shared their famine wage with them?—In some cases they did.

Is that then your experience too?—Yes.

Is that often the case?—I did not see many cases. In some cases the workers shared their famine wage with the people at home.

That ceased when gratuitous relief was started?—But all were not taken on gratuitous relief.

Did you go minutely into the wages given to workers. Did you look into them and consider their sufficiency or otherwise?—Yes.

I think that a male in B class gets 2⅝ lbs.?—He gets 90 tolas.

A woman gets 2¼ lbs.?—Yes.

A proposal has been made whereby a digger, whether a man or a woman, would get 2⅝ lbs., the present B male wage, and the bulk of the people who are carriers, whether men or women, would get 1⅝ lbs. I should like to know what you think of 1⅝ lbs.?—I call it starvation. They might get on for six weeks or two months, but in the end you would find them in a sorry condition.

Suppose it was paid in grain—1⅝ lbs.—would any portion of it go to salt and condiments?—Some of it would have to go for them. It is really difficult to say what they would do on it. They might try to cook and eat it without salt.

Could they supplement it with vegetables?—There are no vegetables to be had.

Fruit?—No fruit even in good times in the black cotton soil.

No other resources?—They could not get even firewood. They were very badly off for firewood. They used to pick up bits of sticks, and dry cow-dung, and use them as fuel.

We may assume that the B wage for a female is sufficient?—Yes.

You think that 1⅝ lbs. is too little?—Yes, certainly I do.

Then there is a statement that you make here that you prefer money to grain doles on the ground that grain goes to village officials. Are they very untrustworthy?—Yes, taking the village officials as a whole. But there is a considerable number of them who think it beneath them to plunder the poor people of a little grain. When they get grants for cattle the village officials take something.

Why do they draw the distinction?—Because one is a petty little thing. I know of cases where in the matter of grain doles they did keep back a part of the food of the people.

You go on to say that when grants are given by the Indian Charitable Fund, they should not be made through the usual official channels. What is your special objection to the usual official channels?—Whenever a ryot gets anything extra, the usual custom is that people like the village officials and those above them get a share of it. If the grants are made through non-official channels, this could be avoided. This was done in Kurnool and Anantapur.

What sort of non-officials would you have?—I understand that in Kurnool and Anantapur an official and a non-official went round each village, saw the people, enquired into their circumstances, wrote out tickets for the amounts they should receive, and gave them to them. They came round with their tickets three days afterwards to a certain village centre where they received the money. But if you have Magistrates and Tahsildars and other similar people, and make them responsible for deciding who the proper persons are for receiving grants, then they might say, "We have done so much for you won't you give us something in return."

You say that cattle deaths were numerous. Could they have been prevented?—By loans to agriculturists they could have been prevented.

What would they have done?—As soon as fodder depôts were opened they would have purchased fodder.

Did not fodder depôts sell as much as they had?—They could have sold very much more.

(*President.*)—Are there any Government forests in these taluks?—Yes, there are what are called Government forests in Jammalamadugu. In most cases you have scanty shrubs and hill grass and large quantities of stones. In good years there is some grass to be had, but in bad years it is all dried up. Just outside the border of Proddatur and Jammalamadugu, there is fodder to be had. Mr. Forbes opened the forests in the beginning, but he was told that it was premature and they were closed. Later on they were opened.

Assuming we give grain doles, would you give grain solely or would you give according to the famine ration?—I don't think it matters much. I don't think there is very much difference. It seemed to me from my own experience that with regard to grain, people were more easily taken in than with regard to money.

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You made some reflections on the conduct of district officials. Do you on the whole agree with the correspondence which went on in the *Madras Mail* about the state of the Cuddapah district?—Yes.

You consider that what was stated there was not overdrawn?—No, I don't think it was overdrawn.

(*Mr. Bose.*)—Do you think that there are a sufficient number of people of position who could take over and distribute village relief without any aid from the officials?—Yes, certainly. But we should be glad to have the help of the officials. We had actually prepared lists and we had receipt forms in our hands.

(*Dr. Richardson.*)—You say in one paragraph that labour was exacted from all who were fit to work and from many who were anything but fit. Was there anything like medical supervision or anything like systematic inspection of these gangs?—Apothecaries and Hospital Assistants came round occasionally.

Did not these Apothecaries and Hospital Assistants have a look at these gangs?—They did.

Select those that were unfit for work?—In a few cases they set aside a few people as unfit for work. But the difficulty was what were the people to do. There was no gratuitous relief provided for them for a long time. In one case they turned the old people off the works, but they came back crying and begging to be taken on.

You don't think that the medical supervision was slack in selecting the people that were unfit for work and in pointing out that they should be withdrawn from the gangs?—No. As a general rule the medical officers did their work well.

You say that a very grave catastrophe would have ensued had it not been for the altogether unexpected advent of the monsoon towards the end of August. Then you explain that cholera had broken out at that time among the gangs. Don't you think that dispersion under those circumstances was beneficial, with a view to the prevention of cholera?—Yes, if any provision had been made for them.

Don't you think it is bad to have large bodies of people gathered together when an epidemic disease breaks out?—The works on which special pressure was put on were unaffected by cholera.

Then your statement does not apply to these works?—No, not to the works at Kodur.

You say, "I have seen women with twin babies on their knees attempting to break stone."* Do you mean to say that you frequently saw women with twins?—So far as my memory goes I saw them several times—more than two or three times.

You say again that no vegetables were used?—Yes.

Did any ill-effects on the health of the people seem to follow from the absence of vegetables in the dietary?—I cannot give an opinion.

I mean from personal knowledge?—I should think it did affect them.

That is only your impression?—I saw two cases in our mission hospital of gangrene in the mouth.

You have no professional knowledge?—I am not qualified to give a professional opinion, but I have gone through a partial medical course.

You can diagnose a scorbutic disease?—I could have a fair idea of it. But I did not attend to diagnosis of diseases. I saw two cases that came to our hospital.

(*Mr. LeFanu.*)—Did your brother diagnose the case of scorbutic disease?—He diagnosed the gangrene of the mouth as due to insufficient food.

You told the President that it was getting hot in March. Was there any proper cold weather at the end of 1896 or the beginning of 1897?—No.

Was not the sitting on works in January, February and March intolerable?—Yes, it was bad.

What about May?—It was something awful. It was simply like a furnace.

How many Europeans died?—Two came under my observation when I was out in a camp, one gentleman died in my tent. The District Board Engineer died of heat apoplexy.

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At that time are the people capable of doing anything like work?—No. As a rule they sit at home and eat the grain they got in the harvest.

We have been told officially that women in certain cases have indecently exposed their persons and appeared on works with clothes barely covering up to the neck and nothing behind, in order to excite pity and get clothes?—I saw women come in rags, but they were never indecently exposed.

Our native women in this country have a habit of being very strict in regard to dress?—Yes; so far as dress is concerned, I have never seen a woman more decently clad than the ordinary Tamil coolie in the south.

Would you tell the President what you would estimate to be the cost of feeding cattle by purchasing fodder during the time of distress?—About R12 a month.

A pair?—A pair of small cattle would cost as much as that. Bigger cattle would cost more.

About R15?—Yes.

Would that be for full feeding or for bare subsistence?—It would not give them what they get in ordinary times.

For keeping a single pair of cattle you say it would cost R12?—Yes, R12 to R15.

A family with some means might be compelled to go to works to maintain cattle?—Certainly. Probably a good many of the people who, I was told, were not compelled to come to work by hunger, resorted to them simply to try and keep things together.

You have said that the great mass of the people could not get any one to lend to them. Is it correct?—Yes.

Do you happen to know anything about the fining which went on in the Kurnool district?—In the beginning of the year some canal works were going on and there was very heavy fining. Wages came to 6 pies a day and the people left the work.

On what task have they been fined?—On the Code task.

Do you know who was the Engineer responsible for that?—I do not remember his name.

Was he a European?—No. I think not. He was in Cuddapah at one time, I believe. I think it was Mr. Subramania Iyer. The overseer who was in charge of one of the works gave me information.

What did he tell you?—He told me that the people were driven off the works.

Did the overseer tell you that they were fined properly or improperly?—He thought improperly.

Why did he do it?—When a man gets orders from his superiors what can he do.

(*Mr. Holderness.*)—The total expenditure on famine relief was 16 lakhs. Do you think it ought to have been greater to have given sufficient relief?—I should not say very much, but considerably greater. For example the expenditure on weavers was fair.

On other matters?—For a considerable time it was all right. From the beginning of the distress to the end of February it was altogether inadequate. Then again for a month from the end of July it was not adequate. The reduction at the end did not matter much on account of the unforeseen rainfall.

There ought to have been a considerable increase?—Yes.

(*President*).—What portion of the weavers do you think came on relief in your part of the district?—In the places round about Jammalamadugu almost all the caste weavers came on relief. No provision was made for the non-caste weavers except what we made in connection with our Mission. We spent three or four thousand in making coarse cloths and distributed them to those who were in need of clothes.

Why were the caste weavers brought on and the others not?—The former weave certain kinds of cloths that are exported to Bombay; while the others weave cloths for local consumption and are accustomed to field work and therefore can go to the works.

Mr. E. A. Elwin, Acting Collector of Bellary, was called in and examined.

Mr. E. A. Elwin.

22nd Feb 1898.

I put in a written statement of evidence.

I was acting Collector of Kurnool, one of the famine affected districts, from 25th January 1897 to 22nd December 1897.

Points mentioned in paragraph 4 of Mr. McIntosh's letter No. 60, dated 13th January 1898:—

(*a*) *Relief works.*—(1) The standard tasks were modified. These were found in practice to be too heavy, and modified tasks were suggested by the Executive Engineer and approved by me (section 107).

(2) Men between 12 and 16 years of age are under the Code equivalent to four child units. It was considered that these lads were unable to turn out the task of a full grown man, and it was ordered that they should be reckoned as two or three child units according to circumstances.

(3) Nursing mothers and women in an advanced stage of pregnancy are, under the Code, like ordinary women, equivalent to two child units. It was found that they seldom turned out a full task and it was therefore ordered that they should be reckoned as 1½ child units.

(4) A reduction in the task of one-tenth for every mile of distance between the worker's home and the work-spot was allowed during the months of June and July on most works. This was in accordance with the order of Government that a walk of 2½ miles might be taken as the equivalent of an hour's work, where shelter was not provided for the labourers at or near the work.

This was subsequently modified, and it was ordered that no reduction should be allowed for the first six miles walked from home to the work-spot and back, and that thereafter a walk for men of 3 miles and for women and children of 2½ miles should be taken as the equivalent of an hour's work.

(5) A reduction in the task was allowed on account of the weakness of the worker till he recovered his health.

(6) The rules regarding fining in section 106 were modified.

In June and July the orders were that fining should be resorted to only in clear cases of malingering or of insubordination, and even then not so as to reduce the wage below that of the D class, nor for more than one week continuously without the special permission of the Revenue Divisional officer.

These orders were subsequently cancelled and the Bombay Code rules were introduced.

(7) The rule that a labourer failing to be present at both musters (7-30 A.M. and 2 P.M.) should be marked absent was modified so as to allow of half the wage being given for half a day's work. Late attendance not justified by distant residence from the work instead of entailing forfeiture of pay for the whole day was ordered to be met by a small fine not exceeding a quarter of a day's wage.

(8) The rules contained in section 96 were not observed for about 2 or 2½ months in the middle of the famine. The modified rules were that all seeking employment on works should be placed as a rule in class A or class B and the weakly only in class C.

(9) Sections 38 and 39 of the Bombay Code giving the Collector and, to some extent, his Divisional officers direct authority over the Public Works subordinates were introduced towards the end of the famine.

(10) Section 120 was modified by prescribing the other items included in the B and C class relief-workers' ration.

(11) Section 121 was modified by defining grain to be mature grain of medium quality, and by directing that the prices ruling at the villages near the relief work should be taken for calculating the money-value of the wages.

Gratuitous Relief.—(1) Kitchens were provided in connection with all works and were merely in connection with large works (section 66).

This was found necessary in order to feed the non-working children and other dependants who accompanied the labourers to the work-spot and the kitchens, served also for others living in the neighbourhood who were entitled to gratuitous relief in villages.

Section 122 was modified by the substitution for the ration therein prescribed of the D class wage prescribed in section 120. It was considered quite needless to give a

kitchen ration or a grain dole that was in excess of the minimum wage that could be earned on the relief works.

Medical.—The District Medical Officer was not given the assistance contemplated in section 28.

Relief to weavers.—The provisions of section 128 were not followed.

(*b*) Considered with regard to the relief of distress and the saving of human life all the measures adopted, *viz.*, relief on works, gratuitous relief in kitchens, in villages and on works, relief to weavers, their children, and dependants, relief to gosha women, the grant of State loans for various purposes, the grant of remissions and suspensions of revenue were attended with great success. There was not a single death from starvation reported during the whole period of distress, and it was found unnecessary to give gratuitous relief in poor-houses.

Considered with regard to economy, the relief works were not quite a success. There were so many of them that though the cost of establishments was very high the supervision exercised was hardly sufficient. Again, the work turned out was in most cases of but little permanent use; the other measures of relief were on the whole fairly economical. Gratuitous relief in kitchens and on works was as economical as could be desired, but rather more supervision was required in the case of gratuitous relief in villages, to which owing to the leniency or stupidity of the Circle Inspectors, persons were sometimes improperly admitted before the Taluk or Divisional officer could check their work.

(*c*) Works should be more concentrated and residence on them should, as a rule, be compulsory, though at the same time small village works, such as the construction or repair of tanks, should be opened for those able-bodied persons really unable to leave the neighbourhood of their homes for days at a time, owing to their having sick or aged relatives, cattle, etc., to attend to. It is unlikely that more than about one person in each household would require such employment and he would be admitted only on the certificate of some responsible official. Where possible, works likely to be of permanent use should be taken up as large relief works; where nothing but the repairing of roads is available, the repairs should be executed in a very thorough manner, wells being dug wherever the water required for the consolidation of the materials could not otherwise be had. Gratuitous relief in villages should be supervised by Taluk Relief officers. Inspectors of Salt and Abkari Revenue, if possible, appointed as soon as orders are issued to give such relief throughout the affected area.

(*d*) The recent famine is the first in which I have worked, and I am therefore not in a position to compare the methods of working with those resorted to previously.

Suggestion (*a*).—Nursing mothers should on no account be told off to work in the same gang as the able-bodied.

Suggestion (*b*).—I would suggest that as soon as a particular tract is declared to be seriously affected, the power given by Government to the Famine Commissioner to appoint in anticipation of its sanction Special Tahsildars to supervise the grant of loans should be extended to the appointment of all other special officers contemplated by the Code. Other recommendations and opinions may be gathered from my answers to some of the questions recently circulated to witnesses.

Answers to questions circulated as to the extent and severity of the distress.—The affected area in the Kurnool district was 4,019 square miles and the population of that area 511,678 according to the census of 1891. To this may be added the Banganapalli State with an area of 255 square miles and a population of 35,506, all the subjects of which who applied were freely admitted to our relief works under the orders of Government. The distress was due to local failure of the rains and harvests and to abnormally high prices. The average annual rainfall of the affected area is 25·59 inches, while the average rainfall in the official year 1896-97 was but 14·08 inches. The principal crops probably yielded between only about one-fourth of the normal yield. The prices of food-grains were much higher than in any other year but 1877. They were considerably higher than during the famine of 1891-92, and in July the price of the staple food grain was for a short time as high as in the worst period of 1877 (the great famine). The preceding two seasons had been neither favourable nor the reverse; moderately fair on the whole. Under normal circumstances the population of the affected area cannot be considered to enjoy a fair measure of material well-being. It had previous to the recent famine by no means fully recovered from the effects of the great famine of 20 years ago, and its inhabitants are generally poor. The labourers, forming 22 or 23 per cent. of the population, are ordinarily in an unsatisfactory and precarious condition owing to the fact that they rarely earn more than a bare subsistence. The agriculture of the affected area is specially dependent on timely and sufficient rain owing to the fact that a large portion of the soil is black cotton, almost all the crops grown are dry crops, and there is very little irrigation, except under Kurnool-Cuddapah canal, which is not popular with the ryots. The mercantile classes and the better class of ryots may be said generally to have reserves of money or food for their support for two or three years. The labourers, the majority of the weavers, artisans, and shepherds, and the poorer class of ryots, forming about 75 per cent. of the population, have not such reserves. The late distress was not so severe as the famine of 1876—78, when the whole district was affected, though much more severe than the famine of 1891-92, when one taluk alone was really badly affected. In the late distress five out of eight taluks were affected, and seriously. I do not consider that there was any over-estimation or under-estimation of the extent of crop failure, or the degree of distress, or the absence of resources on the part of the people during the time that I was in the district.

As to the sufficiency and economy of the relief measures.—I think that 30 per cent. of the population would be a more fairly correct standard of relief in the worst months of a famine than the 15 per cent. estimated by the Famine Commission of 1879. The numbers on relief in my district were for a short time as high as 40 per cent. of the population. I think that the proportion relieved was larger than was necessary to prevent loss of life or severe suffering, and that some persons were relieved who were not really in need of relief. I attribute this to the fact that the relief works being numerous were generally close to the homes of the people, and that applicants for employment were admitted to them without question, that a good deal of liberality was shown to the workers in the way of reductions in the task on account of distant residence from the work-spot, and weakness, and of other modifications of the Code rules, notably those relating to late attendance. Judged by the mortality of the famine period, the relief given has been successful in its object. The mortality has been in excess of the normal (32 per mille as against 24 per mille), but the excess was largely due to an epidemic of cholera. Various changes were made in G. O. No. 216, dated 30th March 1897, and were given effect to in my district about the end of May or beginning of June. As these changes were beneficial to the labourers, it follows that they must have tended to some extent to bring on to relief persons who did not really require relief. As a matter of fact, however, there was no particularly *sudden* rise in the numbers in receipt of relief, though there was a steady increase week by week throughout the hot weather. Again, about the beginning of August several of the concessions made to the labourers during the hot weather were withdrawn, and this must have led to a decrease in the numbers on relief, but as at that time the season was rapidly improving it is impossible to say what was the actual effect of the changes. Except during the time that the concessions allowed in G. O. No. 216, dated 30th March 1897, were in force, I think that the principle of prescribing self-acting tests in regard to labour and wages by which necessity may be proved, has been observed to the fullest practicable extent. All persons who could do a reasonable amount of work, except gosha women in villages as opposed to towns and a few workers in lacquerware from whom it was found impossible to exact work of any kind, were required to work as a condition of receiving relief. Women and children were subjected to the labour test. At the end of June and July, respectively, those gratuitously relieved were 6·4 and 10·1 per cent. of the population of the affected tract, and 28 and 30·4 per cent. of the numbers relieved on works. The conditions of the task and the wage have been such as to constitute a fair test of necessity on the whole, though not a stringent one. The task has been a full one in some cases, but not in others. The task for earthwork was frequently excessive, while for other kinds of work it was sometimes hardly a full one. In the case of large families, all the working members of which were attending works, the wage has been slightly more than a bare subsistence wage, but this was not the case, I think, in the case of small families. There have been several works in each taluk. The workers have not resided on them as a rule. Residence is disliked by the people. During the period of maximum pressure, the third week in July, the percentage of the total population of the affected tract

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relieved on works was 31·7, which was about the same as the figure for January 1877. The percentage is higher than was attained in the famine of 1891-92, which was of a comparatively mild character. My experience is limited to the recent famine. Gratuitous relief was given in the form of cooked food in kitchens where residence was not a condition of relief, and by means of doles to persons in their homes. I think that, on the whole, the risk of a too free grant of relief was effectually prevented. Gratuitous home relief has, I believe, been given more largely and at an earlier date in this than in any former scarcity, having regard to the experience gained during the famine of 1876—78. The change has been beneficial, and has saved lives and kept villages and households together. It has demoralised the people to a certain extent by weakening the moral obligation of mutual assistance, but this, I think, must always be the case when such relief is given. The gross cost of direct famine relief in my district, as stated in the famine report, was R24,36,596 (this is probably liable to alteration on the adjustment of certain items). The number of persons relieved in terms of units for one day's relief was 68,121 and the cost of relief per unit R35. State loans to the extent of R4,14,518 were given (in 1891-92, R2,25,517). Remissions of land revenue R3,37,463 (1891-92, R1,87,679). The amount of land revenue suspended was R1,71,493.

As to the extent to which the prescriptions of the Code have been departed from or have been found to be unsuitable.—Gratuitous relief in poor-houses was not used. The material departures from the provisions of the Code have already been given. Relief on works and gratuitous relief in villages were most approved by the distressed, and gratuitous relief in all its forms by the intelligent natives not in need of relief.

As to Relief Works.

Extent to which works of public utility may be available as relief works.—About half the roads constructed as relief works will be of permanent service to the community and will be effectively maintained in future. I consider that there will be no room for new roads in the affected tract. Some of the unfinished roads might be completed on the occurrence of another famine. Metal collection, though comparatively useless, is a good means of employment of relief labour, especially where the supervising agency is weak or work has to be started hurriedly, as tasks are easily set and work is easily measured up. I am in favour of village tanks as a form of relief work.

As to large and small works and the distance test.—If a reduction in task for distant residence from the work-spot is allowed, people may be induced to attend relief works at a distance of 8 miles; if no reduction is allowed, at half that distance. This is when they return every night to their villages.

When accommodation is provided on the works, I would answer 20 miles, which would allow of the labourers returning to their homes for the day of rest, if they liked.

I think it would be practicable to withhold relief from all fairly and able-bodied labourers who refused to attend relief works at such distances, except from a few who were tied down to the vicinity of their homes by some urgent necessity and might be employed, if certified to be so tied down by some responsible official, on a small village work. I do not recommend the conveyance of relief labourers long distances by rail or steamer to large public works. Residence on the works has been the exception. I am in favour of indirectly inducing residence by concentrating the works. I have no definite evidence that when residence is not enforced the relief works are unduly attractive, but the absence of such a test must tend to make them so. I consider that a high task, if *properly enforced by fining*, and a low rate of wage are in themselves fairly sufficient tests. Residence was not made a definite condition of relief. I believe the people would undergo extreme privation before submitting to go long distances by rail or steamer from their homes, but I do not consider that they would have any rooted objection to residence on works, if not more than twenty miles from their homes, provided that where there were aged or sickly dependants or cattle to be looked after, one man in each household was to be given employment on some small work near home. If famine were widespread, the disposable establishment would not be large enough to supervise works so numerous, and so arranged as to allow the majority of the workers to return daily to their homes. I have already spoken of the reduction in the task for distant residence from the work-spot.

Task-work and piece-work.—There was no piece-work. I have no experience of it. In my opinion the most convenient system of classifying relief labourers when employed on task-work is the Code system. The existing scale of wages may continue. I do not think it necessary to maintain the alternative system given in the Code, under which wages may be calculated according to the cost of the component parts of a day's ration. The trouble of calculating the cost of such component parts is disproportionately large as compared with any advantage gained. I would propose a different task wage for men and women within the same class. I would treat children of both sexes between 12 and 16 years of age as women in all respects. The existing rule that no child of less than seven years should be employed as a worker may continue. Tasks should be enforced by fining according to the provisions of section 106 slightly modified. When nursing mothers, whose wages cannot fall below certain minima, persistently neglect without due cause to turn out the light task set them, they should be sent to the kitchen as contumacious characters and not be re-admitted as workers for a time. The present restrictions as to fining below the minimum are necessary and expedient. Considerable bodies of relief workers have not been on the D wage for a continuous period. I am not in favour of allowing any labourers to earn more than the normal wage on condition of turning out more than the normal task, unless the work is an important one that Government wishes to have completed soon. I am in favour of the existing rules as regards the rest day. The adult male workers stood to the women and children in the proportion of three to seven on the average. The proportion was lower in the early and concluding stages and higher in the acute stage of the distress. In the early stages, the adult males found private employment at wages slightly in excess of the famine wages, but it was necessary for the State to support their wives and children, because the earnings of the males were insufficient for the support of their whole families.

Relations of Civil and Public Works officers in connection with the management of Relief Works.—Petty works alone should be left to be carried out by Civil officers. Public Works officers should, where possible, carry out all others. If the Collector is still to be held responsible for exercising general supervision over and for the efficiency of *all* works in his district, I consider that he should exercise full control over the management of large works, the Executive Engineer bein his assistant for the purpose of carrying out professional details. If the Collector's existing responsibility in regard to large works is to be transferred to the Superintending Engineer, I would let the Public Works officers manage *everything*, payment of labour, conservancy arrangements, management of kitchens, bazaar arrangements, etc. I consider that divided authority must be avoided. In case the Executive Engineer is to be the Collector's assistant for famine, I see no reason why the Collector's ordinary assistants should exercise any control over works, but I would allow them to inspect them and send copies of their inspection notes to the Collector and to the officer in executive charge of the work. A Deputy Tahsildar might be attached to every large work as Civil officer. He would, in every case, be subordinate to the executive officer in charge of the work if a gazetted officer. Works were only conducted by Civil agency till the Public Works Department was able to take them over. The system of management was the same. I think that the works were properly made over to the Public Works Department.

Other details of management.—It has not been the practice to require chalans from Civil or village officers before admitting newcomers to the works. The practice would only result in the village officers extorting money from the would-be labourers for the chalans. The aboriginal hill tribes always refused to attend works. I am in favour of kitchens in all cases in which relief is given to non-working children.

Interference with the supply of labour to private employers.—I have had no complaints as to this. Relief operations were not assisted in any way by the employment offered by private employers to able-bodied workers in their immediate neighbourhood. I do not think it would be possible in future famines to utilize the agency of private employers in any way for the purpose of providing more extensive employment for the distressed.

As to gratuitous relief.—Ten per cent. of the population of the affected area was placed on gratuitous relief at the period of the maximum pressure, but the proportion was so high only for a short time. The persons so relieved mainly belonged to the agricultural classes resident in rural areas. In Kurnool town the number of gosha females relieved was

large. A large majority of the persons thus relieved were incapable of work on a relief work, and were without relatives bound and able to support them, and had no resources of any kind. In ordinary years they are supported by their relatives or by the charitable public. Famine throws them upon the State for support, because the great rise in prices deprives many of the power of helping their poor relatives and the poor in general. Women and children were those chiefly relieved in their homes. Twenty-five per cent. of the women were *parda nashin*. As there was no enforced residence, the incapable poor were not compelled to accompany their able-bodied relatives to the relief works and there to remain as dependants. I think if residence were enforced, all not physically unfit to leave their homes might be compelled to so join the relief camps. The circle and inspection organization at my disposal was not quite as strong as I should have liked. The successful administration of this form of relief probably requires a larger staff of supervising officers of the superior grades than any other kind of relief. The acceptance of such relief places no social or caste stigma upon the recipient. The knowledge that gratuitous relief is given by the State leads to the drying up of private and village charity quicker than would otherwise be the case. Only a very few of the persons in receipt of such relief might have been employed on light manual labour on relief works in or near their village. Relief in kitchens is preferable to other forms of gratuitous relief in my opinion. The substitution of kitchens for relief in the form of grain doles would, no doubt, exclude certain classes of good caste from relief who really need it, but to such grain doles could be given. I think social feelings might be disregarded almost entirely. It would be practicable to maintain a sufficient number of kitchens, so as to be within the reach of all persons requiring gratuitous relief. Those physically unable to attend kitchens would, of course, be given grain doles at home. Doles were given in grain. I prefer grain to money doles, unless a fixed sum of money could be given throughout a long period. Doles were distributed at some central place in the village, except to gosha females and the infirm to whose houses they were sent through relatives or village officers. There was not much malversation or extortion on the part of village officers. I do not know of any instance in which persons paid to be admitted to the gratuitous list. The village revenue officers prepared the lists of needy persons requiring home relief previous to the check by higher officials, and they were always the leading members of the panchayet appointed to see that the doles were properly distributed. It was not found necessary to supersede or supplement the village agency. I had one honorary kitchen superintendent, but there was no other voluntary non-official agency in my district.

As to relief kitchens.—Relief kitchens are required chiefly in connection with relief works, but may advantageously be established elsewhere for the relief generally of the incapable poor. Cooked food was given at the relief kitchens to all applicants. Strict supervision was somewhat difficult to maintain over the kitchen superintendents, when kitchens became numerous, but there was no appreciable waste or misapplication of food, so far as I know. Food was prepared for a particular day for not more persons than attended on the previous day. The kitchens and the accounts maintained at them were constantly inspected by the Circle Inspectors. Dependants of relief workers should, as a rule, be relieved by means of cooked food. Parents cannot be altogether trusted to properly apply their children's money doles.

As to loans to cultivators.—I have already given the amount of advances made. Where the money was advanced for digging or repairing wells, it was almost always properly spent; where for removing nuth grass, it was often not properly applied. The sums advanced for cattle and seed have been of much benefit to the cultivating classes and more money could have been thus advantageously spent. Advances have been made to a small extent to cultivators for purchase of food. I approve of such advances if given early in the famine and consider them more economical than offering the petty cultivators work and wages.

As to the use made of forests.—The ryots were allowed to cut grass from all reserved forests except fire-protected blocks from November 1896. The currency of permits for grazing issued for 1896-97 was extended up to 30th June 1897 (three months' extension). From the end of May 1897 to the end of August 1897 the forests were opened to free grazing, and in the case of the Yerramalai forests, the time was extended till the middle of September 1897. The effect of such measures was beneficial on the whole, but free grazing should have been allowed from an earlier date. There were no departmental operations undertaken for collection of grass.

As to emigrants and wanderers.—The village officers had orders to look out for such and to relieve them in anticipation of the orders of the Circle Inspectors. The numbers were not large except from the Hyderabad State into the northern taluks of the district. It is believed that there was no relief work in the vicinity of their homes, and that they were attracted to our works. The death-rate of my district was not sensibly affected by deaths among wanderers. No difference was made in the treatment of wanderers from my own district and those coming from other places. The only method of stopping the wandering of wanderers from outside the district and thus preserving their lives seems to me to treat them as wanderers from the district itself are treated.

As to the mortality during the famine period.—There were no deaths directly due to starvation. The staff of medical officers above the grade of hospital assistant was insufficient. The staff of hospital subordinates was insufficient at first, but fairly sufficient later on. They were adequately supplied with medicines, etc.

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(*President*).—Mr. Elwin, who was the Collector of Kurnool before you went there?—A certain Mr. Mullaly.

What had been done before you arrived?—A few relief works had been opened.

Test works or relief works?—Test works had been opened first. Some test works had been opened in November and December, and had certainly been converted into relief works. I believe that one or two other relief works had been opened without going through the test stage.

They were working on the Code standard of rates?—Yes.

Were they working on the Code rule so as not to fine below the minimum or on the appendix rule so as to fine without reference to the minimum?—Fines were imposed without reference to the minimum wage.

What happened after you arrived. What changes were made after January: were more works opened?—More works were opened, and in due course the Code standard tasks were replaced by district tasks.

When was that?—It was about the beginning of April. Revised tasks were drawn up by the Executive Engineer and approved by me.

When was the rule about fining not below the minimum introduced?—It is rather difficult to give the exact date on which it was introduced. Under what is known as the omnibus order, fines were not to be reduced below the minimum except under certain conditions. That omnibus order was not given effect to practically till the beginning of June. The rule was however relaxed before that, under some orders of the Board, I think. Dr. King, the Sanitary Commissioner, made an inspection of Koilkuntla taluk and found that people had been earning hardly any wages at all in January and February owing to fines. His report went up to the Board of Revenue, and I think the Board passed certain orders. Yes, I see from the papers with me that the order was passed on the 15th March. It was based on Dr. King's inspection. It is stated therein, "The Board in the light of these remarks has no hesitation in directing, in anticipation of the sanction of Government, that in no case, save for contumacy, shall fining be allowed so as to lower the wage of the workers below the C class wage for more than a week nor to the D class wage for more than three days except with the sanction of the Collector or his divisional officer." The order reached me on the 19th April. I presume it was not given effect to before the beginning of May.

That rule about fining without a minimum was rigorously carried out, was it?—Certainly in that part of the district with reference to which Dr. King reported.

On whom did it depend; did it depend on the overseer a good deal?—I think the overseer was, under the rules then existing, bound to pay the workers only according to the proportion of the work which they turned out, unless weakness was the cause of short work. The only thing stated in the original order was that fines were meant to meet short work due to wilfulness and not to weakness. The Board passed repeated remarks, I may say, that the Code standard tasks needed revision and were not suited to Deccan districts, and called on Collectors to frame suitable task tables in consultation with Executive Engineers.

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You mention that section 122 was modified by the substitution for the ration therein prescribed of the D class wage prescribed in section 120?—Yes.

Do you think that D class wage was sufficient or not?—I have no particular reason for thinking that it was not. Of course people in the kitchens did not specially like the reduction in the food given them to eat.

According to the D ration, the child's dole is from ½ to ¾ of the dole of the adult. Do you think that ½ of D ration is a safe dole for children?—I think that it certainly is very little. We allowed children to eat as much as they liked up to half the adult ration. We did not classify them into three classes.

You say that as regards weavers, the provisions of sections 76 and 78 were not followed. You explain what you mean in the following paragraph (*b*). Is that the case?—No. I mean to say that we did not deal with the head of the guild, and that advances were not made through a supervising official appointed expressly for the purpose but by the tahsildar in the ordinary way.

Have you any idea of the real proportion of weavers who obtained relief?—I imagine that in Kurnool town it was about ½; in the Pattikonda taluk rather more than ½ in two of the larger centres, and ⅓ or ¼ in another large centre. It is rather difficult to give the exact number, because we did not show every week the actual number of persons who were in receipt of relief. We had a formula and we had to calculate according to the number of cloths that were brought in.

You are talking of special relief to weavers. Did any weavers go on relief works?—There were only a few.

Weavers who were not relieved were able to get advance from sowcars?—I believe so. A small percentage of them are well-to-do people. I think the weavers represent 6 per cent. of the population. One-sixth of them is fairly well off.

Is the condition of prosperity supposed to be declining of late years?—I have not heard that. Weavers were relieved in the famine of 1891-92. I don't know if their condition has deteriorated since then.

You say that the work turned out in many cases was of little permanent use. It was mostly metal breaking and road making?—Yes. We also repaired a few tanks and embanked a canal to a small extent.

You are in favour of concentrating labour as much as possible on large works, but you apprehend whether it would not be possible to devise large useful works?—It would be rather difficult.

Can you suggest any in Kurnool?—There is one project called the Velgod project, *i. e.*, to tap the Kurnool-Cuddapah canal at a certain point and take the water by a circuitous route to several large tanks. That will, I believe, afford any amount of labour, but is not situated in a part of the district where people could easily go. They would have to go long distances.

You say "that the proportion of relieved was larger than was necessary to prevent loss of life or severe suffering, and that some persons were relieved who were not really in need of relief." Can you give us any example which will help us to understand it?—On one work I saw a woman who was wearing a silver belt of very nice work. I remarked that she looked fairly well off, and was told that she had ₹200 worth of other property in her house. She was a widow. Because she did not want to spend her money, she came on this work.

What caste did she belong to?—She was of the Kapu (cultivator) class.

There are some miserly people everywhere who would go on relief works if they could. But did you see many cases of people with silver jewellery on them working on the works?—I saw a number of women with gold jewellery on. I found on enquiry that the necklaces which several of them had were dedicated to some deity, and that it would be quite improper from a religious point of view for them to sell them even if they were starving.

The last witness we heard said that many small pattadars had to spend a great deal of money to keep their plough bullocks, and for that reason, though not entirely without resources, they found it necessary to go on works or to send their women on works. Is that true?—Yes. That is very likely, I think.

Do you think it possible to provide huts for labourers on large works?—I think there would be no very great difficulty in certain parts of the Kurnool district. The Nallamalai hills are quite close to some taluks and there would be no difficulty there. In Pattikonda taluk bordering on the Bellary district, it would be a more difficult business.

What do you propose that the huts should be made of?—I think they might be made of bamboo tatties, plastered with mud.

Wood work will be bamboo or what?—Common jungle wood might be used.

Do you think that will stand the wind?—I think it would, if the posts were properly fixed into the ground.

You say, "I would propose a different task wage for men and women within the same class." Will you explain why that is necessary?—I think men require more food to eat than women.

I understand that wages for private employment were at the cusba rates. What do you say. Did you hear of their falling below the cusba rates. Were they given the customary wage or lower than the customary wage?—I think they were given the customary wage in the beginning of the famine.

Later on there was no private employment?—No. Scarcely any at all.

Was much money advanced to dig or repair wells?—About ₹60,000 were advanced. I am not quite certain of the amount.

Were applications for advances very numerous?—Yes, they were fairly numerous. Three hundred applications were accepted, and about an equal number was rejected.

On what grounds were the rejections made?—For want of security.

Were all the wells used to the utmost extent during the scarcity?—I think so.

Do you think that the crops grown under them mitigated the distress?—I do not think they are sufficiently numerous to do that.

Could they be extended to any very great extent?—I think they could.

How much is the total cost of digging a well in the Kurnool district?—It depends very much on the size of the well. I should say ₹400 for a small revetted well. Such wells are very expensive.

Is the land under it treated as dry land for assessment?—Yes.

Do you think that forests ought to have been opened for cattle grazing earlier?—Yes, I certainly think so. They were opened so late that many people who would otherwise have driven their cattle into them were prevented from doing so owing to there being no water along the line of route.

(*Mr. Higham*).—What is the practical effect of the rule that task should be reduced on account of the weakness of the individual worker. Was that possible in practice?—Towards the end of February I was called upon to frame tasks in consultation with the Executive Engineer, which would be suitable to persons in good condition, fair condition, and low condition, and I did so. The Executive Engineer remarked that we had already adopted reduced tasks lower than the Code tasks, and suggested that the reduced tasks should be further reduced by fixed percentages of 5 per cent., and 10 per cent., respectively, for persons who were only in fair condition or low condition.

If you had some in a gang in good condition and some in weak condition, was the task of individuals in that gang reduced according to their condition?—For a short time it was.

A man in good condition would have his task?—Yes. That went on for a short time. But afterwards the system was found difficult to work, and each gang was classed as good, fair, or low.

The whole gang as a whole?—Yes.

The task was reduced for a gang?—Yes.

Not for an individual?—No.

You consider that the effect of the omnibus order was to cause entire suspension of the practice of fining on classes while it lasted?—It had very much that effect I think.

Do you know if any fines were actually levied during the period that proposal was in force?—I think there were four works in which fining went on.

How do you suppose it was understood by your Revenue subordinates. Did they understand that fining was forbidden except under certain circumstances?—They understood that it was to be allowed in certain circumstances.

Did they understand that a gang as a whole could be fined?—They understood that the fining of a gang as a whole was to be discouraged as much as possible.

Was it forbidden?—No, not absolutely forbidden.

If the work of an individual was short could you fine the individual. If the fining of the whole gang is to be discouraged would not that amount to the abolition of fining of the gangs?—I think contumacious characters can be picked out by an overseer who knows his workers, for the purpose of fining.

If a gang does not do its work is that attributable to one contumacious worker?—There may be several.

Was it not practicable to reduce the task if the work done was short in preference to putting on fines?—I think that in two cases which came to my notice the task was reduced. As you yourself found, one case was at Betamcherla. I made enquiries and I found there was only one other case.

I understand you to be in favour of imposing a minimum fining in all cases?—Not in all cases. I would fine below the minimum in some cases.

In certain cases and under certain precautions there should be no minimum?—I say that the whole gang should not be fined below the minimum. The worst characters should be fined below the minimum, and the minimum should be kept for other persons.

If a man does short work, don't you think that fining for a day or two would be very useful?—Yes, for a few days.

As long as they are watched?—Yes. I have no objection to that.

The present rules absolutely forbid fining below the minimum?—Oh, no. The Bombay Code rules are in force.

You think that the present classification of the Code is good and should be continued, and you recommend the four classes being kept up?—I think so.

As a matter of fact throughout the whole of this famine you gave up keeping up separate classes and you put them only under one class?—Only for a certain number of months, I think from the beginning of May. I alluded just now to the orders which the Board had passed in regard to fining in anticipation of the sanction of Government. In the same order it was stated that people should be put in class B in anticipation of the sanction of Government.

So long as you had separate classes I understand that the system in Madras was that the whole gang was a separate class and that you did not have different classes in the same gang?—Yes.

Your gangs were all made up of different classes?—The rule under section 97 is that persons of the same villages or neighbouring villages and of the same family should be kept together as far as possible.

Then all people who come from one village must go into one class?—Into one gang as far as possible.

That gang is all one class. You don't have different classes in the same gang?—We don't have them as a matter of fact.

Is that practicable?—I think so, if you follow the Code strictly.

It is impossible to follow it?—In the later stages of famine we followed it, after the lenient orders were set aside and after we reverted to the old state of things in regard to classification under section 106.

That would be in August?—Yes.

Would you not have in a gang a certain number of feeble people?—No.

Would you form them into a separate class?—Yes, I put them into D.

And have a separate gang?—Yes.

Was not this found inconvenient?—These things came on at the end of the famine. So I cannot say much about them.

(*Mr. Holderness*).—Mr. Elwin, you said that R60,000 were advanced for wells?—Yes.

The total advance under the Land Improvements Act is more than that, and I have got it in my note as R1,85,000?—Yes, about that.

What is the balance given for?—For the removal of nuth grass.

You say that was not properly applied?—That was not always properly applied.

How were they applied?—The borrowers simply lived on the money, where it was not properly applied.

When a field is removed of the nuth grass, how long does the improvement last?—It would depend on the extent to which it was overgrown with nuth grass before. The improvement might last at least for five years.

In what length of time is this loan to be repaid?—For loans from R100 to R500 in 10 years; from R500 to R1,000, 15 years.

Loans for nuth grass would amount to nearly R100?—Yes.

It would take 10 years before they are repaid?—Yes.

In certain cases improvements would disappear before the loans are repaid?—Yes, almost.

Are these masonry wells revetted wells?—Yes, revetted wells.

These will last for a time, I think?—Yes.

You say that section 121 was modified by defining grain to be mature grain of medium quality. What was the rule before that?—"Mature grain" is an innovation.

It was grain of medium quality before?—Yes.

What difference does it make?—Mature grain is dearer and heavier.

In regard to medium quality, what medium grain did you take for the basis?—Cholum.

Throughout?—Almost throughout. For the last three months in the southern part of the district we took ragi to some extent because in the adjoining districts they were eating ragi.

It is wholly ragi or a mixture?—In certain works ¾ ragi and ¼ cholum, and in others ½ ragi and ½ cholum.

I suppose there is a first class cholum besides the cholum of medium quality in the bazaars?—Yes.

First class cholum is dearer than the medium quality?—Yes.

Were they using ragi largely when you were paying them cholum?—No, not in my district.

You say in your written statement that you had many relief works?—Yes.

How many did you open?—I think there were 36 in the five taluks.

Would you like to see those reduced?—Yes.

Could you reduce them without hutting?—Scarcely, I think.

If you had reduced them would you have distance allowance, provided you had hutting?—No.

You say that gratuitous relief in villages should be supervised by taluk relief officers. Was not that done?—No. I had one man towards the end of famine in August. What I mean to say is that as soon as gratuitous relief is ordered to be started, we should have taluk relief officers who would work it from the beginning.

How is it done in the absence of taluk relief officers?—We had Circle Inspectors who were supervised by Tahsildars who checked their work.

In each taluk how many Circle Inspectors had you on an average?—I think we had six.

Were they appointed specially for the purpose in addition to the regular revenue establishments?—Yes. At first we had only a few, but gradually employed 30.

They were supervised by Tahsildars?—Yes, by Tahsildars and Deputy Tahsildars.

In addition to that you want a Deputy Collector?—No. A taluk relief officer. I should like to have Inspectors of the Salt and Abkari Department, as they are accustomed to knocking about a good deal and know the people and are very well disciplined.

Do you think you had an excessive number of people on gratuitous relief?—To a slight extent, perhaps.

In what way were people put on relief—people who ought to have worked or who did not stand in need of relief?—For example, I myself found from time to time certain Brahmins in receipt of gratuitous relief. I took them off

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as I did not think that Brahmins would ever be hard up except in a famine of a certain duration.

You think that private charity would come to their aid?—Yes, I am certain of that.

The last witness told us that the Code refused to give relief to women with small children when they came on works and had no means at all. Do you agree with him?—We were giving gratuitous relief to women who were confined. The woman was allowed relief for a month or two if weak and not in a condition to work. Unless the child was sick and needed constant attendance, I do not think she would be allowed relief after that period.

Do you think that the Code requires revision in that respect?—I do not think so.

Then you are somewhat doubtful about your gratuitous relief that some have been on it that might have been struck off?—Yes. I do not say to any large extent. I saw a lot of villages myself and on the whole I think things were going on well. But it would be proper to have a taluk relief officer to start the relief.

Do you think you had as many kitchens as you ought to have had?—If we had had more we should have reduced gratuitous relief a great deal.

Could you have safely struck off all classes of people and sent them to the kitchens?—Not all. There are a certain number who would not go to kitchens under any circumstances.

Do you think that your taluk relief officer could be trusted to discriminate?—Every one knows what castes will go to a kitchen and what not.

Then with regard to relief works you have stated that some people were relieved who were not really in need of relief?—There were certainly a few cases which came to my notice.

I understand that you base your conclusion partly on the instances that have come to your notice and partly on the fact that there was a good deal of liberality shown?—Yes.

Was that liberality such as to attract a number of coolies to the relief works in ordinary years if you opened them?—I am inclined to think that in the middle of the hot weather a certain number of people would come to the works on these terms.

These terms were not really then a test of distress?—I think the agricultural labourers in the Deccan districts have so very little to live on in the middle of the hot weather, that they would be always willing to work in that way. Even if they had to work hard to get a bare subsistence allowance, I think a good many of them would come.

There is the danger of excessive liberality which might bring many people on the works?—Yes.

You think that B wage is sufficient for individuals?—I think so.

Do you think it is a little more than sufficient for large families?—I think so.

There is no way of reducing it for large families?—No. I should say that a small family would consist of father, mother and two or three children, and a big family would consist of father, mother, and four or five children.

Mr. Higham's proposal is to give the carriers, that is the bulk of the people, $1\frac{3}{8}$ lbs. A woman at present gets $2\frac{1}{4}$ lbs.—that is what she has been getting in a majority of gangs. Do you think that $1\frac{3}{8}$ lbs. is too little?—I think so for a working woman.

Would you reduce the B wage at all?—No; I think I would let it stand.

Calculated as you calculate it under your Code?—Yes.

There is one point about which I wanted to ask you. You say that a good deal of liberality was shown, notably in regard to late attendance. What is it?—The rule according to the Code is that if a person is not present when the muster is called, he should be marked absent. Then he gets no wages for that day and in consequence he loses the wage for the day of rest because he has not worked for six days continuously before. But the omnibus order of Government modified rule 8 of appendix VI, so as to give half a day's wage for half a day's work, and late attendance was to be met by a small fine not exceeding a quarter of a day's wage.

When a gang had some distance to come it would come late?—And go early. It would be allowed distance allowance. If owing to that allowance it came at 8 A.M. it would have half an hour before sunset.

If it came exceptionally late?—Under the Code we should mark it absent for the whole day. Under the omnibus order the case would be met as stated above.

Suppose it was present at the second muster?—It would get half a day's wage for work till sunset. Suppose it came late for the first muster it need only be fined a small amount not exceeding a quarter of a day's wage. Under the Code people are bound to be present at the two musters. But under the omnibus order that was set aside.

Did they often come very late?—Yes. I have marked hundreds and hundreds that came late. When the old state of things was resumed I used to check the muster rolls. Hundreds of people from villages which were actually in sight of the works, would not turn up till 9 o'clock.

Strictness introduced by the subsequent order was required, I suppose?—Yes, certainly in that season.

Especially because the season was changed?—I think workers should always be required to be punctual and come at the proper time. There is no reason why they should not be punctual.

You say in your note that the people have not recovered from the famine of 20 years ago. What is the evidence on that point?—The population is still less than the population of 1871.

Is this conclusive?—The cultivated area too is less.

Is it much less—I do not want the exact figures?—I do not think it is very much less now. I think it has been much less till lately.

The decrease of population is by no means a conclusive test that the district has not recovered?—Yes, there is practically no emigration from Kurnool.

Isn't there?—No.

They did not go to Mysore or anything like that?—Mysore is too far.

You say you are in favour of village tanks as a form of relief work. Had you any works?—Yes, we had a few.

Are they generally small works which require a few people?—Yes about two or three hundred.

They would not do for large works?—No. I don't think so. There are a few large tanks which might possibly be deepened, but that would be a matter for the Public Works Department to express an opinion on. There is one in a deeply affected portion of the district called Owk, but I do not know whether anything can be done to enable it to hold more water and to be more useful.

There are no large works in the district programme?—No large works.

You say that no fresh roads are required?—No.

Repairs necessary?—Yes.

In your note you discuss the relations between the Revenue Department and the Public Works Department. What duties had the Superintending Engineer—had he any work to do?—No, but I would adopt the rule in the Bombay Code. That is what we decided at the Famine Conference in December last.

Is that sufficiently clear in the Bombay Code?— Yes. My great idea is not to have dual control. I would make the one department or the other entirely responsible.

But I suppose you would let the Superintending Engineer go round, inspect and advise?—There could be no objection to that.

If the Collector were entirely responsible?—Then any suggestions that he may make would have to be made to the Collector or to the Famine Commissioner more strictly speaking and not to the Executive Engineer.

In your note you say that you prefer grain to money doles. Have you any special reasons?—Because the amount of money dole would vary with the price of grain. Grain doles are fixed whereas money doles would be fluctuating. People would never know what they would get and there would be constant swindling and a good deal of peculation. Except for that, I think that money doles are better, but the objections to a fluctuating dole are so great that I am in favour of grain doles.

The last witness said that the village officials used to "peculate" grain?—I did not hear that.

Would you give the component parts of the ration or simply so much grain?—I think I would give the component parts.

You would contract with merchants?—Yes, with banias in villages.

Does the ration contain things that the people like as regards the other items?—They do not as a rule care for oil or ghee. In the Kurnool town and in other places where there are a number of Mahomedans, they like ghee.

As to dhal?—They like that. I do not think they eat it every day in their own houses. I think it is very good for them.

And as to vegetables?—They are accustomed to onions.

Do they get onions in this ration?—Very little.

What do they get for condiments?—A little tamarind' chillis and salt and perhaps a very small quantity of onions' I would give them onions instead of oil as the people of these parts eat a great deal of onions.

Is there a difficulty in prescribing a ration because you may get it in some places and not in others?—No. Pulse, salt, tamarind, chillis and onions are available everywhere. People of these parts do not go in much for vegetables. I think that the fractions of ounces of "other items," given in section 120 of the Famine Code, should be simplified, as they go into awkward decimal points. When you want to work this out, it becomes a most inconvenient thing and leads to a muddle in accounts.

Would it be a great hardship to people to simply give the ration in grains?—It is difficult to say. Probably if they were given grain entirely, they might eat more grain than allowed by the table and exchange the little that would remain for an unduly small quantity of salt, chillis and tamarind. You could not ensure their getting the proper constituents of the diet.

You say that parents cannot be altogether trusted in regard to children's money doles, in the case of non-working children?—Yes.

What evidence is there on that point?—That is my opinion. I have not much evidence except what Mr. Crole told me of his experience in Ganjam, where people would not take cooked food and were given grain.

You had not much opportunity to see it yourself?—No.

As to subsistence loans which you think might be given to cultivators, would they not land the cultivators into considerable debt—you propose to give them very early in the famine, would not that represent about eight months subsistence?—You can give up to R200.

He is earning nothing by that?—But it will enable him to buy grain probably cheaper than otherwise.

Do you think they borrow largely from money lenders?—Yes, they did.

They incurred debts in consequence?—Yes.

Is the district now recovering?—Yes.

If there is good season there ought to be no loss?—None at all.

(*Dr. Richardson.*)—You say that the doctor was able to get away from his head-quarters?—Yes.

You say that the District Medical Officer was not given the assistance contemplated in section 28. That means that a man should be appointed to conduct his station duties?—Yes.

He was able to get out?—To a certain extent, but not to the extent I should like to have seen.

He should be continuously out?—That is what is intended by that section.

Did nursing mothers go to gratuitous relief in kitchens?—We did not give them gratuitous relief in kitchens unless unable to work.

You say if the workers are contumacious you would punish them by sending them on to kitchens?—Yes. They do not like the kitchens.

Do you think it desirable to get rid of such workers from the works?—Yes.

They disliked the kitchens?—Yes.

Although they got the same ration there—the D ration?—Yes.

Was anything more than nominal task exacted from these nursing mothers?—They were counted as 1½ units, that is, half as much again as a child would be. A man was counted as 4 units. The nursing mothers were counted as 2 units for a certain part of the time, but from about the beginning of June they were counted as 1¾ units.

Then they were able to manage?—They seldom did their work as they could not be fined below their fixed minimum. They really did not care to earn the B wage, by doing better work.

Do you think it desirable that they should not be employed?—I think it would be better to get rid of them. It is no good having them on the works.

(*President.*)—In your note to whom do you refer as having refused to attend works?—I am referring to *Chenchus*

Where do they live?—On the Nallamalai hills. They are about 6,000 in number.

How do they get on?—We established four kitchens. I refused to allow any of the able-bodied men into the kitchen, but I allowed able-bodied females, in whose case an exceptio n was made as well as children. The American Baptist Missionaries living in the district were kind enough to provide for a certain number of them

What did the Baptist Missionaries do for them?—They gave them grain doles. They took up two taluks and I took up the rest.

Did they suffer much?—I don't think they did. They would have, if we had not opened kitchens.

How do they ordinarily live?—On jungle roots, and they exchange a certain amount of jungle produce for cholum.

Do they carry on *podu* cultivation?—No.

Is it stopped?—I do not think that it ever went on in the Nallamalais. They are great *shikaris* and they get a good deal in that way.

None of them came on works?—None, though I offered them work through the Forest Department.

(*Mr. LeFanu.*)—You said that the people of your district did not care for oil. Do they use curd or butter-milk?—They do.

They like that?—Yes.

Did you ever supplement the wage on relief works out of the Indian Famine Fund?—No, never.

You can say it positively?—Yes.

As a fact you had no A class labourers in your district?—Very rarely. The work that I spoke of in connection with the embanking of the Kurnool-Cuddapah canal was a very laborious and hard work, the ground being black cotton soil. I suggested that a few of the best gangs who could turn out full task should be put in A class.

Practically you had no A task?—No.

You said ragi was used at the end and cholum in the beginning. You were not there when Mr. Mullaly was Collector. When ragi was used what was the basis of calculation?—I do not know.

You took over charge from Mr. Mullaly in January?—Yes.

You have ascertained that it was used in this district for five or six months?—Yes.

In the beginning?—I do not know if it was in the beginning. There was an order, I believe, at the beginning of the famine, to base wages on the cheapest grain.

You are the Collector of Bellary?—Yes.

Alur is one of your taluks?—Yes.

Mr. Clerk drew attention to the large number of persons on relief in Alur. Can you mention how many persons came from the Nizam's Territories to Alur?—No, I cannot give the numbers. That was never ascertained.

Your predecessor gave a rough guess?—He thought there were 10,000 in Adoni and Alur taluks. I might say if you would allow me, that we had a number of people in Kurnool from Hyderabad and from other districts. They swelled our numbers.

What was the population of Alur in 1871?—95,000.

If you add 15 per cent.?—It brings it up to 109,000.

What was the population in 1881?—66,000.

What was the population in 1891?—88,000.

The population in 1891 was still short of the population of 1871?—Yes.

By how much?—7,000.

Can you say whether the numbers on relief in Kurnool have followed the rise in prices or the Government orders?—The question is whether any particular order has caused

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any particular rise. I examined the case and I found that there was a gradual rise throughout the hot weather, but no sudden rise.

Then the number on relief practically followed the rise in prices?—Yes, practically.

Do you know whether the prices in Alur touched the prices of 1877?—Yes.

In what month?—In August 1897 the price of cholum was 8·8 measures to the rupee.

What month of 1877?—In March and April 1877 prices were practically the same.

Can you tell me anything about the comparative numbers on relief in 1877 and in 1897 for the months in which prices tallied?—I cannot give you the figures for Bellary, but I can give you the figures for Kurnool. The period of greatest pressure was the third week in July last. Then the number on relief was 31 per cent. of the population of the affected tracts, that is to say, 170,000.

What were the prices of cholum then?—In the first fortnight of July the price of cholum in Kurnool town was 8·56, which was the same as the price in March 1877.

Can you tell us the numbers on relief in March 1877?—200,200.

That is considerably more than the number on relief in 1897?—Yes, but there was a larger area of distress in 1877.

Can you tell me when your revised task schedule was introduced?—My order passing it was dated 30th March.

Was it introduced in Bellary in December or even perhaps in November?—Perhaps so.

Why was the delay in introducing it?—Nothing was done up to my arrival towards the end of January. Soon after I arrived I asked the Executive Engineer to suggest a modified task. He suggested a modified task and I then got the task table for Bellary and found there was not much difference. I approved of his suggestion.

There was considerable delay in attending to Board's orders to revise the task tables?—Yes, I think so.

You told us that the omnibus order was introduced about the beginning of June?—Yes. It was not given full effect to till about that date.

Do you happen to know why?—The Executive Engineer did not issue orders to his subordinates till May. His order is dated 25th May. It had to go to a number of persons; and had to be cyclostyled. I visited a work outside the Kurnool town about the 30th of May, and found that the order had not reached the Overseer even then. From that I say that the omnibus order was not introduced till the beginning of June.

Who is the Executive Engineer to whom you refer?—I refer to Mr. Johnston.

Is he the gentleman who is responsible for this?—I really cannot tell you. The order is signed by his Personal Assistant, Mr. Subramania Iyer, who was then in charge of his office.

What became of this gentleman?—He is now an Executive Engineer employed on the Periyar project in Madura.

Do you think that persons in need of relief would go long distances?—Yes, if certain suggestions I have made for providing those who could not go with work in the neighbourhood of their villages were to be carried out.

Mr. Higham's idea is that a person who complies with the distance test of 20 or 30 miles can earn by piece-work wages enough to support the dependants and others left behind in the villages. Do you think he is likely to do it on the piece-work wages?—I know nothing of piece-work. I am not in favour of it.

Mr. Higham would give no gratuitous relief, but would give wages to a man more than what the work deserves, so that he may have a large wage out of the excess of which his dependants can live. Do you think that the excess so earned would be utilised for the maintenance of his dependants?—I think not. In many cases it would be spent on drink.

(*President.*)—When you were at Kurnool did you hear of relief works or kitchens being opened in the Hyderabad country?—No.

It might have happened after you left the place?—No, I did not leave it till December.

Do you suppose that nothing was done in the Hyderabad country?—I imagine so, in the country near the Kurnool district.

Was it as badly affected as Kurnool?—Crowds of people came in in the beginning of July. Thousands of people came from the other side of the Thungabadra and settled on our works and remained there till cholera broke out when most of them ran away.

In what condition were these people who came?—They were in a very bad, and quite worn out, condition. They were said to have walked miles and miles.

What classes did they belong to?—I think they were poor agriculturists mostly.

Who is the Engineer of the Cuddapah-Kurnool canal?—Mr. Subramania Iyer was so in the early part of the famine.

I gather that the rules for fining without a minimum were carried out rather severely. Was it under his direction?—I presume so, but I cannot say that he was not justified by the Code.

When did Mr. Johnston come into the district?—About the beginning of April I think.

Mr. DHONE SUBBA RAO, late Deputy Tahsildar, Kurnool, was called in and examined.

(The witness gave his evidence in the vernacular).

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I put in written answers to the Commissions' questions.

*1. The area and population affected in this district (Kurnool district) is about ⅓rd of the area and the population of the five taluks which were affected out of 8 in the district.

2. There was failure of crops for want of local rains and prices also rose high.

3 (*a*). There was about ¼th crop in the year.

(*b*). No. Prices did not rise higher than those in the Famine before that of 1876.

4. The affected area was in a moderate condition. In some places there were fair crops and they were below the normal quantity.

5. It cannot be said that all enjoyed a fair measure of material well-being.

Yes. There was a section of this kind.

It was relatively less.

6. Except under Canal irrigation and big tanks agriculture entirely depends upon timely and sufficient rains.

7. About ¼th of the population preserve mostly grain, and in some cases money, just enough for a year in case harvest should fail.

The poorest class of cultivators do not preserve grain or money. About 75 per cent.

8. The late famine was not greater in extent and severity than the famine of 1876.

The famine of 1891 was not so severe as that of last year.

9. There were over-estimates and under-estimates in these three respects in some places.

The reason for this is want of care, inattention and timidity on the part of Government officials.

Yes. It did affect the character and amount of relief. According to G. O. No. 969, dated 17th November 1897, it is still under consideration.

As to the sufficiency and economy of relief measures.

10. No. It is not sufficient. Yes. It is liable to be exceeded.

11. Figures are not available. No time to obtain figures.

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* The numbers refer to the questions drawn up by the Commission.

12. No. Larger portion was not relieved, and persons who were not in need were not relieved.

13. Yes, there were a few cases of this kind. These did not attend the relief works voluntarily. It was due to ill-adapted arrangements.

14. The arrangements were neither defective nor insufficient, but they were ill-adapted in the case of respectable poor natives, and it might have been done in the last instance.

15. It was successful in the case of those who were helped before starvation commenced, and in the case of those who were helped after starvation, it was of no avail. If arrangements had been timely, it would have prevented much mortality.

18. The test work was in full force, and it was more stringently observed than there was a need.

19 and 20. Yes. They did.

21. As a rule the number of destitutes was comparatively small, but on particular works the proportion might have been higher.

22. No. I should consider it even less than a bare subsistence wage.

23. The works were more than one in each sub-division. Generally persons that came from a short distance (say 4 or 5 miles) used to go back to their homes, and others lived on the works.

Yes. Residence on works is disliked. Yes. I consider it is a fair and effective test of necessity.

26. Coolies went to the relief works. Rates were not liberal. They resorted to works as they were opened late, and as they wanted to pick up what they could.

27. Poor-houses were not started in the district so far as I know. There were many kitchens, and grain doles were distributed.

28. The risk was prevented, and persons that were in real want, and specified in Famine Code, were relieved. In some instances I was personally present at the distribution.

29. Home relief was not given earlier than in former scarcity, and it was not large. Lives were saved and villagers were kept together. Morality was not weakened.

30. Nil.

31. Loans were given, remissions given.

32. Some of cultivating class. Trading and artisan classes were permanently injured, and some of these are likely to recover.

33. *Vide* answer to question 14.

34. Present arrangements will suffice.

35. It is not possible to get information without village accountants.

36. They cannot be relied on.

37. They cannot be obtained.

38. They were not based on village accounts. But separate inspections were made to ascertain the condition of the people.

53. The roads will be of permanent use. Some of the roads are yet incomplete, and if they are not repaired, they are likely to be abandoned.

54. There are many places where roads are required. 200 miles of road.

55. Metal collection is not of much gain to Government, and is inconvenient to the people.

57. In this district there are many sources of irrigation. If tanks are constructed coolies will get work permanently, as lands under them will be cultivated.

ii. As for the villagers, it is a boon to have tanks, for they will have wet cultivation which will give them work for the most part of the year and which will provide them against famine for grain and grass. Cattle also will get water easily.

59. Proportionately to the condition of the village and the nature of the task from 100 to 1,000 may be employed. If the work is near the village, the village authorities together with some respectable men of the place would be willing to superintend the works. None but the coolie class of the village will resort to the work. The village authorities may see that too many do not go to the works.

60. Tanks which require repairs have been exhausted, and if they are repaired, there will be no work for 20 years. If new tanks are constructed, there will be plenty of work.

61. Water is reserved in the river Tungabhadra by means of anicuts in the Kurnool district. It is used for irrigation.

62. This will be a safeguard against famine for those ryots who use this water.

63. There are prospects for impounding reservoirs in this district.

64. There are some projects.

71(*a*). Within five miles.

(*b*). Within 15 miles.

72. Able-bodied poor without sufficient reason should not be given relief.

73. I do not recommend it.

74. Coolies from a short distance used to go home, and those from a great distance use to stop at the works.

75. Government did not press residence on the works.

76. I am of opinion that coolies should not be forced directly or indirectly to reside on the works.—No—No.

77. Yes. It is distasteful. I have personally seen some who had kept aloof in their homes eating jungle-leaves, and thus starving themselves. In very few instances this feeling has passed away.

81. Dysentery and diarrhœa and other kinds of diseases were prevalent among some of the workers.

82. It was necessary.

A certain class of Hindu hill tribes called the Chenchus live in some parts of forests on the hills of this district. They live in small grass huts. They live on jungle leaves and roots, jungle fruits, honey and wild beasts and birds. It is very scarce that they live on grain. Sometimes they take bamboo rice, bamboo cholum, tamarind and ashes of the tamarind pods. They do no other work than cutting beams and rafters in the forests. They are not accustomed to come out of forests and work. They do not have much of clothing on them. If they are forced to leave the forest and come to the plains, they get disease. They adopt names just like the Europeans, *i.e.* if one man is called Bayadu, wife's name is Bayi, son's name Bayadu, and so on in all. If any relief is to be given to them, it should be given only within the forests, and it is not possible to do anything outside them. In the late famine some kitchens were opened by Government near the hills, and relief was administered.

I have seen them personally several times and know their customs very well.

128. It was not possible to make the hill tribes attend the works. They never come to the works.

129. The maximum is 100. Minimum is 50.

130. It is not good to send children to kitchens. The parents of boys should be provided at the rate of 8 pies each boy. This should be distributed at the time when payments are made to their parents. Now boys cannot go to the kitchens without their parents, and as this will interfere with the latter's legitimate work and bring loss to them, cash doles alone should be given.

149. Except the weak, old and infirm who are very poor, others do not belong to the agricultural classes living in rural areas.

150. Only those who are very poor and who have no supporters come for gratuitous relief.

No.

151. In ordinary seasons these people live either by cultivation or by wages obtained from agricultural operations. During famine agricultural operations are at a standstill and those cannot get wages and hence they should seek State aid.

152. Mostly gosha women. A few respectable native males, females and children also received gratuitous relief.

153. If an account is previously taken, estimate may be made. But it is not possible that numbers will remain the same. It may either increase or decrease.

154. Yes.

155. Yes.

156. If there is a sufficient cause I will give gratuitous relief.

157. In special cases it should be given. It appears that most people do not take gratuitous relief because it is given.

160. It is considered a social degradation when persons who are high up in the social scale resort to it.

Mr. Dhone Subba Rao.

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161. For the most part it is not so.

162. Light labour suitable to the persons may be given in suitable places.

163. *Vide* 162.

164. It is not advisable.

165. They are looked down upon in society.

Many stop away even under distress for fear of this degradation and thus starve.

166. It cannot be done easily.

167. Grain doles. I prefer money. Grain doles cannot be justly given.

168. Gosha and respectable people were given in their houses and others got them at a central place.

169. No public complaints.

No.

170. In distributing relief a few of the non-officials rendered assistance.

185. No.

186. No.

187. No.

188. No. It is not advisable.

196. Register was opened and tickets were used. Food was not given without tickets.

197. No. No. Yes, arrangements were made.

Under Government officials mostly.

198. Yes. Yes.

199. A certain amount was given. But how much was given is not known.

203. Advance was given for food grains. The amount asked for was not given in one lump, but it was given in several instalments. It was not given at the proper time for the most part, *i.e.*, in one case money asked for in November was given in September of the next year. Some cases were not even disposed of. The matter is under public correspondence.

204. Advances to ryots are very useful and sending them to relief works is a great loss to them.

205. Advances are better both to Government and ryots than relief works and wages.

206. Government advances money only to ryots who have sufficient security, and therefore there is no loss to Government, and there will not be much outlay.

By sending ryots to coolie work, they are put to many kinds of loss and difficulties.

207, 208 and 209. Yes, was of much advantage. Those were benefited by the suspension of kists, will not generally fall into debt.

Those who got debt will not go to relief works.

210. Yes. It can be recovered.

211. Collections in several seasons by instalment is good in both cases.

212. Interest should not be charged.

214. Rent ought to be remitted.

215. Poor ryots could not privately borrow in the last famine.

Yes. Many were not ruined in this famine.

216. There are not many private forests. There are two classes of Government forests, "Reserve and Unreserve." Cattle can graze freely in the Unreserve.

There is not sufficient grass in these. Also there are not other conveniences here. There are not sufficient Unreserves.

Therefore Government threw open the reserves for grazing purposes in the latter part of the late famine. There was no grass then. They closed the reserves immediately.

Hence there was not much advantage. Many cattle died.

As the ryots were not free to take leaves which could be used as manure, there was much difficulty and loss. People have much inconvenience and trouble both in private and public matters. There are more disadvantages than advantages.

217. There is little convenience now. The ryots require help in many cases.

218. Government sent a small quantity of compressed paddy grass, but it was not of much use.

219. Honey, sara pappu, Jide pappu, many kinds of forest fruit—roots, bamboo rice, cholum, salt, grass and grass seeds.

220. Big land-owners and mill-owners may be asked if they would take charge of these orphans by entering into an agreement with the Collector of the District regarding their food, clothing and health, and in return for which they may make use of their services from them in any way that may seem suitable.

221. Assuming private orphanages to mean Mission orphanages, Government need not continue payment after the famine is over.

242. Able-bodied wanderers are made to go to the relief works and the weak were given food in the kitchens. Their number was not so large.

243. There would not have been so much wandering. Jungle people do not come to the works beyond jungles.

Not the whole of them.

247. Wanderers from Native States may be allowed on the works for some time, and they must be distinctly compelled to go back to their district. If necessary, sufficient remuneration may be given for their journeys.

Oral evidence.

I am a resident of the Kurnool district. The ordinary village rates for coolies are 3 or 4 annas. A woman gets 2½ annas. They are usually paid in grain by the ryots. They get 3 to 4 seers of cholum a day at harvest time, a woman getting about a seer less than a man. Children get 1½ or 2 seers. All children above the age of 8 are expected to work. Some pattadars keep coolies all the year round. These coolies get their food and about R30 a year.

The jungles were opened for grazing in August 1897. In Kurnool taccavi loans were not given to any great extent. No special officer was deputed to see to the giving out these loans. There was also considerable delay in granting these loans.

I know the Chenchu people in the hills. They are aboriginal people who live on jungle produce. They do no cultivation at all. The only assistance they got was the privilege of being allowed to cut wood when they wanted it in the jungles.

The seer I spoke of in regard to coolies' wages is one of 84 tolahs.

The famine of 1877 resulted in great loss of life from starvation. In 1891 and 1897 there was no such loss of life. The arrangements in 1891 and 1897 were better and the famine did not last so long. Had timely and sufficient relief not been given in 1897, one-fourth of those who came to relief works would have died. The rate given to coolies in 1897 was low, but otherwise the relief offered was adequate.

I heard that relief works were opened in the Hyderabad territory but these were a long way off from the boundary with our Presidency, with the result that many thousands in distress came into our district of Kurnool in search of relief.

Written Statements of evidence and written answers to the Commission's questions sent in by witnesses selected to give evidence before the Commission in the Madras Presidency, but not examined.

Written Statement of Evidence of the Revd. J. WORULEIN, *Secretary to the Hermansburg Evangelican Lutheran Mission at Gudur, dated 12th February 1898.* — *Revd. J. Worulein.*

I have the honour to forward my opinion about the three heads referred to—

(1) In this time of distress there being only few able to take the cloths, by which poor weavers earn their livelihood, we had to take those of our Christian weavers and to send several cases of cloths for sale to Germany and Africa.

(2) We therefore advise that such assistance should be given also to other weavers in a larger scale.

(3) Tank diggers could find work in constructing deeper wells which would be useful in future famines. Exertions should be made to give work to poor day-labourers; removing those lots of briers and constructing good roads from one village to the other would prove a boon to the public.

Written Statement of Evidence by the Revd. R. D. SHEPHERD, *Missionary, S. P. G., Mutyalapad, dated Jammalamadugu, 14th February 1898.* — *Revd. R. D. Shepherd.*

(1) As to the first item I have nothing to suggest further than I consider more effectual measures should be taken in the payment of coolies, that they be not robbed of their coolie by the dishonesty of the paymasters, and specially I wish to point out that the payments were not often enough; sometimes a full week elapsing between two successive payments. Some of the paymasters were inefficient as well as dishonest.

In the matter of economy, I would suggest that work be not given to all and every, but that the village officials be instructed to furnish lists of such persons as need assistance. Many went to the famine works who did not need such help, and put the coolie in their pockets instead of spending it, as they would have done if they had been needy. Often one was unable to get change for a rupee in the bazaars—a certain proof the money was not expended.

To further economise, the services of missionaries and other voluntary workers should be freely accepted and utilized. In some cases their help was rejected, in others innuendoes thrown upon missionary gentlemen that they would use such distribution as opportunities of making converts to Christianity. I consider such charges wholly uncalled for and made without sufficient foundation. The missionaries are much more likely to know the people and their wants than high officials from Madras; and the Government should learn to trust them as the best friends of the poor and oppressed.

I see I have mixed up my evidence under (2) with that under (1).

(3) I have one recommendation to make here. The people suffered great hardships by having to go to work on wet days when the rivers were down. Only certain allowance of time was made for this, which was not sufficient when the rivers happened to be in flood. I have seen old women and children waiting to be crossed over and sometimes they were unable to go at all. If they went, it was at risk of their lives, and they had to pay the charges of crossing, say 1 anna both ways. One man of a congregation of mine, a good swimmer, was washed away while crossing a stream, and never seen afterwards.

I suggest that such days be reckoned off days, upon certificate from the overseers, and the people be paid in full. Famine relief should not be made oppressive, and a source of danger to life. At least women and children should be exempt from such.

Written Statement of Evidence by MR. H. D. TAYLOR, I.C.S., *Acting Collector of Ganjam, dated 14th February 1898.* — *Mr. H. D. Taylor.*

OPPORTUNITIES OF FORMING AN OPINION ON FAMINE AND FAMINE RELIEF QUESTIONS.

1. I was Acting Principal Assistant Collector, Ganjam District, from 21st December 1896 to 10th February 1897, and in charge of the Ganjam District as Acting Collector from 13th February 1897 up to date. In that capacity I was constantly on tour in connection with the organization and inspection of relief works and gratuitous relief.

PART A.—DEPARTURES FROM THE PRESCRIPTIONS OF THE MADRAS FAMINE CODE WHICH HAVE OCCURRED IN THE GANJAM DISTRICT DURING THE RECENT FAMINE.

2. *Section* 37.—It was held that the Executive Engineer and not the Collector should be responsible for application for funds to be expended on works executed by the Public Works Department.

Section 40.—Owing to exceptional difficulties in procuring reliable and qualified persons for the post of paymaster, sanction was accorded to increasing the salary of paymasters to R50 in special cases.

Section 68.—There were no poor-houses. Owing to caste prejudice, there were many who, while quite able to work, declined either to work, or to take food in Government institutions. These persons finally, when reduced, had to be brought on the lists of recipients of grain doles.

Chapter VII.—Famine relief works.—In this respect a considerable departure was made from the principles of the Famine Code. The Famine Code, section 96, provides for the classification of persons on relief works into four classes and a standard task table was drawn up—Appendix III-F fixing a standard task for each unit in classes A, B and C.

The units are calculated as follows: one man = two women = four children. Under section 107, the Executive officer in charge of the work is, with the sanction of the Collector, authorized to modify those standard tasks, with reference to hardness of material lead and lift.

Section 106 provides for fines in case of wilful neglect though the effect of such fines should not as a rule—except in the case of contumacious characters—be such as to reduce the wage below the minimum or D wage in section 120.

G. O., No. 216, dated 30th March 1897, entirely altered the Famine Code in this respect, the main alterations being as follows:—

(*a*) Abolition of C and D classes except for the very weakly, who are raised to C class.

(*b*) Tasks are adapted to the capability of each gang according to the condition of its component units.

(*c*) Boys between 12—16 to be given an adult's wage on reduced task.

(*d*) Where short work is turned out the *task* and not the class of the gang to be reduced.

(*e*) Fining strictly limited, and proportionate fining prohibited.

(*f*) Half day's work allowed.

(*g*) Late attendance allowed on payment of fine.

(*h*) Distance allowances granted.

(*i*) Cash allowances conceded to dependants of workers.

Similarly the task of 1½ units was adopted for nursing mothers, and the latter were finally placed in separate gangs on untasked labour.

A detailed task table for all varieties of work and material was drawn up by the Executive Engineer: this was prepared for the hot weather months from 15th March to 15th July, and an increase of 15 per cent. in the task fixed for other months.

The concessions granted to relief workers in G. O., No. 216, above quoted, were again modified by G. O., No. 473, Revenue, dated 18th June 1897.

In G. O., No. 299, Revenue, dated 5th May 1897, sanction was granted to the payment of an extra wage, not exceeding the A class wage, for work done in excess of the task.

Another departure from the Code was the permission—which had been sought for by me some time previously—to start works on the intermediate system, *i.e.*, by contract or piece-work. The orders were, however, received at almost too late a period, and the system could only be tried on one work shortly before it closed.

Fining.—Section 106 of the Bombay Code was finally substituted for section 106 of the Original Madras Code and its subsequent amendment.

Section 109.—After a certain stage, all relief works were placed in charge of the Public Works Department, though the Local Fund Engineer remained in charge of a few Local Fund Works for a considerable time after receipt of the order owing to want of Public Works subordinates.

Chapter VII—Wages and rations—Section 120.—Clause 2 was amended, a separate scale of the amount included in

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the wage on account of "other items" being drawn up for each class.

Section 122.—Clause 1 was cancelled by paragraph 3 of G. O. No. 616, Revenue, dated 24th July 1897, and the minimum or D ration substituted therefor.

This caused considerable complication in account owing to the allowance of different gratuitous scale for different sexes.

Permission was also given to vary in kitchens the quantities of chillies, tamarind and salt. It was generally found that the chillies were in excess and salt deficient.

Section 124.—Permission was granted for persons to be admitted to special diet by the Collector, Divisional officer or Taluk Relief officer, in the absence of a medical officer, subject to confirmation by the latter on the occasion of his next visit.

Chapter IX, Section 128.—*Weavers.*—A different system was adopted to that prescribed in Appendix VII (Salem Rules) and special rules and task table was drawn up for the district; twist being advanced and payment made according to the task table at C rates of wages.

Though lists of destitute weavers were drawn up in accordance with section 129, yet orders were issued by the Board that advances should be given to all asking for relief, as this fact in itself showed necessity for relief assuming the task table to be properly drawn up. The fallacy of this will be shown under Part B.

Chapter X.—No variations.

Chapter XI.—The services of a body of men known as Samasthanam Paiks were utilized in this district for guard duties instead of Police. These men hold inam lands on favourable tenure for rendering military service, if required to do so.

The above are, so far as I am aware, the only departures that have been made, so far as the Ganjam district is concerned from the provisions of the Madras Famine Code during the recent famine.

PART B.—THE DEGREE OF SUCCESS WHICH HAS ATTENDED THE MEASURES ADOPTED, CONSIDERED PRIMARILY WITH REGARD TO THE RELIEF OF DISTRESS AND THE SAVING OF HUMAN LIFE, AND SECONDARILY WITH REGARD TO ECONOMY.

3. (i) I consider that the measures of relief have throughout in this district been successful so far as the relief of distress and saving of human life are concerned.

I believe that there were few people really in need of relief who did not get it; though I must admit that, owing to the illness of two Divisional officers and the non-appointment of Taluk Relief officers until a late date, in some villages of Parlakimedi, and in one or two circles of the Berhampur taluk, relief was extended by Circle Inspectors to parties not really in need of such relief.

A certain amount of distress was caused owing to caste prejudices to persons who refused either to work, or to attend kitchens, and who had, in consequence, to feel the pinch of distress more severely before gratuitous relief could be extended to them.

No cases of death due to actual starvation were traced. A few reports were received, but, on inquiry, death in those cases was found to be due to other causes.

At the same time, the mortality of the district increased very greatly during the famine, due to severe epidemics of cholera, small-pox, and dysentery, which wrought great havoc amongst those who were weak for want of proper nourishment. Two special cases of hardship may be referred to, and which are not covered by the provisions of the Code:

(1) Children who, owing to the caste prejudice of themselves and their parents, are not allowed to partake of cooked food in kitchens, and who are deliberately starved by their parents in order that they may receive doles, which the parents (themselves fairly well nourished and able to work) consume.

(2) *Women* and *children*, who attend relief works, earning what is considered for themselves a bare subsistence, out of which they have to provide for the maintenance of their husbands or parents, who decline to work.

Kitchen relief in this district was on a comparatively small scale, due to the caste prejudices of the Uriyas; such relief, however, where granted, was attended by most beneficial results, and it was wonderful to note how soon the children recovered and grew fat on kitchen diet. Adults did not recover so fast in emaciated cases.

Weavers.—Ample provision was made for the relief at their own trade of all weavers.

Considered with regard to economy.—I believe that relief in this district could have been more economically administered under all heads with equally beneficial results.

(*a*) *Gratuitous relief.*—(*a*) Owing to the extreme difficulty of obtaining Circle Inspectors at all and the unreliability of the staff so entertained, there can, I think, be no doubt that relief in some cases was unnecessarily given in spite of the strenuous exertions of the Divisional and Taluk staff to supervise their work in detail. This would have been obviated by the early appointment of Taluk Relief officers under sections 26—53 of the Code to supervise *admission* to the relief lists, as well as to *exclude* those brought on to the lists. Such officers would have far more than saved the amount of their pay.

(*b*) From experience I believe that considerable saving would have resulted from the grant of *money* doles; as Circle Inspectors would then be tied down to their allotments, and could not run up accounts with merchants for grain supplied.

Such payments can be more easily checked and the market would be relieved by the possibility of these people purchasing other grains than the standard grains prescribed for relief.

(V) In remote localities there was great difficulty in procuring contractors for the supply of doles at all, except at exorbitant rates, and the institution of Government depôts of grain imported by Government, would have been economical, especially in this district where merchants are slow to import grain.

(*b*) *Weavers.*—Here much money was unnecessarily expended. As previously noted the preparation of lists of destitute weavers for whom the District rules were originally drafted was dispensed with, and orders were issued to advance twist to any weaver applying for the same, on the ground that such application proved him to be destitute. It was overlooked that there are two elements in the cost of a cloth, *viz.*, cost of material and cost of wages. The price of a cloth is practically fixed and, if anything, reduced during a period of distress. The cost of material is also practically stationary. Wages, however, vary, being calculated according to the Famine Code on the price of grain. When grain is exceptionally high the wages of labour are also exceptionally high as regulated by the Code. Hence in a period of high prices the cost of materials, plus cost of Code wages, considerably exceeds the normal value of the cloth woven. If relief be unrestricted, all weavers will naturally flock in to avail themselves of a better market for their goods or, what is the same, a better wage for their labour, than the open market affords. I consider that had weavers' relief been restricted to destitute weavers only, not more than two-thirds of the cloths actually woven would have been woven, and Government would have been saved one-sixth of the total sum expended on weavers' relief.

(iii) *Relief works.*—The conditions of this district are peculiar, the wages of a woman or child as compared with that of a man is low. A man's wage is from 2 to 3 annas a day; that of a woman from 1 anna to 1 anna 6 pies.

The wages prescribed in the Famine Code are the cash equivalents of a certain amount of grain, which it is calculated, theoretically, that a man and woman, respectively, must consume to keep him or her in sound bodily health and condition according to the class of work that each is called upon to do. This would be perfect, did the man and woman both work and did they consume the earnings of that labour in the prescribed proportion. Such, however, is not the case in fact.

In the earlier stages of works in this district, the preponderance in numbers of women over men was very great. This I ascertained to be due to the fact that whereas a woman was earning a normal, if not more than a normal, wage, having reference to its actual money amount, the wage of a man was below what he considered normal, and he refused to work at a rate of one or two pies more than his women folk. The man had no other work and wanted employment, but he felt that to accept employment on these terms would degrade him in the eyes of the woman, so he remained at home doing nothing, while he consumed the produce of the woman's labour which should have gone to her alone.

The large preponderance of women on these works (collection of gravel) over men caused the work to be costly, as for want of diggers the women were frequently unemployed.

Women cannot dig, but experience has shown that an ordinary woman will carry almost as large a load as a man and will break fully three-fourths the same quantity of stone. I do not refer to specially skilled labour. In order to try and obtain better results I adopted two plans:

Firstly, having an allotment available, I tried the effect of opening a Local Fund work on the "gang piece-work" on intermediate system in which the workers were ganged, and each gang paid by results. The effect was remarkable. The men at once came to work with their families, and in

an incredibly short time the entire estimate was worked out without any loss at all.

At another work I found that by sub-dividing each gang of 100 into four sub-gangs payments being made by the total results of all four to the entire gang, competition between these sub-gangs was aroused, and, as a result, there was, instead of a loss, actually a saving in the value of work turned out. I am of opinion that large gangs militate against good work, nor is there in a large gang any inducement to competition.

In regard to the element of competition, I may note another instance in which it worked with economical results. I undertook to load ballast into trucks for the East Coast Railway by famine labour. To each truck there were five women and three men, as each gang filled its truck it was allowed to go, and there was very considerable competition as to which should first fill the allotted truck. Each gang was expected to fill three trucks in the day, and when the East Coast Railway authorities were able to provide the three trains daily, there was no loss to Government, and I believe a considerable saving to the railway. When this work was given up and the workers directed to return to the old work of breaking metal, on which there was a loss to Government, they all struck work, though of a much lighter nature.

It was owing to the result of this "gang piece-work" system that I recommended the same to Government for adoption in this district. Orders were not, however, received by me till too late for its general adoption. Meanwhile owing to the extremely lenient conditions of work due to the rule that a minimum wage should be paid in all cases, the relief workers had become lazy and ill-disciplined. This rule, as to the minimum wage, was indeed most fatal to good organization, discipline and outturn. The women—mostly Telugus (for Uriya women of many castes will not engage in other than agricultural work) who crowded on to the works—got to know that whatever work they turned out, they could not get a less sum than what was practically their normal pay (looked at from a cash-point of view).

Had the original rule of fining after due warning and of payments in proportion to work done as compared with the actual task, been enforced, works would have been far more cheaply executed, even on the Code system. The mistake lay, not with the task, but with the minimum wage which prevented those tasks from being enforced.

The adoption of the intermediate system would, in my opinion, have saved much expense. It is not, however, suitable for weakly gangs.

PART C.—ADVICE AS TO THE MEASURES AND METHODS OF WORKING WHICH SEEM LIKELY TO PROVE MOST EFFECTIVE IN FUTURE IN THOSE TWO RESPECTS.

4. (i) *Gratuitous Relief*—(*a*) *Efficiency.*—It is desirable in the interests both of efficiency and economy, that in the more remote localities of the Ganjam district either (*a*) grain depôts should be opened—the grain being imported by Government for the purpose; or (*b*) money doles allowed. Where grain doles are continued there should be no distinction between male and female units, and for simplification the allowance should be fixed in grain, or in grain and salt only. The recipients can, and experience has shown that they do, exchange grain received for such other condiments as they may require. The simplification in accounts will be enormous.

(*b*) The appointment of Taluk Relief officers should come first, that of Circle Inspectors afterwards. The gain in efficiency and ultimately in economy will be very great.

(*c*) In section 124 of the Madras Code—add after the words "Medical officer or in his absence the Collector, Divisional officer or Taluk Relief officer."

(*d*) Legislation whereby famine officers are authorized to take and detain in a Government institution the emaciated children of well-nourished parents, if the latter refuse to support the children or misappropriate the doles granted for the latter.

(ii) *Weavers.*—The present system of relief according to a fixed task table may be continued; but no weaver should be admitted to relief, except upon the certificate of an officer not below the rank of a taluk officer. Advances should be limited to the amount required for one loom for ten days, or less according to distance from the depôt.

(iii) *Relief works.*—(*a*) The introduction of the intermediate system is very desirable. With reference to Mr. Higham's proposals I would adopt.—

(i) expanded ordinary public works;

(ii) works conducted on the piece-work system under the management of approved contractors or on the pit-gang system; *Mr. H. D. Taylor.*

(iii) combination of piece-work and task-work: the digger or quarrying class being paid by the piecer and the earners by daily labour. This is, I believe, specially adapted to this district.

(*b*) The minimum wage must be abolished, as tending to demoralization and want of discipline, and, a reasonable task having been fixed, and the workers duly warned, that task enforced by fines in proportion to outturn. Contumacious individuals to be refused admission to the works.

(*c*) The proportion of units should be calculated as follows:—

Man : woman : child :: 3 : 2 : 1.

(*d*) Children 12-16 to be counted as women and given a woman's wage and task.

(*e*) No distance allowances are necessary, but hutting to be provided on the works.

(*f*) Inability to perform a task, if the task is found to be correct, should be met by a reduction in the class of the gang.

(*g*) The Code task table should be revised—a special allowance or percentage deduction on the standard task being made for the hot weather months.

(*h*) No extra wage should be given except where it is necessary or desirable to complete any special work.

(*i*) The wage of the woman on task-work should not exceed three-fourths the wage of the man. By this means it is believed that the man will be induced to come to work, thereby causing work to be more economically executed owing to the better balancing of the digger and earner classes; while the family of the relief worker will on the whole benefit, as the man will not remain idle as heretofore.

PART D.—OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS OR OPINIONS THOUGHT LIKELY TO BE USEFUL IN FUTURE FAMINES.

5. (i) I am of opinion that extended powers might be given to the Department of Public Works. At present the Collector is held responsible for the entire famine administration, including many matters which appear to be really of a technical nature. So long, however, as the Collector's responsibility remains, he must exercise general control over these matters.

If, however, the Collector cannot be diverted of his general responsibility, and, to some extent, he must be given the right of inspection and issuing orders in regard to works—inasmuch as works are merely a part of the general system of relief—then the Executive Engineer should be his assistant for famine purposes. Divisional officers and Taluk Relief officers, though allowed access to works and right of inspection, should merely report to the Collector and not issue executive orders to the Engineer or other officer in charge of the works. The Collector alone should have this power. In this district the practice was, as a matter of fact, almost generally observed in the past famine owing to the illness of two Divisional officers.

(ii) I consider that the paymaster should be appointed by, and under the immediate control of, the Executive and not of the Revenue Department. Constant friction is engendered by this arrangement, and at present really the only check upon him is that of the head cooly and mistry. Payments should only be made on the Overseer's written order.

So long as the works were in the test stage—whether under Local Funds or under Public Works Department—there was no delay in payment. As soon, however, as the work was converted to a relief work, and a separate paymaster appointed, delays in payment commenced and friction ensued. There were faults probably on both sides, but I consider that all this trouble was due to the system of dual control.

(iii) The conduct of certain pensioners who were employed on famine duty was far from satisfactory. I am of opinion that, when such pensioners offer their services for employment on famine duty, their pension, or part of the same, should be liable to forfeiture for misconduct. Cases will not then recur of such persons accepting paymasters' posts in remote tracts, and resigning their appointment without notice, leaving coolies unpaid for several days.

6. I would desire it to be understood that my experience in famine matters relates to the Ganjam district only, which presents some peculiar features: hence my remarks cannot

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be taken as generally applicable: the southern portion of the district consists mainly of Telugus and the northern portion of Uriyas. The former have, to some extent, become imbued with the habits and caste prejudices of the latter, many of whom refuse either work, or relief in the form of cooked food. As I am unable personally to attend the conference, I am forwarding replies in detail to the lists of questions circulated by the Famine Commission, so far as I consider that my experience and opinion may be of any value.

Written answers to the Commission's questions by MR. H. D. TAYLOR, *Acting Collector, Ganjam.*

*1. The figures for July, the period of greatest distress, are as follows:—

	Seriously affected.		Affected.		Moderately affected.		Total.	
	Area. Sq. miles.	Population.	Area. Sq miles.	Population.	Area. Sq. miles.	Population.	Area. Sq. miles.	Population.
A Government	742	341,249	1,324	263,972	714	127,263	2,780	732,484
B Zemindari	1,715	546,316	463	137,317	842	284,839	3,020	476,470
Total .	2,457	887,565	1,787	401,289	1,556	412,102	5,800	1,208,954

2. To a local failure of the north-east monsoon combined with abnormally high prices and excessive export of food grains.

3. (*a*) The nort-east monsoon was a total failure: there was practically no rain after the first week in September 1896. Rain-fed paddy, which is dependent on these rains, was almost a total failure: the ragi crop, though not a failure, was only moderate, and summer ragi was poor.

The mango and mahowa crops on which the hill-tribes greatly rely were failures.

(*b*) Yes. At times rice and ragi were nearly 100 per cent. in excess of normal and in places food-grains were unprocurable. Prices both of rice and ragi were throughout much higher than in 1889 and approximated to the prices of 1877-78.

4. Though the south-west monsoon was light, the condition of the crops up to the end of August was not unfavourable. The four preceding seasons had been good.

5. The standard of comfort is not high and the resources of the people generally are limited. The agricultural population depends very largely on the rain-fed paddy crops. The fishermen, who are unable to ply their trade in the monsoon, are a numerous class and suffer severely when prices are high.

6. Yes. The rain-fed paddy lands, which form a large proportion of the cultivated area in the north of the district, are its bane. These lands could grow fair dry crops with moderate rain in any year; but all is lost if the north-east monsoon fails, when cultivated with paddy.

10 and 11. The maximum number on relief at any one time (first week of August) was 143,956, as follows:—

Grain doles	79,405
Kitchens	10,089
Relief Workers	48,651
Weavers	5,811

The total population as per census of 1891, excluding agency taluqs, was 1,589,477. The percentage relieved was 9·06. The highest percentages were 32·63 in Berhampur, 24·64 in Sompeta, 14·13 in Ganjam, 16·18 in Parlakimedi and 10·44 in Ichapur.

15 per cent. may be taken as a fair average.

11. *Vide Supra.* Famine in Sompeta and Berhampur was severe, but in Berhampur, a small amount of unnecessary relief was given. The Khonds of Berhampur and Savaras of Tekkali, who depend largely on jungle produce, swelled the average in these two cases.

12. At one time relief was unnecessarily given by certain Circle Inspectors in Parlakimedi and one or two in Berhampur. This was due to the simultaneous illness of the Divisional and taluq officers, and the late appointment of taluq relief officers. This was promptly remedied.

13. (*a*) In the earlier portion of operations. Yes. The change came about with alarming rapidity, and it was not possible to procure Circle Inspectors; or even Subordinates to take charge of works.

(*b*) Also due, amongst the Uriyas to the attitude of the people, who declined to accept work or cooked food when offered. A further stage of distress had to be reached before grain doles could be given.

(*c*) In some places after relief was organised, grain could not be procured locally for distribution.

14. (*a*) and (*b*) No.

(*c*) The establishment of grain depôts and grant of money doles could have obviated this.

15. Yes.

The excess mortality which has been heavy has been due almost entirely to small-pox, cholera and dysentery.

16. Shortly after the receipt of Government order No. 473, dated 18th June 1897, enjoining stricter orders on works, the numbers fell. This, however, was not in my opinion due to that order, which had scarcely been put into general force, but to timely rains which drew the relief workers to their fields.

In Parlakimedi and Berhampur the appointment of taluq relief officers caused a large decrease in the numbers on gratuitous relief, but this was simultaneous with good rainfall and demand for agricultural labour. The reduction may be attributed to both causes.

17. No.

18. I doubt it. It is true that wages were regulated by the market price of food grains, but G. O. No. $\frac{216}{29\text{-}3\text{-}97}$ followed by G. O. No. $\frac{473}{18\text{-}6\text{-}97}$ had a tendency to upset the automatic machinery.

The "minimum wage" caused a large number of able-bodied persons to attend the works. These were in no immediate need and did unsatisfactory work.

19. Work was insisted on as far as possible, but the circumstances of the district rendered gratuitous relief on a large scale necessary, as many who were originally able to work, refused to do so owing to caste prejudices, and when reduced in condition owing to their own default, had to be supported by grain doles.

20. *Vide* 19. As far as possible children 7—12 have worked. Nursing mothers capable of work, were given a nominal task. The number of the latter was very great.

21. The numbers relieved otherwise than by a labour-test has not been small. This is due to the prejudices of many of the men, and a large proportion of the women amongst the Uriyas. The numbers on works and weavers' relief came to approximately 35 per cent. of the total numbers on relief.

The number on works would have increased, and on gratuitous relief diminished, had Public Works Subordinates been available for opening new works. Also in Parlakimedi 10,000 were at one time employed by the Rajah on estate works.

Savaras and Khonds will not do earth-work, 50 per cent. of the Savaras of Thamba were at one time on relief, all emaciated, though work was provided close at hand.

22. No. I consider not. The minimum wage bred neglect and want of discipline; the task was neglected and the labour-test as a test on some works developed into a farce. The workers were many of them quite content to idle away their time for a minimum wage.

23. Yes. The relief works have been more numerous. Only professional labourers will go a long distance to reside on works. Residence on a relief work is disliked. It is

* The numbers refer to the questions drawn up by the Commission.

a test of great necessity for other than professional labourers. Many non-professionals would die rather than resort to it.

24. Yes, the highest percentage of persons relieved on works on the total population of affected tracts was 4·02.

25. Similar percentage for the famine of 1889 was 1·88. The increase in 1897 was due to the execution of a larger number of relief works.

26. So far as this district is concerned test-works were tried over and over again without success. The Kalliapalli quarry which worked for a month before any other was started, attracted mainly Telugu women who got a higher than normal wage. I regard that work as no test at all.

27. There were no poor-houses. The people of this district, except the very lowest of the low, are averse to attending kitchens. Gratuitous relief was chiefly granted by grain doles to persons in their homes, or at fixed centres. This was necessary to prevent wholesale death from starvation.

28. I have already stated above that there were instances of abuse (question 12). In addition to this, relief had to be given to many Uriya women and in some cases men, who declined work on relief works, in order to prevent their death. Relief in form of works was offered to these at an early stage, but refused.

29. Gratuitous home relief was given earlier than in 1889, but not before it was needed. The effect has been beneficial and prevented wandering.

The people of this District possess but little self-reliance or sense of moral obligation of mutual assistance. Relief has not tended to demoralization more than in previous famines.

30.

	Expenditure.	Units.	Cost of relief.		
	R		R.	A.	P.
1. Gratuitous	4,66,510	6,782,910	0	1	1
2. Relief Works . . .	3,27,290	3,965,310	0	1	4
3. Weavers	2,47,695	806,070	0	4	11

About one half the cost of relief under No. 3 will be recovered.

In 1889 the figures were :—

1. Gratuitous	3,49,438	6,821,748	0	0	9
2. Works	2,49,916	3,951,593	0	1	0

Figures for weavers are not available. Prices in 1889 were much lower than in 1897; hence the comparative increase, which is less than the increase in price of food grains.

Yes; fairly so, but relief to weavers and on works might have been more economically given, had other methods been adopted.

	1866.	1889.	1897.
	R	R	R
Suspension of Government Revenue .	...	3,75,000	98,823
Remission of ,,	1,25,405	2,68,852	2,29,193
Loans	...	...	1,07,598
Seed grain advances . . .	29,000	96,667	...

The above excludes cost of establishment.

32. For the present, with the exception of weavers, all appear to have recovered: it remains to be seen how long the agricultural labourers will bear the strain of existing high prices. In the absence of any large works, I fear that this class may have been permanently injured.

Weavers have lost owing to the market being now glutted with Government cloths, woven during the famine. As a set off, however, the price of yarn has fallen heavily, so that they can readily compete.

33. I consider that special attention should be paid to the case of children neglected by their parents. Section 114 provides for dependants, when the parents are themselves at work. There is no provision for the case of children whose parents are in good condition, and who refuse to work, but starve their children, taking for themselves the doles intended for the latter. There should in my opinion be legislation, authorising Government officers to remove such children from their parent's custody to a Government institution.

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34. The arrangements are sufficient. One or two new rain-gauges might be introduced.

35. In zemindaries this can only be gauged by general inspection on the part of Taluq officers on tour.

36. In Government Taluqs the information is fairly reliable.

37. Yes.

38. To some extent in the Government tracts, but more from personal observation as to condition. No crop returns were available for the zemindari tracts.

39. The following measures of state relief were adopted:—

1. Extended ordinary works (Local fund).
2. Test works.
3. Relief works.
4. Intermediate work (at close).
5. Grant of cooked food in kitchens.
6. Grain doles in villages.
7. Relief to weavers.
8. Loans for land improvement, and purchase of seed-grain and cattle.
9. Remissions of Land Revenue.
10. Postponement of Land Revenue.

Private relief.

The Rajah of Parlakimedi employed 10,000 labourers on estate relief works. Otherwise private relief was not given on any extended scale, except through the Famine Fund Committee.

40. As Acting Collector.

41. No. 4. Intermediate work unfortunately introduced too late.

No. 7. Weavers' relief as granted to *all* applicants.

42. There were no poor-houses. In some parts owing to the aversion of the people to cooked food, kitchens, which had been opened, were abandoned.

43. *Vide* written note of evidence.

44. Do. do.

45. Do. do.

Yes. (*a*) Intermediate system of works.

(*b*) Power to remove emaciated children from their parents' charge.

(*c*) The organisation of grain depôts, grain being imported by Government.

(*d*) Grant of money doles.

46. *Vide* written note of evidence:—

(*a*) Relief works combined with intermediate works.

(*b*) Relief in kitchens.

(*c*) Relief to weavers *regulated*.

(*d*) Relief by grain doles under the supervision of Taluq relief officers.

(*e*) Grant of loans and advances for seed-grain.

This combination properly worked should prove effective.

47. In remote tracts where communications are bad, and import of grain difficult, Government depôts should be started.

From the Agency tracts, whence the produce is exported, either by road or river, and cannot be reimported up ghats and up streams during the monsoon without great difficulty, export should be prohibited at an early stage.

48. There seemed to be a general opinion that the grant of grain doles was causing combination amongst merchants and tending to raise prices, and that money doles were preferable on this account.

49. *Vide* written statement of evidence.

53. Yes. Only 1 road, Khallikote-Boirani.

54. There is room for new roads, *viz.*:—(*1*) From Boirani to Pandripada and Pulsara, 28 miles.

(*2*) Surada to Kantripalli, 14 miles.

55. A good method of relief and the only one available in many parts of the district.

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56. In one or two quarries the metal collected is sufficient for fully ten years' repairs to existing roads. (*e.g.*, Ichapur and Sorasinghi). The greater part of the metal was collected as Railway ballast.

57. I consider that large tanks are both useful as a means of employment of labour, and permanently useful. Small tanks are not so. The latter are allowed subsequently to be damaged and fouled by cattle and will need constant repair.

59. (*a*) The number on an average tank would be about 500. On the Pilli Tank at Chatrapur as many as 1,500 were employed, but this is a large tank.

(*b*) Very doubtful. I think not.

60. Large numbers can be employed at any time. A scheme and programme for village relief in this district is under preparation.

61. Rushikulya works.

62. Yes. There is a permanent instead of a precarious supply of water for irrigation.

63. In Government lands. I believe not.

In zemindaries. Yes.

67. Very few in Government tracts of the district. The Rushikulya system can be extended. The Gouzatampara scheme is under investigation and will pay. In zemindaries there is ample scope for many projects.

70. It is very difficult to procure in this district, which is largely zemindary, any adequate scheme or programme of relief works: it is necessary to fall back on collection of metal.

Estimates were not completely ready for works to support the percentage of population required by the Code due to want of suitable works.

71 (*a*). Five miles.

(*b*) Fifteen miles to allow of their villages being visited on the day of rest.

72. Not without great danger to life. Other than professional labourers will not reside on works at a distance from their villages, and many refuse to attend works at all.

73. I should prefer doing so, but they would not go. A splendid offer for 10,000 coolies on contract works at Bharang with rail fare paid was offered in this district. Only a few (200) went, and these shortly returned.

74. The exception.

75. Residence was not a definite condition of relief.

76. (*a*) I am personally in favour of doing so: but it is not suited to the condition of the district and could not be enforced without great loss of life in the first instance.

(*b*). If the high task *enforced*, by proportionate pay the test is sufficient.

77. (*a*) Yes, except in the case of professional labourers, and even these prefer their homes.

(*b*) It was not insisted on.

77. A. Yes.

78. No.

79. (*a*) *Vide* written note of evidence and G. O. 216, dated 29th March 1897.

(*b*) No.

(*c*) The workers were checked by villages and the distance of the latter ascertained.

83. I consider that the number of dependants is larger on small works: the workers are drawn from a narrower radius and the children better able to walk, and hence not left at home.

III. Mr. Higham's final note has not been received in this office.

85. *Vide* my written note. I am strongly in favour of a piece-work system in this district.

88. A combination system, under which piece-work of digging, etc., is combined for the stronger workers, with a task of carrying for the weaker workers.

89. No.

94. The Code conditions are simple: personally I should classify them entirely according to *condition*: Good, Fair, Indifferent and Bad.

95. The Code allowance may be adhered to. I cannot express it in *chataks*.

96. No. The wage should be fixed on grain only.

96A. Yes, 1 man=1½ women and a woman's wage to be ¾ a man's wage.

97. (*i*) Above 12 as a woman and a woman's wage for both sexes.

(*ii*) 7 to 12. Half man's rate.

98. Seven years.

99. By payment, after due warning in strict proportion to the work turned out; *i.e.*, if a gang completes ¾ the task it should receive ¾ the pay of the class. If this is persistent and the task is correct, the class of the gang should be lowered. Contumacious characters should be turned off the works.

100. I consider the minimum wage to be the cause of all bad discipline and the bane of relief works.

101. At one period they could only be on this wage for a week without special sanction. I do not consider that.

102. Not except in very special cases where the probable close of famine renders the completion of any particular work desirable.

103. Yes, provided that the workers have attended 6 full days previously and have not been fined.

104. I have not seen Mr. Higham's final report; but I do not consider that his proposals as to classification for diggers and carriers are *generally* feasible in this district. When there are weakly gangs they may be separately given carrier work.

113A. Yes, I think so, provided that works are available, and in many parts of the district there are no ordinary works.

113B. I think not. Such persons can be left to the care of their fellow villagers. They would probably not remain on the works.

114. I should prefer that *all* works should be carried out, after the test stage by Department Public Works, except petty contract works of water-supply, etc., near villages.

115. So long as the Collector is held responsible for all relief, he must have full control in all matters.

116. The Collector should retain general power of inspection; but if divested of responsibility in other matters, the following items should alone come under his care:—

(1) Regulation of wages.

(2) Kitchens.

(3) Doles to children of relief workers.

(4) Locality, opening and closing of works.

117. There should be no delegation of powers. The Executive Engineer should be considered the Collector's Assistant for these purposes. The Divisional officers and Taluq Relief officers should have power of inspection, but should *report* to the Collector who alone should issue orders.

119. Yes.

120. *Vide* 116.

121. No.

122. No.

123. Many of the works carried out by Department Public Works, such as metal breaking, *i.e.*, not requiring any professional skill, might have been carried out by Civil Agency. At the same time I prefer and welcome the control of Public Works officers in such matters.

124. (*i*) Once in three days.

(*ii*) Once a week.

125. Pay to the nearest pie.

126. By separate paymasters appointed and controlled by Public Works Department.

127. Chalans were given in a few cases but not insisted on for admission to works. All comers were admitted, the mere acceptance of such relief being considered a sign of need.

128. Khonds and Savaras will not attend works.

129. A single overseer can control 10,000 men if not scattered over a large area; 500 should be a minimum charge.

130. Yes. It is true that many in this district will not attend kitchens if opened on the works. I do not recommend cash doles to dependents on works except in the case of higher castes.

133. At one time I received complaints that labour was not available for agricultural work or other purposes, and in other cases it was occasionally difficult to procure coolies for a casual day's work. The latter fact was due to the loss of rest day wage if the work was left for a day.

131. I myself noted men and boys doing what was ordinarily woman's work in the fields. I closed one or two works where the chief complaints arose, and also refused admission to the works to all coolies in specially good condition.

135. No. This was the chief difficulty. The employers of agricultural labour wished to obtain their labour cheap for cash rates below the normal, instead of giving grain allowances as is usual for agricultural operations. Hence the reluctance to leave works.

136. No.

137. The only course seems to be to refuse to employ such labourers as are in unusually strong bodily condition.

138. I have referred to the Raja of Parlakimedi who employed as many as 10,000 on Estate relief works. The Zemindar of Khallikota and Alagada also provided a few small works.

139. It might be possible to get some zemindars to agree to the execution of irrigation projects by Government Famine Agency, they themselves reimbursing the actual value of work done.

148. *Vide* question 10 and question 1.

The maximum population affected was 1,208,954. The maximum number on grain doles and kitchen relief was 89,494, or a percentage of 7·4.

149. Yes. Agricultural and middle classes.

150. I have already stated that owing to illness of Divisional officers and absence of Taluq Relief officers, there were some improper admissions by Circle Inspectors. Every effort was, however, made to confine such relief to those without resources.

151. They are largely supported by agriculture. They would die if not relieved. The Collector is responsible for seeing that no deaths occur.

152. The greater proportion consisted of women and children. Strictly speaking, there were very few *parda nashin*, though many set up a claim thereto.

153. I doubt the possibility of preparing an accurate estimate. The numbers will vary with the severity and stage of distress.

154. Certainly not. In some cases persons though in real need, especially Uriya women of certain classes (Aravas, Samantras, etc.) cannot be induced to attend works.

155. I consider that all persons relieved by cash payment as dependants should come with the workers and remain on the work as a check. Otherwise they will be classed twice over, both as dependants and for gratuitous relief in villages. I do not approve of the system of dependants' allowances on works for this cause. There should be only kitchens on works.

156. I strongly object to doing so; but it must be done to save life. I consider that Government officers should be given power to remove such an incapable person to a poor-house or kitchen.

157. Yes. On the other hand I have known cases of refusal of such relief.

158. The lists were constantly checked by Taluq and Divisional officers. The Circle Inspectors were such as we could procure, many of them inefficient and careless. As soon as Taluq Relief officers were appointed no unnecessary relief was given.

159. Yes.

160. Receipt of cooked food in kitchens does; but not the receipt of grain doles as a general rule.

161. Yes; I think so.

162. Yes; but many of them declined to work at all.

163. Very few land-holders would undertake the responsibility.

164. Kitchen relief is in my opinion the best form of relief. It should not, however, be given to all comers, but only to such as, on enquiry, seem entitled to relief.

165. There is a strong prejudice against receipt of cooked food in kitchens.

If restricted to this form of relief, many classes would be practically excluded.

166. Yes.

167 & 168. Gratuitous relief was given in grain at fixed *centres*.

Commencing with a prejudice against money doles I have as the result of experience worked round to the opinion that in remote tracts, where grain-dealers cannot be procured and where Circle Inspectors cannot be closely supervised, it is a better form of relief.

(*a*) It gives less room for fraud.

There is only one person to deal with, *viz.*, the Circle Inspector. The contractor element is eliminated, and there is no fraud by short weight, short measure, or bad quality.

(*b*) Cash payments can be more easily verified by actual enquiry.

(*c*) The Circle Inspector cannot exceed his allotment.

(*d*) The recipients can buy other than standard grain and thereby relieve the market.

(*e*) The recipients can also buy what other items they require in the proportion they like. The fixed proportions of the ration do not meet with local approval. At present they exchange grain, *i.e.*, when received in that form, for other articles.

169. I believe that this did take place to some extent. Several prosecutions were instituted.

170. Lists of those in need were prepared by village officers in the first instance, and checked by Circle Inspectors and superior officers. Their attendance was necessary at the time of distribution.

171. *Nil*, as regards Government gratuitous relief. The famine relief fund gave non-official relief.

172 to 184. There were no poor-houses in the district.

185 to 192. All doles were distributed at *centres*. Such centres were necessary as grain could not be procured in many villages.

The recipients took their doles and went home: distance not exceeding five miles. Distribution was made weekly. There were no relief centres in any other sense.

193. I consider that relief kitchens form a necessary part of the general scheme of village relief in cases in which persons can be induced to resort thereto. Only persons duly selected from villages within a radius of 5 miles to receive relief.

194. They were not a success on relief works in this district. They should be generally established, two for each Circle Inspector's charge, where required.

195. As far as possible.

196. On tickets signed by Circle Inspectors.

197. The kitchens were under official supervision, aided by village panchayets. As a rule were properly and economically administered.

198. (*a*) By cooked food.

(*b*) No.

199. The following amounts were granted in the late famine under the Loans Acts:—

	R
Land improvements	19,865
Cattle and seed-grain	87,733
Subsistence	*Nil.*

200. I believe that in some cases the advances were utilised for subsistence.

201. (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) No.

202. One year for a loan for the purchase of seed, two years for a loan for the purchase of cattle, and the exact periods fixed for recovery of loans for land improvements are not known. The maximum periods that can be allowed are given in Rule 21 of the rules framed under section 10 of the Land Improvement Loans Act, XIX of 1883.

203. No.

204. I approve of the principle of subsistence advances especially during the cultivation season. The self-acting test of accepting work on a relief does not meet fully the requirements of this district.

205. Yes, I think so.

206. Great care and discrimination should be exercised in the grant of these loans. There are certain caste people in this district who prefer death to resorting to relief work.

207. Amount of land revenue.:—

	R
Suspended	98,823
Amount remitted	2,29,193

Suspension of revenue was allowed in the case of zemindars only on condition that they gave similar relief to their tenants.

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208. (*a*) No.

(*b*) No.

(*c*) Legal provision is desirable.

209. (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) No definite answer can be given.

210. Yes; the land revenue suspended being mostly peshkash.

211. No. Of the sum of R98,823 suspended, R94,889 have been since collected, leaving a balance of R3,934, which will be collected shortly.

212. No information is available on this point.

214. Yes, remission is preferable to suspension in such cases. I should give total remission for 2 annas and under, and percentage remission from 2 to 4 annas.

215. The registration records indicate increased borrowing in the famine year, the total number of registrations being 17,408 in the famine year (November 1896 to October 1897), against 12,592 in the corresponding period of the previous year. There was corresponding increase in the registration receipts and the total value of the transactions as shown below:—

	Receipts.	Value of transactions.
	R	R
1896-97 . .	56,472	35,11,518
1895-96 . .	20,545	32,41,041

In the receipts shown for 1896-97 are included R31,182 paid by Government on account of search fees in connection with the transactions under the Loans Acts.

222 to 241. I have no remarks to offer. I approve generally of the operations of the Indian Famine Relief Fund.

248. The ratio of deaths per thousand of population in this district for the period 1891—95 was 17·85.

It was 20·9 in 1896-97 and 46·4 in 1897-98.

249. The higher ratio is almost entirely accounted for by the severe epidemics of cholera and small-pox.

252. Yes.

253. Yes.

254. Yes.

255. (*a*) *Nil.*

(*b*) I cannot say; deaths from dysentery and fever were caused partly by privation and partly by unwholesome food.

(*c*) Parents neglected their children; but not from stress of want. The parents generally were in better condition than the children.

256. None.

257. The measures taken were not defective.

258. Yes.

259. Yes. The population of the district, excluding the Agency tracts, was 1,388,976 according to the census of 1871. At the end of 1896 it was 1,657,310, the increase being 268,334.

260. These figures can be obtained from the Sanitary Commissioner.

273. Rice and ragi.

274. Three meals both for Uriyas and Telugus. Morning—rice-conji.

Midday—Ragi prepared in rice-conji.

Evening—Half rice, half ragi for Telugus. Rice for Uriyas.

275. Grain, cholum, and for Savaras, flour made out of the pith of the sago palm.

279. Two according to the Famine Code.

280. Rice was asked for in preference to ragi. More salt and less chillies demanded.

282. The rise was not in my opinion more than reasonable. Stocks were greatly depleted, and at one time there was practically no ragi in the market. High prices elsewhere caused export and re-acted on district prices, and the grain so exported early in the year had to be subsequently re-imported. I believe that prices might have been kept down a point by Government importation for relief purposes.

282A. Yes.

The rates fixed by the leading merchants were generally followed.

283A. Prices in Cuttack were lower by about 10 to 15 per cent. In Vizagapatam about the same. Relief was necessary in Vizagapatam.

286. As a rule. But in some cases grain in any large quantities was unprocurable.

287. Yes. Up to June; due to previous contracts and higher prices in the Deccan.

Afterwards imported.

288. There was not much speculation. Purchases for export were largely on commission system.

289. Depleted; except in cases of temples and mutts.

290. There were a few, but not many, large stocks held for a rise.

291. The cultivators largely contract for sale of spare grain prior to harvest. Hence they did not obtain full benefit of the high rates.

294. Export has been stimulated.

Import, when necessary, was very sluggish at first.

303. No action was taken. At one period when there were no food-grains available for relief purposes, I authorised the advance of funds to certain merchants of Sompeta for the import of grain. Government ordered the advances to be at once recovered.

303A. *Nil.*

304. I was exceedingly anxious that this system should be tried. I believe—

(1) that cost of relief to the State would have been reduced by 15 or 20 per cent.;

(2) that the prices of food-grains in the open markets would have fallen by 10 per cent.;

(3) that private trade would have been stimulated into competition.

305. I believe that to some extent there were rings and combinations.

I cannot, however, say that these were not justified by the low state of stocks.

There were no "corners" in grain.

They can be defeated by the import of grain for Government purposes of relief.

Written Answers to the Commission's questions by the Revd. J. M. URE, *London Mission, dated Camp Banganapalle, 16th February 1898.*

Revd. J. M. Ure.

*1. I know of parts of Kurnool and Anantapur Districts.

2. The distress was due, in my opinion, *both* to the failure of rains during the famine year and to high prices due to the failure of the rains in previous years.

3 *a*. I do not know the exact extent.

3 *b*. They were. So far as I can learn, the prices were not so high as in 1877.

4. The preceding seasons were unfavourable, and the condition, especially of the Panchama classes, was that of semi-famine.

5. It does, especially the ryot portion. The Panchama portion is, in my opinion, sufficiently large to demand attention in such a time as that described in No. 4.

6. It is. Koilkuntla, Tadpatri and Gooty are specially dependent on the tanks and therefore upon the rainfall.

7. I have had no means of knowing, and therefore cannot answer the first part of this query. The Malas and Madigas are extremely poor and in most villages number at least from 15 to 20 families.

8. The recent famine has been much more severe, but from want of sufficient data am unable to make a comparison.

9. I don't think the distress was at any time *over*-estimated: if there was a danger anywhere, or at any time, it was that of *under*-estimating the distress.

* The numbers refer to the questions drawn up by the Commission.

No doubt several were employed who need not have been. Greed for purposes of saving, and to give the impression of poverty with the view of preventing robbery.

15. I should say most emphatically that the relief measures were successful in their object. I have not heard that the mortality was in excess of the normal.

16. Yes. On the issue of the "Omnibus order" there was a large increase, and towards the close a large decrease which I believe operated in both ways indicated by the question.

17. I cannot say there can.

18. The principle has, I believe, been fully observed, but I should think the "tests" for people in a famine-stricken condition were sometimes rather severe.

19. They were, except in the case of those who, at a later stage, received gratuitous relief.

20. They were, and classified accordingly.

22. The wage, in my opinion, was scarcely sufficient for bare subsistence, and but for being supplemented by private charity it would have gone hard with some.

23. As a rule, the workers did not reside on the works. Residence on the work is disliked and is certainly an effective test, though not always a fair one.

27. Relief was given in the form of cooked food in kitchens and by means of doles of grain, and I believe small sums of money.

29. It has kept households together, and I do not think it has in any way demoralized the people.

31. To a very large extent, indeed, these forms of relief have been resorted to, but I cannot, at present, state the amount or institute a comparison.

32. I only know the labouring classes, and I should say that, granted good seasons, they will recover themselves.

33. I cannot say.

53. The roads made in this district will be of great service, and ought to be maintained.

54. There is still room for many new roads through the black cotton soil.

55. It is good so far as it goes, but ought to be varied with other work. It is too monotonous and has a depressing effect upon the people.

57. It is a first class form of relief and will permanently benefit the villages concerned.

60. What between enlarging and repairing existing tanks and making new ones I should say large numbers could be employed.

62. In the event of failure of rains such works, if carried out, would certainly tend towards a protection against famine.

63. I should say there is.

64. It is possible, I think, to prepare such a programme of useful works. Railways, roads, canals and tanks are all wanted.

73. I would.

74. The exception.

75. I believe the latter.

76. No. The breaking up of the homes of the people has a bad moral effect.

77. I believe it is, but I cannot point to any specific instance.

79. Yes.

98. Severe.

99. Fine them, but not below the minimum or living wage.

102. Yes.

103. Yes. Unless in the case of sickness I would make the payment of the Sunday wage depend upon full attendance at work during the week.

113A. I believe it would.

113B. I should say yes.

115. Since the Collector is made responsible for preserving the lives of the people under his care, he certainly ought to have full control of all works in his district.

117. That would depend, I should say, very much on *who* the assistants were.

127. No. But I think it would be a good plan so as to prevent those who have no need from being employed.

130. Yes.

149. They did.

150. No.

151. By their relatives, *i.e.*, the infirm, etc. When these have no work they are obliged to go to Famine works. Women, children and infirm old men chiefly.

153. By the aid of the village officers, together with that of respectable villagers, such an estimate might be formed.

154. I should think it would.

155. No. Many of the people would die rather than do this.

156. It would depend on the position of the able-bodied relative. If a labourer, I would say, no; if an educated person, I would say, yes.

160. It does.

161. I should say it does.

162. Yes.

163. It might.

164. I would be in favour of the central kitchens for the very poor, and of gratuitous relief in the homes of the distressed of the better classes.

165. I have heard no objections, for each caste was served in a separate room or apartment of the kitchen.

166. I think not.

167. I prefer grain.

168. I believe it was given in a central place—at least not always *in the homes* of the people.

169. I believe there were such cases, but I do not know of them personally.

194. I should say both.

196. To all I believe.

201. It has. It could.

207. I believe the collection was suspended entirely.

209. It has.

210. It may if sufficient time is given.

211. It should.

217. I do.

220. I should hand them over to their relatives provided said relatives were able to support them. If able, then, for some time at least, the State might exercise some oversight, much the same as the Poor Law authorities do over orphan children whom they send out to respectable families at home. If the relatives are unable to support them, then they might be handed over to the care of respectable people of their respective castes, being subject to State oversight till they were able to do for themselves. Again, if the relatives were too poor to provide for them, the State might assist them till the children were able to work. This would, however, be unadvisable where the people were too poor to keep themselves in a degree of comfort. Failing these methods the State should support them in an industrial school.

221. Christian orphanages would, I am sure, be glad to relieve the State of this burden.

227. I do, and I think the State should see that some such arrangement is made.

228. To no extent worth speaking about. They were, but I never heard that private trade had been interfered with.

232. This would entirely depend upon circumstances. It takes such a long time to secure taccavi that help meantime is usually needed.

233. It could.

234. I do, indeed. In this district I do not know what we would have done without it.

235. Money at the rate of 8 annas per acre for the usual well-to-do, and a fixed sum of say R5 for the Mala and Madiga class, irrespective of what was required for cattle.

246. No.

247. Received and helped.

251. It would.

252. It no doubt was.

253. They certainly increased the mortality, and I think, to some extent at least, might be ascribed to the causes indicated.

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253. I do not know of a single death directly due to starvation. I have not heard of such cases.

257. Yes.

258. No.

266. I should say no.

273. Cholum.

274. Two, with slight refreshment in the mornings.

283. There has.

293. This habit is, I believe, on the decrease because people have now a much readier sale for their grain.

294. They have.

296. Malas and Madigas.

297. To want of money.

298. As a rule they did not.

302. Those who could sell did so, but the great difficulty was to get buyers.

303. I think they could.

305. I would.

Written Statement of Evidence by MR. W. O. HORNE, *Acting Collector of Vizagapatam, dated 16th February 1898.*

Mr. W. O. Horne.

I.—DEPARTURES FROM THE PRESCRIPTIONS OF THE MADRAS FAMINE CODE WHICH HAVE OCCURRED IN THIS DISTRICT DURING THE LATE FAMINE.

1. The principal deviations from the Famine Code in this district—for which alone I speak—were those ordered in G. O. No. 216, Revenue, dated 30th March 1897. The Commission has doubtless a copy of this order before it, so that it is unnecessary to recapitulate these deviations. Those of them, however, which had the greatest effect, which effect was principally in the direction of relaxing and removing the self-acting test which the Code prescribed as a condition precedent to the grant of relief on works, were—

(1) the abolition of the D class of labourers, and the restriction of the class to very exceptional cases; almost all workers, of whatever physical capacity, being classed as B, while the B task was reduced to suit their capacity.

(2) Distance allowance.

(3) Restriction of fining for short work.

(4) Relaxation of insistance on punctuality.

The result of these orders was, in my opinion, so to relax the self-acting test intended by the Code as to render relief acceptable to very large numbers who could have done very well without it. Numberless instances of persons in really comfortable circumstances, and particularly the wives and children of such persons, who were perfectly ready to attend and do a day's light work at an otherwise idle season within a convenient distance of their homes, came under my personal observation. Subordinate officers in charge of works, rather than be bothered with explanations, which would be called for if they inflicted any fines, adjusted the tasks of the gangs on a scale which constantly tended to diminish, and, in pursuance of the order to adjust each gang's task to its individual capacity, adjusted it rather to its individual taste. The check, which should have been exercised by the necessity for obtaining the sanction of superiors to alterations of task, took too long to operate. Gangs thus largely escaped fining; and when the fall in the outturn of work and the general laziness of the workers was noticed by me and some measure of fining insisted on, the workers very soon found out what was the limit to which they could be fined and cheerfully accepted a fine so limited together with an easy day's work, rather than exert themselves to earn a few more pies daily.

2. The distance allowance was never given in this district. Shelter was provided at all works, though not very largely availed of. Had the allowance been given, the numbers on works would have increased largely. I did not try the distance allowance, but I should suppose it to be unworkable owing to the ultimate opportunities for fraud and concealment of real residence, the impossibility of forming gangs composed solely of inhabitants of one or two villages at the same distance and the complicated calculations necessary to arrive at the gang task.

3. In my opinion, the provisions of the Code as to classification and tasking of workers, and the enforcement of tasks, might very well be adhered to, provided always—

(1) that the classification is carefully made and checked by responsible officers;

(2) that a complete local task table is drawn up by capable officers;

(3) that arrangements for gratuitous relief are adequate, and that all persons unfit to labour are kept on such relief.

4. Minor divergences from the Code were—

(1) There were no poor-houses. These should, I think, seldom be necessary except for wanderers, and wanderers should be very few if other kinds of relief are properly organized. Wandering commenced in this district only at the end of June, when distress deepened very rapidly and panic set in owing to threatened failure of the south-west monsoon, but it was promptly stopped by the organization of village relief.

(2) Kitchens were not so frequent as the Famine Code contemplates. I shall explain later on that the Code scale is an impossibility.

(3) The scale of establishments prescribed by the Code was never attained. Only four taluks out of fourteen had taluk relief officers, and I consider that village relief by money or doles cannot be efficiently or economically worked without these officers.

II.—DEGREE OF SUCCESS WHICH HAS ATTENDED THE MEASURES ADOPTED, CONSIDERED WITH REGARD TO

(1) *Relief of distress and saving of life.*

5. I consider that in this regard the measures adopted met with very complete success. There may have been deaths from starvation, but all enquiries have failed to authenticate a single case of death directly so due. I am not prepared to dispute that there may have been much mortality due indirectly to the effects of privation. The death and birth returns of the district for the period of distress, which I give below—

Months.	Births.		Deaths.		Remarks.
	Average of 5 years.	In the month.	Average of 5 years.	In the month.	
October 1896	4,266	4,793	2,773	2,887	Normal.
November ,,	4,012	4,341	2,758	2,102	
December ,,	3,671	4,503	3,366	2,697	Decrease in deaths due, no doubt, to dry season.
January 1897	3,433	4,235	3,199	2,404	
February ,,	2,876	3,681	2,410	2,242	
March ,,	3,323	3,525	2,952	2,582	
April ,,	3,186	3,863	2,261	2,314	Death-rate increasing, births unaffected.
May ,,	3,685	4,420	2,577	3,527	
June ,,	4,161	4,125	2,457	4,361	
July ,,	4,861	3,910	2,781	5,650	Death-rate very high. Birth-rate increasingly affected.
August ,,	4,763	3,696	3,168	4,982	
September ,,	4,714	3,493	3,268	5,196	

leave large variations from the normal to be accounted for, and, great as the mortality from cholera was, this cause alone does not supply the necessary explanation. Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel Leapingwell, Surgeon of the district, has, I understand, supplied the Commission with his opinions on the causes accounting for the rather remarkable figures, and I do not propose to waste the time of the Commission by repeating them. I have no reason at all to think that the mortality could have been prevented by more extensive or more timely relief measures, much less that the orders of Government by which in July the relaxations of test ordered in G. O. No. 216 of 30th March 1897 were largely withdrawn, contributed in any way to increase the distress or the death rate. The only effect of these orders was to render the conditions of relief distasteful to those who did not really need it. Wanderers, as I have said, were few, and existed for only a brief period. Few deaths occurred among them, and those were almost all due to epidemics.

6. I have little doubt that much of the mortality, besides that due to cholera, was the direct or indirect result of the severe scarcity of water which existed and which every effort was powerless entirely to counteract. I believe, though I speak subject to professional correction, that the diet prescribed by the Code both for relief workers and for the recipients of gratuitous relief is ample, provided always that each person consumes his own ration. Sharing of rations, where these are given otherwise than in the shape of cooked food, no system can prevent, and I found many acknowledged cases of this. Men stayed at home and sent their wives and children to the works. The man, often earning nothing himself, had to be fed out of the family earnings, which the Code does not contemplate. On the cooked-food ration I invariably found that all, except the aged, visibly fattened. The ascertained deaths among those in receipt of relief were very few.

(2) Economy.

7. As stated above, I believe that there was a good deal of expenditure on the relief of those who might have done without it; and this was due to the relaxation of the self-acting tests which the Code contemplates. Relief would have equally reached those who required it, and the cost would have been less had the tests been more strictly enforced. The proportion of persons on gratuitous relief to those relieved on works was excessive subsequent to the date of opening relief by grain doles in villages. This indicates—on paper—want of economy, inasmuch as no return was received in the shape of work from the recipients. I say on paper, because in reality the return received from those relieved on works was very nearly valueless. The vast majority of the workers in this district were employed on stone-breaking, and the stone, except a comparatively small quantity which is within reach of the railway and can be used for ballast, is more than can be profitably employed on road repairs within the next generation. In reality, therefore, gratuitous relief was nearly as economical as that given on works, while it had the advantage of being given at the discretion—more or less intelligent—of the supervising staff and made no pretence to any self-acting test.

8. The reasons for the excess of recipients of gratuitous relief over those of relief on works were the following:—

(1) Sudden deepening of distress in June and July which had to be met by the first means available.

(2) Paucity of staff available for opening and supervising works.

(3) Paucity of really available works owing to the fact that this district is almost altogether zemindari and that therefore Government irrigation is limited.

(4) Unsuitability for relief purposes of most of the works in the district famine programme.

(5) Absolute failure of the Public Works Department (due partly to above causes) to provide any single work, large or small, suitable for relief purposes.

(6) Consequent impossibility of extending and multiplying works quick enough to meet the emergency.

(7) Consequent necessity for employing that form of relief which the civil authorities could undertake without the assistance of the Public Works Department, and which was already planned out and ready to be undertken.

9. In three cases the construction of new roads was undertaken and in two more the repair of existing ones for a few miles was effected. In the first three cases the work was left unfinished when distress ended, and being principally earthwork, and no bridges or culverts being constructed for want of skilled labour and unadaptability of the latter to conditions of famine work, the result has been to spoil a cart-track without making a road. The District Boards have no prospect of finding funds to complete these works. In the last two cases the work was beneficial and useful, but of course extravagantly expensive.

10. Metal collection I regard as a useful means of providing labour. It is easily organized and controlled and is generally available, but financially it is wasteful. Metal cannot with profit be carted more than a few miles, and the amount which can be so carted and used within 10 or even 20 years is very soon got together. The rest is merely wasted.

11. State loans are a useful means of relieving distress among cultivators. I have no experience of loans for the relief of distress, but other loans were granted in this district as under:—

	R
Land improvement loans . . .	7,280
Loans under the Agriculturists' Loans Act for the purchase of cattle, seed-grain or fodder and the like purposes . . .	1,39,677

III.—ADVICE AS TO MEASURES AND METHODS OF WORKING WHICH SEEM LIKELY TO PROVE MOST EFFECTIVE IN FUTURE IN THESE TWO RESPECTS (RELIEF OF DISTRESS AND ECONOMY).

12. I do not think that the main ideas of the Code as to the ascertainment of distress and the method and order of inaugurating the various kinds of relief measures need any alteration. The system of taluk and village and crop inspection, of rain reports and price returns in this Presidency is nearly perfect. By these means, and by constant touring, any district officer of experience knows perfectly well when distress is inevitable and when it is imminent. I do not believe much in test works as test of distress—certainly not if they are worked upon humanitarian principles. There is no practical difference between a test work and a relief work, but there is no objection to calling the first relief works tests. In the early stage of distress, works—comparatively small, supplemented by kitchens attached thereto and by kitchens for the relief of the indigent in the larger towns—do all that is required. When distress is assured and deepening, I think labour should be concentrated, so far as it may be decided to be advisable to do so, on really large works: and when that is done, village relief—primarily by increased numbers of kitchens and shortly afterwards by relief at the houses of the people—will become a necessity. Weavers' relief will immediately follow. This class is never able to withstand a famine of even slight intensity.

13. I do not think that it is necessary to open circle relief as soon as works commence to fill. The first classes to feel distress are those who will readily and may fairly be required to go to kitchens, while private charity will continue to support those whose status and caste prevents them from attending kitchens, as well as the few of the low castes who are physically incapable of attending, all the longer because of the relief afforded to it by the Government measures of relief first started. There is also no doubt that the regular administration of state relief contracts private charity, and it is a mistake to do so so long, as it can meet the requirements of the situation. While, therefore, having everything ready for the opening of village and circle relief, I would always make it the last of the regular measures—except poor-houses—to be introduced.

14. On the question of the concentration of works—I am in favour of such concentration. I think that in no case should more than one, or in very exceptional cases two, works per taluk be opened. Residence on the works should be made available and reasonably comfortable. Dependants should be provided for in kitchens on the works, but should be encouraged to remain in their villages, being relieved by grain-doles or by kitchens. Workers will not go nearly so readily to works at any distance over, say, 6 or 8 miles from their villages, but their preference should not be considered, and they should, when necessary, be sent by rail or other conveyance. Six or seven miles is the greatest distance from their homes to which workers in this district were willing to go daily for work, and the idea of providing every one with work within this distance of his home is

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chimerical. I am hardly prepared to advocate the transport of workers for 100 miles or more to large works, but 30, 40 or 50 miles even might, I think, be insisted on. Unless, however, something more than the ordinary facilities for getting to the work and for residence on it are offered, I would not take the responsibility of refusing relief to all capable of work who refuse to attend such works, but I think that arrangements might be made for conveying them.

15. I do not propose to say much on the vexed question of divided authority between the Civil and Public Works Department officers. I am in favour of handing over all works—except petty village ones, which are in my opinion of little use—and including test works, to the Public Works Department, together with the kitchens, bazaars, etc., thereto attached, as well as the paying staff. The extent to which the Collector must have authority depends on the extent of his responsibility, but I see no reason why the classification of labourers, ganging, tasking, fining, and other details should not be left to the Public Works Department entirely, provided always that the Collector has no responsibility therefor. I would, in any case, retain to the Collector the power to order the opening and closing of works and the selection of locality. It is difficult to assign a position to the Superintending Engineer. The Executive Engineer cannot take orders both from him and from the Collector, and under the Madras Code system he is a superfluous quantity.

16. The system I would prefer would be to make the Executive Engineer the Collector's professional Assistant for famine purposes, the Superintending Engineer being *absolutely eliminated*, as his interference can only cause friction. The Collector, while retaining absolute power in all respects, should interfere as little as possible with the Executive Engineer, who would be primarily responsible for the details mentioned above, and in this case there would be no need for the delegation of any of the Collector's powers to his ordinary assistants, since the Executive Engineer himself would become an assistant, and if he loyally accepted the position, there is no reason why he should be less trusted than the others. But there must be no appealing by the Executive Engineer from the Collector to his own departmental superiors, and there must be no discussion about the relative length of service of the Collector and the Executive Engineer. If there is to be any interference by the officers of the Public Works Department superior to the Executive Engineer, the Collector must be absolved of any responsibility for the conduct of relief works beyond directing their opening or closing, and the Public Works Department under the Chief Engineer must have the sole responsibility for their management. In that case it will remain to assign a place in the scheme to the Famine Commissioner, and to fit in his functions with those of the Chief Engineer, which may be difficult.

17. I repeat that I do not think it necessary to give the Collector any powers of control over the management of relief works which are under the Public Works Department, but it follows that he must be absolved of responsibility in proportion as his control is diminished.

18. I think that the only relief given to dependants of workers, as such, and the only gratuitous relief to be administered on or in connection with relief works should be that given in kitchens by means of cooked food. Dependants who for any cause are precluded from accepting this form of relief, should be relieved in their villages and encouraged to stay there rather than to encumber the works with their presence.

19. As to gratuitous relief given apart from relief works and to others than dependants, I think that, as a means of really preventing death and suffering by starvation, kitchens are infinitely preferable to relief by doles either of grain or money. It is possible to see that the nominal recipient of relief really gets it in this form, and that it is neither shared nor misappropriated by others. As a means of relieving children, even those at the breast, kitchens are incomparably superior to all other forms of relief. Children like them and those of the indigent classes are rarely so well fed as in a kitchen, and after a few weeks of it look as they never look at other times. Doles of grain or money are absolutely useless for children. They are in the great majority of cases diverted to the use of the parents, and the latter have frequently in my own experience and without any reasonable excuse refused to allow their children to go to a kitchen in the hope of extorting a dole for them when they have become sufficiently emaciated to make it necessary.

20. In spite, however, of the undoubted superiority of kitchens, I am afraid it is impossible when distress becomes deep and extensive to adhere solely to this form of gratuitous relief. The Code lays down that the affected area should be divided into circles of 5 miles in diameter and a kitchen established in each. If this could be done, no other gratuitous relief would be needed, except for a few people whose social position would render death preferable to the acceptance of kitchen relief. But it cannot. This district contains roughly 18,000 square miles, and about 12,000 square miles of this would certainly require regular relief in a bad famine—such a famine say as that of 1877 in the Deccan. Calling the 5-mile circles squares and assuming that each covers 25 square miles, 480 kitchens would be required to cover the area. It is needless to discuss the practicability of the idea. Therefore circle and village relief by doles is unavoidable. Kitchens should, however, be established at all considerable centres of population and in all places where they can conveniently be supervised. In fact, they should be used as far as possible in place of village relief and must always precede it, but no fixed rule can be laid down as to the extent to which they can replace it. Local circumstances must determine.

21. In this district none were admitted to kitchens without the order of an officer not lower than the Circle Inspector. Kitchen superintendents were forbidden—except in case of emergency—to admit on their own responsibility. It was found that they did so indiscriminately, and *all* the Pariah castes and their children were at all times eager to come. Kitchens need constant and unexpected inspection, otherwise fraud and misappropriation of food and falsification of accounts are certain. The system of accounts and returns prescribed in the Madras Code—*plus* frequent inspection and check—very fairly prevents this. Kitchens under zemindari or private management are a mistake. I have seen a few such and thought very unfavourably of them.

22. As to relief by grain or money doles, I have to say that I prefer the former. In the Ganjam famine of 1889 I worked with money doles, and think it the worst possible system and pregnant with possibilities of fraud, which are freely availed of. The system laid down in the Madras Code for distribution of grain-doles was worked in this district in the past famine without very serious difficulty. The only really weak point in the system laid down is the supposition that a grain-dealer can be got in every village to issue the doles. This is by no means the case, and the small grain-dealers will not undertake it. Generally we had to procure one grain-dealer who engaged to supply a considerable circle of villages and sent or took the grain to each or to the central village of a small group to which the recipients repaired twice a week to receive it. There was difficulty with the grain-dealers' accounts, but this was solely owing to the general incompetence of the staff of Circle Inspectors, who did not follow the procedure laid down in the Code. It ought to be possible to get men with some discretion and common sense for the pay allowed to Circle Inspectors, but I have found it so in very few cases. It is the difficulty of checking and controlling the work of these people which is one of the weakest points of village relief as a system. It seems impossible to inculcate into them any notion of the qualification which should entitle an applicant for gratuitous relief to receive it. I have checked the work of these people in hundreds of villages, and have almost invariably found it very bad.

23. I have no hesitation in saying that circle relief should never be undertaken without an officer of the kind contemplated in the Code as a taluk relief officer to supervise it, and there should be one taluk relief officer for at least every six circles, or roughly one per taluk. The same officer can supervise the kitchens. These officers should preferentially be Europeans. Few natives take to the work or are energetic enough to undergo the constant travelling and exposure which it entails. Officers of suitable rank and pay are plentiful in the Salt and Abkari Department, and those whom I had were invaluable. There is a natural tendency to defer the appointment of taluk relief officers till distress is very severe on the ground of economy, but my experience is that these officers, if of the right sort, will soon do more than save their pay to Government. I have myself frequently on inspection reduced the Circle Inspectors' admissions to village relief in a single village from 100 to 15, and even in greater proportion, and it does not take very long for an officer working in this way to save more money than it costs to pay him. Village relief by doles should never be undertaken without effective European control. Not only is it necessary to guard against the stupidity and criminal laxity of Circle Inspectors, but also against the rascality of village officers, who frequently do not scruple to exact a few pies from a starving applicant as a condition of recommendation for relief.

IV.—OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS OR OPINIONS THOUGHT LIKELY TO BE USEFUL IN FUTURE FAMINES.

24. I recommend that the system on which district programmes of famine-relief works are prepared be altered. The alteration should be in the direction of concentration of works. In each taluk of a district there should be on the programme one large work ready to be undertaken by the Public Works Department and capable of employing all who are likely to require relief in that taluk for eight months. At present it is generally thought sufficient if a programme is maintained which shows works enough to employ the probable applicants, but these works are frequently so small and so numerous that they would all require to be put in hand together and supervision would be impossible. The large work referred to should be planned, estimated and *approved*, and there should be no objection raised when the Collector proposes to start it on the ground that its utility is doubtful or design faulty, or that it is unlikely to be a financial success. The first two questions should have been settled beforehand and the last should not arise, because if not spent on one work the money will be so on another, and probably one which will not only be not a financial success, but will be a pure waste.

25. In a zemindari district, where Government irrigation schemes on a considerable scale are difficult to work out, legislative action is necessary to give Government the power to plan and undertake productive works in zemindaris, the zemindar, unless he can prove that he is absolutely unable to do so, being compelled to pay the estimated cost of the work at ordinary—not famine-rates; and, if he is unable to do so, being charged by Government a fair yearly sum as interest on the outlay which might be added to his peishcush. There is no doubt that he would more than recoup himself from his ryots. In cases of works affecting partly Government and partly zemindari lands, the zemindar should be charged proportionately.

26. I think that the energies of the Public Works Department should be directed towards the selection and planning of works of the kind indicated at once as a precaution against future famine. In this district the Superintending Engineer condemned as useless every Public Works Department work which the Collector proposed to open as a famine work, although such work found a place in the Public Works Department programme. This should not be possible.

27. I recommend that a code having been drawn up and rations, tasks and such like fixed, that code should not, except in cases for which it does not provide, be departed from without very grave reason indeed. I think that such alterations or objections as medical and other experts have to propose should be proposed and accepted or rejected previous to and not during famine, and that the last sentence of section 154 of the Madras Code should be expunged. Experts will always differ, and one is as likely to be right as another. I will instance the fact that a medical expert of repute holds that the kitchen ration laid down in the present Code is wrong, and that no one confined to it can thrive on it, because it does not prescribe oil or other fatty matter. It is a fact that all—except the very aged—inmates of kitchens in this district visibly fattened without oil, and this having been brought to the notice of the expert in question he maintained that they must have got their oil at home! *Mr. W. O. Horne.*

28. In the same way I recommend that suitable standard tasks for each kind of work and each class of relief worker having been drawn up for each district by proper officers, and authority having been given to a professional officer to alter them if necessary to suit special circumstances—not special gangs—on his own responsibility, the tasks so fixed and amended be invariably enforced without limit as to fining. Either the gang can do the task, or one of two things is wrong, that is, either the task or the gang class, and neither should be so with proper professional supervision. Neither discipline nor the necessary test can be enforced if fining is limited, and the result will be that many undeserving of relief will be admitted to it lest a very few deserving of it should be excluded.

29. The population of this district for 1871 is not properly known, since the agency tracts were partially excluded from the census. In 1881 it was 2,481,284, and in 1891 2,802,992. The birth and death rates are fairly steady, but the former of course largely exceeds the latter. I can suggest nothing to obviate the tendency of the growth of the population to press closely upon the amount of food available for its support. Increased cultivation, and even irrigation and emigration, can at this rate be only temporary palliatives. The remedy must lie with the people themselves, unless indeed nature, to replace the checks on population which British civilization is doing its best to remove, invents a new one such as that suggested in No. 272 of the questions drawn up by the Commission.

Written Statement of Evidence by MR. M. ABRAHAM, *Merchant, Bellary, dated 3rd March 1898.*

1. I had charge of a relief camp in the famine of 1877-78, containing about 1,000 people, male and female; that great famine lasted for two years, but the present famine of 1897 came to an end in nine months; the measures adopted were very prompt and efficient under the Famine Code, and therefore there was not such loss of life, and the cattle also did not perish as in the great famine of 1877-78. As President of Sub-Committee I distributed money according to B scale to adults, and half that for children; afterwards cholum and condiments and subsequently ragi and condiments to 1,200 people every week, which kept them from starvation.

2. The able-bodied were sent to the road and tank relief works started by the Public Works Department under orders of the Collector, and the weak, aged and children were sent to the kitchen in Cowl Bazaar, where they got two sufficient meals daily. Usually "Malahs" and "Madigays" resorted to this kitchen for these meals, but there were very few Hindus and Muhammadans.

3. There was a panic in November, and the price of food-grain went up suddenly. I then imported grain and sold it at cost price, which was one to two seers more per rupee—better than market rates. I had to restrict them to only purchase one rupee's worth to allow every one of the large numbers that had gathered to buy the grain. This importation and better rates of mine brought down the market prices, as others followed my example which frightened the banias. *Mr. M. Abraham.*

4. The Charity Relief Funds in the taluks should be distributed personally by the Tahsildar and not through the Reddis and Karnams; the Tahsildar should be personally responsible, and the takavi loans should also be done by the Tahsildar of each taluk under his responsibility, and then the loans could be recovered by him, but not through a separate Takavi Tahsildar, who having distributed it the permanent Tahsildar fails to recover the same.

Written Statement of Evidence by M. R. RY. R. GOPAL AIYAR, *Assistant Engineer, D. P. W., Bellary, dated 7th February 1898.*

1. The chief departures that were made from the prescriptions of the Famine Code were with respect to tasking, and in May concessions to the labourers either not prescribed or not explicitly stated in the Code were allowed. They are embodied in Season Circular No.* 21 of the Collector, of which a copy is herewith enclosed. *M. R. Ry. R. Gopal Aiyar.*

The concessions, especially the distance allowances, were unnecessarily liberal, and, I believe, made the works popular, though statistics show that large increase of numbers on the respective works took place not immediately but sometime after the introduction of the concessions. In some cases the task was reduced so low that the gangs managed to do it very early in the afternoon and return to their homes immediately, even without waiting to receive their pay which fell due to them on that date. There was thus a tendency for works to become costly and the people to get demoralized.

The concessions were narrowed in August as soon as the season improved. The narrowed concessions are given in Circular No. 26,* of which a copy is enclosed.

* Not printed.

M. R. Ry. R. Gopal Aiyar.

The rest-day wage which was originally the D class wage was first raised to the C class, but subsequently reduced back to the D class. I think that a rest-day wage is necessary, the condition being regular attendance for all the previous six days of the week.

Extra wage was paid for extra work done according to a scale fixed, the maximum amount obtainable not exceeding the A class wage. This was in force only during the early months of the famine, being subsequently discontinued. I do not think that extra wages are necessary to be paid.

2. As a measure of relief the operations were an entire success. The people received relief in time and were kept all along in good condition. Their health was very fair except at the close, when cholera broke out in some of the camps, on account, it is believed, of contamination of drinking water. All possible precautions were taken against water getting impure. But they were not enough, as wells were too few in number to be able to supply large numbers under the usual sanitary safeguards.

The staff of medical subordinates was not, in a few cases, as sufficient as was required.

I do not think that the works were opened at all too early.

The area and population affected are—

	Area in square miles.	Population.
Adoni taluk . .	805	158,000
Alur taluk . .	677	86,000

The numbers on relief, at the height of distress were in Adoni 52,000 and in Alur 56,000, making a percentage of 33 and 65, respectively, on the total population. The percentage assumed in the Code is 20. In the Alur taluk a small allowance may be made for people who came from the Kurnool borders, which will reduce the percentage to 63. The rainfall for Alur for the year preceding the famine year was low, being 11·73 inches, as against the average of 22·47 inches, and against 24·30 inches for 1895. Still, the large percentage cannot be said to be due solely to the distress, as the taluk is said to be one of the richest in the district. It may be that the percentage of the Code is too low for this tract, and also that the distress has been rather over-estimated. In the Adoni taluk, which had a rainfall of 16·03 inches in 1896 against the average of 27·07 inches, and against 24·34 inches in 1895, the percentage works out to 33. In the Adoni town out of a population of 26,000, about 6,000 were on relief, which gives a percentage of 23. But Adoni is a town where several make a living by trade. In the Harivanam village, containing a population of about 2,200, 1,000 were on relief when work was given in the immediate vicinity of the village, and latterly when the work was offered at a distance beyond three miles, the numbers fell to 600.

Except in the case of Alur, where the percentage is high and rather hard to be explained, the percentage at the other places works out to an average of 30. The difference of 10 per cent. between this and the Code percentage may be attributed to the popularity of the relief works. It was difficult and not required as a duty to see and find out whether a person does or does not stand in real need of relief. Everybody was to be admitted, provided he conformed himself to the rules and discipline on the works. It was not possible to eliminate those that may be suspected as not needing relief by a system of high task and low wage as they were usually mingled with the rest in the respective gangs, and a treatment, whether indulgent or rigorous, had to be applied to the gang as a whole as being the unit. During the closing months of the famine it was under consideration to differentiate them, by forming them into separate gangs and deal with them with special strictness, the Reddi of the village being looked to for information as to their well-to-do condition or otherwise. This is an important matter and for special and careful inquiry by the Revenue officials.

3. The measures did not tend to economy. The works costed from 2·5 to 6 times the normal cost, relief to dependants and some incidental charges not included. The works were mostly road works.

Under the system of admitting on the works one and all that apply for relief, the constitution of the gang as regards relative physical strength of its members and as regards proportion of the sexes and of the children to either could not be perfect, and one is not able to get as much quantity of work as he could were the organization of the gang more scientific.

It was not unusual in earthwork gangs to have more than the usual deficiency of men as compared with women (the ordinary proportion on the relief works was 25 men, 15 nursing women, 45 women and 15 children, the preponderance of the women over the men being due to the latter finding some works at their homes) and the task of the gang had to be limited to what the men could do in the way of digging. In metal gangs for long leads, there was no difficulty. But for short leads where the number of carriers had to be less and the number of breakers more it led to waste, the men generally carrying more but breaking less. Similarly in road making, it was difficult so to organize the gangs that each individual had to do the full work he was capable of.

Another cause is that wide latitude is given to the officer in charge to excuse short work. It is only required that he should satisfy himself that the short work was due not to contumacy but to weakness. It was not an easy business to find this out always. The pay rolls for the periods are to be prepared and despatched to the paymaster on the night of the day closing the periods, and there was no time to inquire into the causes of short work when such had occurred, and the question had to be decided quickly on the information picked up by the overseer himself, or more often furnished by the maistries, which was the only one available and had to be acted upon. In cases of doubt the benefit of the doubt had to be given to the gangs. It was easy to say that the soil was hard, the lead more, or that tools were not fine enough, but not so easy to prove to certainty that it was not so. On several of these points the subordinate staff had to be trusted to for information. The subordinate staff has nowhere been up to the standard efficiency. It was a great thing in some of the works if they were just able to keep on the works going.

Paragraph 1 of Chapter VI of the Appendix to the Code says that "it is important that accurate information should be afforded to all as to the rates of pay to be allowed and the tasks to be exacted therefor." Rarely was it possible to get this done in practice. Rarely that the gangs knew immediately on arrival and after muster what the task was they had to do for the day. Even the well-meaning gangs who would have done the task, did they know in time what it was, could not get themselves to exert, as well as they would if they knew what was expected of them during the day, and the result was short work, for which the gangs were decidedly not responsible and could therefore not be punished.

Another cause lies in the fact that the measurements on which the pay rolls are prepared are taken by the head maistries, and it not frequently happens that intentionally or by chance they make mistakes.

The cost of direct relief per individual per day was 1 anna ½ pie on the Kosgi-Halvi road and 1 anna 4 pies on the Nandavaram road. The former work was smaller and better supervised.

4. The concentration of labour over a limited area is a proposal that suggests itself in connection with the above; work can be better supervised. The amount of subordinate establishment required will be less, and a better quality of men could be got when the number required is less.

The difficulties of providing efficient hutting accommodation, especially when the scene of work changes, are large and must be encountered. There are also required superior organizing talents on the part of the officer in charge.

I am of opinion that labourers may be deported long distances to places where something really useful has to be done. This will also be an effective test, more effective than anything else perhaps. I believe that those under the pinch of distress can be persuaded to leave their homes. In the earlier stages of the famine a case came to my notice of a good number of people having left their homes (Kudlur village on the Bellary-Siruguppa road) for Mysore, as they found that the task was high and wage low. During the later stages of the famine, when works were within a few weeks of being finally closed, strictness in tasking and enforcing punctual attendance had not as much effect, as the change of site of work to a place so far removed from their homes as rendered residence in camp necessary.

5. In view of economy the system of piece-work, under which able-bodied people alone will be employed and paid at ordinary rates so as to enable them to earn enough for themselves and their dependants suggests itself also, and should be tried.

6. In the late famine, works were originally started not on the principle of concentration, but on the principle of providing works close to their villages. Latterly, during the closing months, central works were organized, but were not in operation for a sufficient length of time. Distance allowance was made according to rules. It was not allowed when hutting accommodation was provided and availed of. Coolies were allowed to choose between staying at huts and

daily walking to their homes, and they generally chose the latter, as they found the labour of walking lighter than the corresponding task on works which they would have to do in the alternative case. The season was not cold and otherwise there was no discomfort. It was not necessary to provide blankets and bedding. Regarding precautions against distance being overstated, no special measures were taken except by satisfying oneself by a reference to the people of the villages where the stay could be suspected to have taken place, and to the members of the subordinate establishment who were likely to know the point.

Cost of hutting accommodation from 12 annas to 1 rupee per worker.

7. Regarding the works done they consisted mainly, as has been said already, of road works. There was also a tank work done. The road works consisted principally in renewing metal to metalled roads and, to a slight extent, in making unmetalled village roads. Regarding the former, there is no doubt that the roads have been substantially improved, and are now in a better condition ; but the gain cannot be considered to be quite commensurate with the outlay incurred. The village roads done are all very useful as they have been made in black cotton soil, which is impassable except in fair weather. But it is doubtful whether they will be maintained in the state in which they have been handed over. There are yet 45 miles of metalled road and 75 miles of newly constructable village roads on which famine labour could be employed. The former will give employment for 45,000 people for three months, and the latter for 22,000 people for the same period.

The tank work done consisted in repairing an old existing tank on which the work suited to famine labour was about 65 per cent. of the whole. The work has cost about ₹22,000 and will cost about a thousand more to complete. It will irrigate about 60 acres. Work could be given for 1,000 coolies on tanks like this. About half a dozen tanks can be counted on for famine relief next time.

Regarding large reservoirs, the Alur taluk is not very favourable for them, as the country is of one uniform level. In Adóni, a reservoir can be made at Madavaram, and the project has already been investigated. There is also a proposal to increase the capacity of the Chinnathambalam tank.

8. *Classification of labourers.*—The Code bases classification on profession, but qualifies it by saying that relief workers may be promoted from one class to the one higher above, if they are found fit for the same. The Code classification may therefore stand. Practically all have been B class. When in August it was required to re-introduce the strict classification of the Code and C class men were on the search, they were hard to be found as though ordinarily they could be classed under C, still by experience they had learned the works and had a right to be judged with reference to their capacity for work and not to their profession. So also in a few cases where B class men were able to do A class task.

9. *Wages.*—The wages prescribed in the Code are necessary. The coolies should generally get the B class wage. If the task is properly set, making allowance for individual cases of weakness and imperfect constitution of the gang, the gang cannot but do it as a rule. If it does not, and if it be found to be due to wilful idleness, the gang ought to be punished by fines even below the minimum.

Man and woman should get unequal wages as now in the Code.

In the fixing of wages, the consideration of the component parts of the ration is theoretically necessary, though practically it has not been taken into account, and calculation of wages based thereon. I think that the Code system should be maintained.

10. *Task.*—Nursing mothers to be calculated as 1½ units. Boy adults between 12 and 16 to be calculated as 2 or 3 units as the case may be for purpose of task, but as full adults for purpose of wage. *M. R. Ry. R. Gopal Aiyar.*

These two have already been adopted in the late famine.

The classification, tasking and remuneration of children may remain as in the Code.

Mr. Higham's formula for the determination of reduced lead may be accepted.

His duty may be accepted in the case of women carriers but seems rather high for children carriers.

11. *Payments.*—Payments should be made by an independent cashier, who should however be subordinate to the officer in charge in so far as he is required to attend, when summoned to do so, for purposes of inquiry into irregularities in payment, which as they occur have to be decided promptly and without delay. Bi-weekly payments have answered well, and the coolies have not complained so long as such payments were punctually made.

Daily payments will involve great labour both on the part of the Public Works Department officers who have to prepare the rolls and the cashier who has to pay and account for them.

12. *Interference with the supply of labour to private employers.*—In the end of August ryots at Harivanam and Nandavaram complained that they could not get labour easily. They used to offer 2 seers of grain for a man and 1½ seers for a woman which come to 3½ seers which is less than what they with 2 dependants which may be taken as the usual complement of a family would earn on the works. In the mills at Adóni during the same period though they offered wage (which was in money) in excess of what would be earned on the works, labour was not attracted. It appears that they offered as much as 6 annas for men and 3 annas for women. The price of grain then was between 13 to 14 seers the rupee.

13. *Relations of Civil and Public Works Officers in connection with relief works.*—It seems to me that the present system of dual control is not needed and is wasteful. It lightens the feeling of responsibility on the part of the Public Works Department officers, which otherwise would be felt fully. I believe it will be agreed that the Public Works Department staff has got the talents to manage the works efficiently, though it may be contended that some kind of foreign and independent supervision is necessary to stimulate its energies. I believe this could be attained by the frequent inspections of the superior officers of the Public Works Department itself. I do not know how far this would interfere with the unity of the district administration. The duties of the Revenue Department may stop with deciding when and where relief works should be opened and when closed.

14. *Kitchens.*—Kitchens are required not only in connection with works, but also in connection with towns and large villages where they should be organised as central kitchens.

Regarding cash doles parents may be expected to expend the dole on their children, but giving cooked food is a more tangible form of relief, and is hence to be preferred. In relief works, sometimes the kitchen is not near and this should be met by carrying cooked food to the spot and distributing it, and not by any system of cash doles.

The grain used in relief kitchens was white or yellow cholum according to circumstances. Two meals a day were served, each consisting of cooked cholum and charu. All applicants were not received, but only those who held tickets of admission from the Medical officer or the subordinate in charge. The inmates of the kitchen complained of monotony in food. They wanted variety and some vegetables.

Written answers to the Commission's questions by Mr. W. J. H. LeFanu, *Acting Third Member of the Board of Revenue, and formerly Famine Commissioner.* *Mr. W. J. H. Le-Fanu.*

Note.—I was not one of the officers to whom these questions were sent for reply; but as the Commission wished to have my answers, I undertook to send them. I had no idea at the time what a task this would be, and having lost ten days in January owing to the Famine Conference at Waltair, fifteen days in January and February owing to my famine tour in Nellore, nine days in February in attendance in the Famine Commission at Madras and Bellary, and haing vhad, in addition to the usual work of my office, the completion of the Famine report, and the writing of the Conferences' report on my hands, this additional task has pressed heavily on me. It has not, therefore, been possible for me to answer these questions as fully as I would wish, or otherwise than colloquially, as I would have answered them had they been put to me *vivâ voce*. I request that this may be borne in mind in perusing my replies. To have written an essay in reply to each of the 345 questions would have been a labour of months.

Mr. W. J. H. Le-Fanu.

1. The area and population affected in the Madras Presidency are shown in the subjoined statement:—

Districts.	Area.		Population.	
	Total.	Affected.	Total.	Affected.
	sq. mls.	sq. mls.		
Ganjam . .	8,369	5,800	1,897,000	1,684,000
Vizagapatam . .	17,242	4,619	2,803,000	1,943,000
Godavari (Bhadrachalam.)	911	911	42,000	42,000
Kurnool . .	7,514	4,019	818,000	512,000
Bellary . .	5,975	3,963	900,000	518,000
Anantapur . .	4,886	4,517	709,000	584,000
Cuddapah . .	8,731	2,244	1,272,000	391,000
Total .	53,628	26,073	8,441,000	5,674,000

2. Both.

3. (*a*) In Ganjam and Vizagapatam the South-West monsoon of 1896 was up to the normal, but the succeeding North-East monsoon was an absolute failure, less than half an inch being registered against a normal fall of 7 to 13 inches. In the Deccan districts both the South-West and North-East monsoons were deficient, the fall in the former being only about two-thirds, and in the latter from one-third to one-half of the normal. The outturn of crops in the above districts was also far below the average. More than one-third of the sowings resulted in absolute failure, while an even larger area gave a normal crop of As. 4 or less. The outturn of the bulk of the remaining area was only middling.

(*b*) Prices passed the scarcity rates in the Deccan in November 1896, in Ganjam in January 1897, and in Vizagapatam in June 1897. At the height of the famine in Deccan and Ganjam the staple dry grains were available only at about three times the normal prices. In Ganjam, the high prices not only of 1888-89 but also of 1876-78 were surpassed during several months, while in Vizagapatam the prices of 1876-78 were approached in May and June and exceeded in July. In the Deccan districts, the prices of 1891-92 were far exceeded, and those of 1876-78 were approached.

4. The Deccan districts lie within the famine zone and have periodically suffered from severe drought and famine. Ganjam, too, has periodically suffered, but Vizagapatam has been practically immune. Since 1892 the season in these districts has, on the whole, been favourable.

5. Under normal circumstances the economic condition of the people of Ganjam and Vizagapatam may be said to be fair. In the Deccan the condition of the ryots and labourers is generally precarious owing, mainly, to the extreme poverty of the greater portion of the soil. About 70 per cent. of the population belongs to this class.

6. Yes.

7. The majority of the people in the affected districts have no great resources to fall back upon. Vizagapatam might be able to pull through in the event of failure of one or two consecutive harvests but not more, provided the prices do not run up so abnormally high as in last year. Ganjam cannot stand more than one bad season ordinarily. In the Deccan the majority have no resources at all, and a single failure of the harvests tells upon them. The classes of people having no resources are the petty ryots, the artisans and the agricultural and other labourers. These form about two-thirds of the population of the Deccan. The failure of a single harvest would not necessitate relief if the distress were limited, but, where large tracts are involved, prices are forced up higher than the local failure of a single harvest would justify, and so relief is necessary.

8. In Ganjam and Vizagapatam the late distress was more extensive and severe than any previous famine. The Deccan has passed through the severest ordeal it has experienced since 1876-78. The strain of the past year was not, however, so intense as in the Great Famine, mainly because of better communications which tended to keep down prices and better organisation of famine relief than in 1876-78.

9. The failure of crops and amount of distress was underestimated by the permanent Collector of Cuddapah from January on, but this scarcely affected the amount of relief given, as the Board knew the position of the district. The degree of distress in Vizagapatam was not over-estimated, but it was not, and could not have been, foreseen. This did not affect the relief given, but it led to the necessity for it not being so readily recognised by authorities not on the spot.

10. The Famine Commission of 1878 must have been referring to very large areas, and the percentage quoted seems to relate not to any particular months, but to the whole period of distress. I object to any such hard-and-fast rule being laid down from which to draw comparisons. If we go down to the village unit, it is quite possible that a rural village of Panchamas and Madigas might require relief for the whole of its population. If we take a whole taluk, it is possible that relief might be required for 50 per cent. of the population. This figure would be nothing wonderful in the Alur taluk of Bellary, and was exceeded in the recent famine, but in connection with this, it must be noted that the Nizam's Dominions and adjoining taluks of Bellary contributed large numbers to the workers in Alur. Going up still further, and taking whole districts as units, there were 50·99 per cent. of the whole district of Bellary on relief in August 1877. A percentage of people on relief for a whole province, or for half of it, would be very misleading when used to form comparisons with districts or taluks.

11. Taking the affected tracts as a whole, the highest percentage reached was 14·2 in July. Taking individual districts it was 42·4 in Kurnool in the same month. The high rates in Kurnool are explained in B. P. No. 681, dated 21st October 1897.

12. To the first question, no; to the second question, yes. This latter answer must be considered under two heads—(*a*) the people who really needed no help at all, and (*b*) those who had some small resources.

As to (*a*), these were few and may be neglected. Such persons never obtained relief except on works, and then complied with the requirements of the Code. It would depend very much on the idiosyncrasy of the officer reporting as to the numbers of such persons, who might be considered to be present. It is quite possible that respectable persons, who might be supposed to be above want, would require relief, *e. g.*, it might be shown that a man had debts due to him outstanding, and a zealous officer would dub him a sowcar. It is quite possible that these debts were irrecoverable and that his whole capital was lost. It might be that he had so many dependents that, though he could provide for them in good, he could not do so in bad, seasons, when the price of grain had risen by 250 per cent., and he had no harvest and no instalments of interest coming in from those to whom he had lent money.

As to (*b*), there were no doubt many who were not "skinned to the bone" when they came on relief, and they were right to come, and rightly admitted. If Government requires a villager to eat the last measure of seed-corn, to sell his wife's "Thali," or to sell all his cattle before giving him relief, the result would be that, at the close of the famine, all the poorer pattadars would be absolutely pauperised, and a heavy fall in revenue would follow. By admitting such persons to relief we hand them over to their normal avocations, at the close of distress, in the same condition in which we found them, and the body politic does not suffer; the revenue remains steady and normal prosperity is at once restored. It must be remembered that, during a period of distress, cattle practically have no value, fodder is so scanty that no one will buy except at nominal rates. The "skin them to the bone" policy was tried in 1877, under the auspices of Sir Richard Temple, with well-known results. The new school, which does not know 1877, would fain revert to Sir Richard Temple's policy. It will be an evil day for the country, and the Government, if this penurious policy is even allowed to crop up again.

13. Yes. In Ganjam the people at first refused to accept relief of any kind other than money doles until they were too far reduced for work, and the women of several castes, in spite of all their trials, never came near the works. In the Deccan, the relief given in the beginning was inadequate owing, partly, to the disinclination of the people to accept Government relief until all their resources were exhausted, and partly to the wage offered, calculated on the price of ragi, a grain not ordinarily used by the people, and coupled with unlimited fining, if the high tasks originally laid down were not worked up to, being inadequate. The grain portion of the ration was also, in the beginning, taken as unhusked grain instead of flour. There was also, in places, delay in sanctioning and starting relief, and a want of proper tools and organisation.

There was unsatisfactory delay in starting relief in the Polavaram division of the Godavari Agency. The native officer on the spot gave due warning, but steps were not taken in time to meet the distress. The result was that the wild men were led to commit dacoity; villages were looted;

some of the looters were shot, and hundreds arrested and brought in a very precarious condition of health to the Central Jail.

14. The cause of this disaster was avoidable, but it is hardly possible to fix blame anywhere. The Agency tracts are so inaccessible that the Collector could not be everywhere; the Special Assistant for the Agency was a feeble youth who was knocked up and had to go on leave. It seems that there was difficulty in filling up his place. In fact it would be a rare man who, newly sent to the Gódávari Agency, could grapple with and realise facts at once. The division was temporarily placed in charge of the Sub-Collector, who lives at Rajahmundry, but that officer had quite enough of his own work to do. I have recommended to Government that it would be better to send a picked Deputy Collector to this Agency and pay him well. Such a man would stay there and know the people and work as Mr. Ward of the Forest does. Promotion in the junior ranks of the Civil Service is now so rapid that an officer sent to the Agency would be transferred just as he was becoming really efficient. As to the suffering caused in the earlier stages of the famine in the Kurnool and Cuddapah districts by the excessive fining, this might have been avoided if the Commissioner's opinion, since confirmed by Mr. Higham, that the Code task Schedule was impossible, had been accepted. It is not likely that the future task Schedules will be so carelessly framed. The Conferences have recommended that a picked committee be appointed to sit and elaborate a suitable task table.

15. The relief given has been successful in its object generally. It will probably be found, on analysing figures, that it has not been quite as successful in Cuddapah as elsewhere. The infant mortality might have been much mitigated if nursing mothers and pregnant women had been treated here as in Bombay. They got all that the Code allowed them, but the Code is illiberal as to these classes. The total excess mortality is small. It must be remembered, also, that, owing to high prices, stinting was necessary amongst classes which did not come to relief, and probably some of the excess mortality was amongst these persons. When a large proportion of the population is on short commons for 12 months, this must tell on the very young and the very old, and it did tell. This could not be helped. There was, certainly, undue delay in recognising the needs of the Ramallakot taluk. The permanent Collector had not diagnosed the position, and the new Collector, who came in January 1897, naturally gave his best attention to the tracts then recognised as affected. I would here mention, in reference to some queries put by the Famine Commission, what I omitted to mention at the time, in reference to the preponderance of females on relief. It is a very curious fact that polygamy is very common in the Ramallakot taluk. I have had no time to work out the cause. It may be that the population has borrowed something from the Mussalman inhabitants of the adjoining Nizam's territory. The Kurnool district itself has, probably, a larger proportion of Muhammadans in its population than any other district—Malabar excepted—of this Presidency. The polygamous tendencies, however, alluded to obtain amongst the Hindu population. In the same connection may be mentioned a peculiar custom in parts of Bellary, according to which the eldest daughter in each family becomes a prostitute. The word here brings no reproach, for it is from some religious idea that this custom arises. In one village, Narayanadevekeri, there was as many as 500 such girls. Many came on the works because, they said, they could not get a living in those hard times by their profession. There were, too, a large number of wives whose husbands had gone for work, or with cattle, to Mysore.

16. To a certain extent "Yes," but *post hoc* not *propter hoc*. The numbers on relief generally followed prices, not measures. Measures, no doubt, had indirectly something to do with the increase and fall of numbers on relief, in so far as they made relief available in a proper form to those who wanted it, or, at a later stage, ceased to be attractive to those who could otherwise maintain themselves.

17. The death-rate followed prices, not measures.

18. Yes. Except in the earlier stages of the famine, when, owing to fining, etc., the conditions on which relief was offered were unduly deterrent.

19. Yes: and I say this bearing in mind the concessions known as the distance allowance. Generally speaking, the people who were relieved on works did a reasonable amount of work. Mr. Higham made some calculation on this subject, and fell into an unfortunate error—*vide* note on page 52 of the Report on the Famine Conferences—which has led to unjust conclusions as to the amount of work done in Madras. Mr. Higham considered that on a particular work the outturn cost more than five times the normal cost. It was really considerably less than four times the normal. It is not likely that the Public Works Department officers would understate what is one of their strong points in reference to this *vexata quæstio*.

The returns received from the Public Works Department and the Collectors show that the actual expenditure, as compared with the estimated value of outturn, works out as follows:—

Ganjam	3·6 :1
Vizagapatam	2·9 :1
Godavari	1·7 : 1
Kurnool	3· 5: 1
Bellary	3·2 : 1
Anantapur	2·8 : 1
Cuddapah	3·6 : 1

and the average of these figures is as 3 : 1. This, however, is an unfair average, as the amounts of expenditure in the several districts vary largely. The sum fairly worked out is 3·3 : 1. The excess over the normal cost is not what Mr. Higham expected, and, considering that, for the reasons given, the Madras works, as shown in paragraph 30 of the report on the Conferences, received as workers considerable numbers who should have been on gratuitous relief, the result is as satisfactory as could be expected. There will always be a shortage of outturn for value paid on famine relief works, and, considering the rise in prices, which was in many places as $2\frac{1}{2}$: 1, the ratio of actual to normal cost attained in this Presidency would not seem unreasonable. In the famine report of the North-West Provinces, the ratio for those provinces is shown as only 1·7 : 1 but these figures are obtained, firstly, by calculating the normal cost at rates higher than the ordinary Public Works rates, in consideration of the fact that large quantities of work cannot be carried out throughout the hot weather at the usual Public Works rates, and, secondly, by omitting from the actual cost the amount of wages paid for non-working days. Data for calculating the normal cost at ordinary Public Works rates in the North-West Provinces are not available; but judging from the report of Mr. C. G. Palmer, the Superintending Engineer of the Additional Third Circle, the normal cost would, at ordinary rates, work up to only half the amount adopted for the purposes of the report. If this be so, and if the wages given on the rest and other non-working days are included in the actual cost, as has been done in this Presidency, the ratio works out to 3·7 : 1. And this, notwithstanding the apparently greater efficiency of the relief workers in the North-West Provinces, where 44 per cent. of the number of the total units relieved were on gratuitous relief, while, in this Presidency, only 23 per cent. were gratuitously relieved. There are further doubts which would lead me to question whether the comparison made above is not unfair to Madras; for, as stated elsewhere (page 52 of the Conference Report), it is very doubtful whether the Public Works Department, in valuing outturn of work, has really allowed for all work done. As time passes, and *personnel* changes, it would be difficult to do this, *e.g.*, in Prodattur broken metal was carried to the road-side for a mile or more. In estimating its cost, the cost should be for breaking at quarry and carrying, not for breaking at road-side. I doubt whether this and similar cases have been allowed for.

20. Yes.

21. The percentage of numbers relieved otherwise than through the operation of a labour test on the total affected population was 0·1 in November 1896: it rose to 3·8 in July and August 1897. As compared with the number of workers the percentage was 6 in November 1896 and 37 in July 1897.

22. I consider that this question may be answered in the affirmative. The tasks generally were full tasks with reference to the working capacity of each person *in the months in which relief was given*. No one who has not actually spent days on the works, and seen the workers at all hours of the day, on their way to and from work, and in the excuses for shelter—often only the ditch at the side of the road—in which they cooked their meals; the straights to which they were put for fuel and the distances they had to go for it; often having to buy it and often to spend the whole day of rest collecting fuel for the week in distant jungles; no one who, with a fair mind, has witnessed all this can have any doubt that attendance on works was a stringent test of necessity, and the suggestion that they were attractive is simply absurd. If the people did not want help, nothing would induce them to come to our works. In fact, the difficulty is to get them to come in time. As to the latter part of the question, the B wage is more than a "subsistence" wage, but the word subsistence wage should be limited to the wage

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for non-workers. The B wage is not more than a bare "working" wage, and this, allowing for the fact that it is open to several members of a family to obtain separate relief. Two and two make four, and under no circumstances do they make five. A wage which is just a bare working wage for A, B and C, when not related to each other, becomes in no way distended by the fact that B is A's wife, and C their child.

23. In this question, the word "sub-division" is assumed to be equivalent to a division of a taluk. Taluks vary in size. The average taluk in this Presidency would be about 600 square miles. Some run up to 1,100. It is plain, from the latter part of section 128, that the Famine Commission was not aiming at a distance test, and the section must be read as a whole. Take a taluk of 600 square miles. Supposing the taluk to be an exact square, and the work exactly in the centre of it, the maximum distance to be travelled would be nearly 17½ miles; but taluks are not square and it is improbable that the work would be always in the centre. It is quite possible that the distance to be travelled might run up to 40 or 50 or 60 miles. The Hosur taluk, for instance, is 54 miles from end to end. It may be presumed, therefore, that the Famine Commission had a sub-division of a taluk in mind. The greatest distance, on the *average*, to be travelled in this case would be perhaps 8 to 10 miles, but the distance in many cases might be much more. Relief works have been somewhat more numerous than as supposed in this question. Workers have not, as a rule, resided on the works. Many did, but many went to and fro between their homes and the works.

Residence upon a relief work is disliked by the people: it would constitute an ineffective, and a most unfair, test of necessity: ineffective, because it would practically exclude many deserving cases from relief, and would lead to the idea that distress was less severe than it was in reality, and unfair because it is contrary to the instincts of the people, and would require their most cherished prejudices and affections to be sacrificed before it would be complied with.

24. Taking the affected tracts as a whole, the highest percentage reached was 9·8 in July; taking districts individually, it was 33 per cent. on the *affected population* in Kurnool.

25. In the famine of 1876-78, the highest percentage on *total population* was 9·05 for the whole Presidency and 35·5 for Kurnool. If the population, during the Great Famine, of the affected tracts were separately known, the percentages calculated on them would be much higher.

26. This is not my experience.

27. Mainly by cooked food in kitchens and by doles.

28. The gratuitous relief in villages was, *as a rule*, carefully given, and confined to the classes specified in the Code. There were exceptions. This would have been avoided if Taluk Relief officers had been appointed at an earlier date.

29. No.

30. The gross cost of direct famine relief was ₹97,52,580. Number of units relieved was 93,718,542. Cost of relief per unit As. 1—8.

Statistics not available for comparison with cost of previous famines.

Relief has been, on the whole, economically administered during the last famine.

31. Loans granted, ₹18,15,337. Remissions of land revenue, ₹23,61,000. Suspensions, ₹10,09,000.

32. The last famine will leave few permanent traces behind it. Relief measures were more timely and adequate than in previous famines, and the petty ryots have been set up again by the grants from the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund.

33. The case of jungle tribes should be specially provided for. The cast-iron rules of the Code won't do for them. The case of pregnant women, nursing mothers and their children calls for special measures, more favourable than the Code allows.

34. Sufficient. They can only be improved by improving the status and emoluments of the Village and Taluk officers. For the special purpose concerned they are good enough.

* * * * *

36. They may be very fairly relied on.

37. Yes.

38. Yes.

39. The measures of State relief were—

(*a*) the employment of persons willing to work on relief works where a limited wage was given for a limited task;

(*b*) the gratuitous distribution of cooked food in kitchens to children and infirm persons;

(*c*) the gratuitous distribution of grain and money doles to persons unable to work and gosha women;

(*d*) the establishment of a poor-house on a small scale in Coconada town for the immigrants from the Vizagapatam district;

(*e*) the employment of weavers in their own trade, the Government advancing materials and paying wages for the cloths woven and delivered;

(*f*) remission and postponement of collection of land assessment;

(*g*) the grant of advances for digging irrigation wells and for other agricultural improvements for the purchase of fodder, cattle and seed-grain, and for the subsistence of the agriculturists;

(*h*) the opening of forest reserves for free grazing;

(*i*) importation of grain and selling it at normal rates to the hill tribes of Bhadrachalam.

The Indian Famine Charitable Relief Committee also carried on its operations during the scarcity.

40. I was Famine Commissioner for the Presidency.

41. All measures of State relief, except the sale of grain imported by Government at normal rates, were authorized by the Famine Code.

42. None.

43. The reduction of task was necessary (*a*) because the Code Schedule task was too high; (*b*) because the people began to show signs of falling off in condition in some places; and (*c*) on account of the hot weather. The distance allowance I consider to be proper and necessary. It is possible for the human machinery to do only a certain amount of work without being injured.

Moreover, the amount of work done has important relations to the amount of diet allowed, in that waste must be fully replaced, if malnutrition is to be arrested. This is recognised in the Code by the fixing of certain tasks for workers on certain diets. When, however, to the tasks prescribed by the Code additional labour of an uncertain amount, as an effect of marching to the work, is added, it is obvious that care must be exercised, in the interests of ultimate economy, to prevent malnutrition and consequent sickness, which can be combated only by heavy expenditure, and, to do this, it is necessary to prevent the relation to each other of the two factors, the diet given and the work demanded, from becoming disproportionate. Physiologists hold that a moderate day's work is equivalent to an expenditure of power equal to the lifting of 300 tons one foot high. This is the measure of the power expended by a European weighing 150 lbs. Taking the average weight of the Deccan adult man at 111 lbs., a moderate day's task would be equivalent to the lifting of 222 tons one foot high. It is held that in walking at 3 miles an hour on a flat surface, the power expended at each step is equivalent to that necessary for raising one-twentieth the weight of the body through the distance walked. The use of the following formula, therefore, will give a fair idea of the amount of work exacted by requiring marching to and from works, irrespective of the task to be fulfilled:—

$$\frac{(W+W^1)D}{20\times 2240} = \text{work fulfilled in tons lifted one foot.}$$

where W = weight of the person. W^1 = weight carried, $\frac{1}{20}$ = coefficient of traction; 2,240 = feet per minute.

From the above formula, the following table has been compiled :—

Kind of exercise.	Work done in tons lifted one foot.	The remaining working capacity of men who have travelled the distances noted against them, the full task being 222 foot-tons.	Proportion of total task of 222 foot-tons fulfilled by the distance walked, the full task being taken as 1.
		6	
Walking 1 mile and carrying 16 lbs.	14·97	207·03	0·067
Do. 2 do. do.	29·95	192·05	0·135
Do. 3 do. do.	44·89	177·11	0·202
Do. 4 do. do.	59·87	162·13	0·270
Do. 5 do. do.	74·82	147·18	0·337
Do. 6 do. do.	89·81	132·19	0·405
Do. 7 do. do.	104·78	117·22	0·471
Do. 8 do. do.	119·74	102·26	0·539
Do. 9 do. do.	134·71	87·29	0·607
Do. 10 do. do.	149·68	72·32	0·674
Do. 11 do. do.	164·64	57·36	0·742
Do. 12 do. do.	179·61	42·39	0·809
Do. 13 do. do.	194·58	27·42	0·876
Do. 14 do. do.	209·55	12·45	0·944
Do. 15 do. do.	224·52	−2·52	1·011
Do. 16 do. do.	239·49	−17·49	1·079
Do. 17 do. do.	254·45	−32·45	1·146
Do. 18 do. do.	269·42	−47·42	1·214
Do. 19 do. do.	284·39	−62·39	1·281
Do. 20 do. do.	299·36	−77·36	1·349

From this it will be seen that a man carrying a weight 16 lbs. and walking upon level ground (not, as was often actually the case, crossing and re-crossing hills to proceed to work) who traversed 4 miles in going to and 4 miles in returning from his work, really completed, solely in walking, more than one-half of a moderate day's work. It is universally admitted by sanitarians that it is as much as can be reasonably demanded of the well-fed British soldier, in a good climate, that he should perform 12 miles per day, carrying a total weight, in accoutrements, rifle and clothes, of 60 lbs. But this could not be expected without giving him a periodical rest of one complete week during which time he would receive his usual full diet. If the marches are increased for a longer period, prolonged rest for recovery is necessary. Hence it is evident that the "distance allowance" was based upon principles which could not be ignored with safety. The task, which would be a fair task for a worker who lives on, or near, the work, is impossible for the worker who spends four to seven hours of the day in going to and returning from the work. Hutting, as I have shown elsewhere, is difficult to provide and its cost in many places prohibitive.

I consider that the concessions given were sufficient. I have sometimes said—as a compromise—that from the distance allowance might be deducted the first 3 miles (3×2) travelled each way. This is only as a compromise, for it is just as true of the human, as of any other, engine, that it can only do a certain amount of work, and, if overdriven, breaks down.

The abolition of the C and D ration for workers of any kind I consider to have been right; but it is a question for experts. The B wage was sufficient for workers, but whether, if distress had continued much longer, it would have sufficed is a question for experts.

44 to 47. I have served throughout the famines of 1876—78, 1891—92 and 1896—97; I remember the famine of 1865-66, and, strange to say, I was employed, no doubt, in a very humble and amateur way, on gratuitous relief in the famine of Ireland in 1848. The fact that my brother-in-law (the Hon'ble W. E. Hearn, late Vice-Chancellor of the University of Melbourne, Author of "Plutology," and other standard works on Political Economy) was employed to write the history of the efforts for relief in that famine, drew my special attention to famine matters from my earliest years. I have seen all the ordinary measures, used in famine relief, in operation at one time or another, including the distance test and the "skin them to the bone" policy. It would be impossible for me to answer question 44 in full, and I have, in the Report on the Famine Conferences, given my own views on the most important matters in dispute. I am against the distance test and piece-work. I consider that gratuitous relief ought to be given from the first, and that a generous resort to it may considerably postpone the necessity for works. I consider that liberality in relief is true economy. I consider that task work would be the best form of relief, and not extravagant, if only the Public Works officers would consent to work with the Civil officers, instead of continually fretting for independence. I have elsewhere said that every one who can do a task ought to do it. I think this may be pushed too far. The very old and feeble and halt and maimed, no doubt, can do something, but it is absurd to require them to do it. They *ought* to get gratuitous relief; but what if the only relief offered to them is cooked food? The prejudice against this form of relief is very general, and I think that a free hand should be given to district officers to substitute doles for cooked food wherever necessary. On the other hand, my experience is that, in relief administration, there is a continual see-saw between parsimony and liberality. The former does its work and the latter follows: then arises the cry that the latter is overdone and the former is reverted to. I have never seen relief given without these preliminary or contemporary skirmishings, and I despair of ever seeing it. I have elsewhere accepted piece-work—supplemented by village works—on works of real value, whose completion is desirable on their own merits. The districts of this Presidency vary much, and hutting and piece-work and distance test would be less injurious and costly in some than in others, but they will always be more or less objectionable. The ideal system of relief would be administered by an officer with a free hand, who was not continually "lifting his eyes unto the mountains." Even he could not make piece-work and distance test alone meet the call for relief. No one system will anywhere suffice. A combination of all would be best.

48. Task work and village doles are most approved by classes A and B.

49. It is not expedient to enter on this subject.

* * * * *

52. This is for experts. I would observe that it is often impossible to make roads in famine times owing specially to the want of water, and that, if collection of metal is to be limited to a reserve supply for five years, it would be impossible to find work for those who want it. I could point out places where both gravel and metal collected in 1876—78 is still lying unused.

53. If by "constructed" is meant "finished," all the roads, or bits of roads, constructed will be of use as long as they are passable; but the resources of Local Fund Boards are only barely equal to the maintenance, in a not very satisfactory fashion, of existing roads. Famine roads are not, as a rule, maintained. When they go through red soil or laterite country, they last a long time, and can be maintained from comparatively small allotments. In black cotton soils they simply disappear. Famine roads do not include bridging, and are often useless for this reason. I could name famine roads of 1876—78, and at least one of 1865—66, which, with the best of good-will on the part of the district authorities, have not yet been completed.

54. The fact is that most of the Madras districts have already all the mileage that they are ever likely to be able to maintain. Except as a means of preventing the people from being pauperised by relief, the construction of new roads is of very little use. No doubt village communications are sometimes improved, but, on the whole, new roads are not permanent improvements. I have always been clear on this point, and this expenditure is most regrettable, but I cannot admit that it is wasteful. I have some hope that, if the Public Works Department really and conscientiously put their shoulders to the wheel, future famines might find larger irrigation programmes available. Theoretically speaking, we cannot be said to have done our duty, or our best, as long as a single drop of water runs, without paying toll, to the sea.

55. This is answered under 54.

56. Yes, in many places.

57. By village tanks is meant irrigation reservoirs (not petty pools for watering cattle, etc.). Where possible, they are an excellent means of employing relief labour, and, in a

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sense, permanently benefit the villages. In time they must all get out of repair and silt up.

* * * * *

59. As to the latter part of this question, the "strict supervision" required would cost more money than is likely to be available, and without this establishment the village officers would reap a harvest. I think, however, that a very fair measure of success might be obtained in the way of reserving such works for the deserving only, but perfect success I should not hope for. It might be possible to keep, say, the stronger men off such works, but I am by no means sure that they would not send their weaker relatives and live on their earnings. The power of discriminating between those who deserve relief and those who do not should not be given to underlings. Many superior officers are quite unfit to be entrusted with it. The "skin them to the bone" school is well represented, and here and there will be found representatives of what may be called "the Legree school." The Revenue officers and the Taluk Relief officers and Circle Inspectors—supposing the latter two to be appointed in time, which I do not at any time anticipate—would be able to do much towards keeping the undeserving from such petty works, but that the ordinary staff and village officers alone could do so is not to be expected. I think, however, that the undeserving would not go 4 miles and more for relief works, and such a small distance test would not be unreasonable. If all those suspected of being undeserving were referred to a work 7 to 10 miles off, they would not, if really undeserving, go to it.

60. As a fact, owing to there being comparatively few tanks in the Deccan districts, and to much of the Circars being zemindaris, there was little tank work done in the recent famine, and, should famine again attack the same districts, the case would be the same, unless the Public Works Department can discover a number of new irrigation projects. If, however, the red-soil districts should be attacked, there would be any number of irrigation works to go to work on; but even there the opening for employing famine labour, unless the removal of silt should be resorted to, would be less than would be expected, as, in the last fifteen to twenty years, the maintenance of irrigation works has been very systematically attended to. This remark applies equally to the Minor Irrigation Works which have been under the care of Collectors. It would hardly be proposed that these should be systematically neglected in order to have employment for famine labour available.

61. This is a very large question. On a large scale, the Rushikulya in Ganjam, the Godavari and Kistna anikats, the Sangam Project in Nellore, the Cumbum tank and Kurnool Canal in Kurnool, the Tungabhadra channels in Bellary, the Barur and Marandanahalli projects in Salem, the Poini, Palar and Cheyar anikats in North Arcot, the Vellar channels in South Arcot, the Cauvery and Coleroon works in Tanjore, the Periyar in Madura, and the Tambraparni Project in Tinnevelly are the chief, to which may be added the Bhavani channels in Coimbatore and the Cauvery channels in Salem and Trichinopoly. These too are but the larger projects. Of the smaller anikats there are considered, the lists would be endless. A table is, however appended:—

* See the qualification in the note to the table appended.

Districts.	* Anikats.	River channels.	Spring channels.	Tanks.	Ayakat wells.	Total.
Ganjam	...	28	279	2,701	176	3,184
Vizagapatam	...	129	84	1,519	...	1,732
Godavari	...	829	34	1,518	1,149	3,530
Kistna	21	564	1,456	478	4,580	7,099
Nellore	6	134	173	783	13,375	14,471
Cuddapah	1	540	928	4,494	35,900	41,863
Anantapur	1	195	1,742	971	12,893	15,802
Bellary	26	53	203	462	7,607	8,351
Kurnool	18	31	260	545	7,248	8,102
Madras	...	...	...	8	...	8
Chingleput	3	156	329	2,568	14,021	17,077
North Arcot	5	533	701	3,156	55,625	60,020
South Arcot	101	688	175	3,443	48,835	53,242
Tanjore	2	1,723	37	703	24,698	27,163
Trichinopoly	11	161	35	1,754	24,697	26,658
Madura	43	181	350	5,268	27,413	33,255
Tinnevelly	2	155	50	2,322	43,030	45,559
Coimbatore	...	87	60	158	70,840	71,145
Salem	326	202	644	2,295	45,844	49,311
Total	566	6,389	7,540	35,146	437,931	487,572

* Only anikats under which there is direct irrigation are shown under this head. Where the irrigation is from channels taken up from an anikat, it is shown under river channels. Petty bunds, which are really anikats, exist by thousands.

62. Undoubtedly. The figures for the Kurnool canal for 1877 and 1897 are very interesting in this connection—

Statement showing the area irrigated under the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal in 1896-97 compared with 1876-77 and with normal years.

District.	Normal years.		1876-77.	1896-97.
	1878-79.	1895-96.		
	Acs.	Acs.	Acs.	Acs.
Kurnool	8,353	15,563	75,105	65,618
Cuddapah	10,009	17,340	15,180	21,608
Total	18,361	32,903	90,285	87,226

Still, when trouble comes, these works only first enrich the cultivators under them, and then tend to reduce prices everywhere. They do not generally help the agricultural labourers, or those who have to buy grain. It is very desirable that their number should be increased.

63. Yes. This is a point referred to by Mr. Higham and endorsed unanimously by the Conferences.

64. This is for the special officer. I would, however, here refer to the great impulse given to well construction in the famine of 1891-92. Too much stress, however, must not be laid on wells, as they often fail in a long drought. They failed in many places in 1891—92. When, however, they tap the valley of a great river, like the Palar, the wells even at a considerable distance—some miles—from the river very often hold out. A good deal of borrowed money was spent on wells in the recent famine.

* * * * *

67. Yes. There are several such in the famine programmes, notably the Vaniar Project in Salem. The Public Works Department is given to throw cold water on them, because they would not yield the required percentage on cost of construction, or would be liable to silt up (as if all irrigation works were not so liable) etc.

* * * * *

69. This is for the special officer. I need only say that, side by side with such works, petty works will always be necessary if relief is to be effective.

70. The provisions are contained in paragraphs 4—11 of the Famine Code. The Code requirements are always observed in the letter: to observe them in the spirit would require a special department always at work investigating proposals for such programmes. I think, having regard to the cost of famines, that it would be true economy to keep such a department always going, but the officers engaged

should be, to a certain extent, enthusiasts, for they would be working for a comparatively remote future. Plans and estimates were not always ready when the recent famine began, partly for want of the special department just alluded to. If a work is to be carried out on its intrinsic merits, as a paying work, it is likely to be carried out before the famine comes, and so the programmes must necessarily be of a shifting nature. Collectors are at their wits' ends to maintain the semblance of a compliance with the letter of the Code. Of course, the usual estimates for collection of road metal can always be ready to hand.

71. (*a*) I have known them to come and work from morn to night from a distance of 12 miles, and as many as 70 persons from a single village. It is a mere sum in arithmetic to calculate how soon such persons must be physically worn out.

(*b*) *Some* will come 20 or 30 miles or more. I must insist on the distinction, which I have drawn elsewhere, that only *some* will come. That others will *not* come is no proof that they are not distressed. As an old experienced officer, I must distinctly protest against the distance test. For the majority it is a specious offer of bread and giving of a stone.

72. Practicable—yes. Many things are practicable—or lawful—but not expedient: Cruel and injudicious, also yes.

73. Conveyance by steamer is not in the area of practical politics for this Presidency. Such labourers as were willing to go might be carried by rail, but it would be a refusal of relief to the majority in need to make acceptance of relief on such terms a *sine quâ non*.

74. It has not been the rule, but many—though a small percentage of the whole—did live as near to the works as they could. The number who actually lived—in huts—*on* the works was very small. No doubt more would have done so had the huts been forthcoming. It is not right to commence to erect huts after the workers have come. They may be exposed for days before the huts are erected. The huts, too, should be a decent habitable shelter, proof against wind and rain, and such as the workers can put up in without degrading exposure. I do not call three tatties —like three playing cards—proper hutting. A man could only stand upright in the centre. When the wind blew they were generally uninhabitable.

75. No. When people did live on, or near, the works, it was because they could not go to and fro between their homes and the work. There were many who left their homes and stayed on a work. In their villages they had left many starving behind. These latter could not, for one reason or another, leave their villages, and fell off seriously in condition. The workers who left the village did not share their earnings with those left behind.

76. I am not in favour of making residence obligatory or of indirectly inducing it by concentrating the works.

It is true that, failing such test, some, very few persons not requiring relief are attracted to the work. These are so few that they may be left out of consideration. There were many who were not actually "skinned to the bone." Such persons were rightly admitted. They came from prudential reasons, knowing that, if they did not do so, they would be utterly ruined at the end of the distress, or, had it lasted six months longer, long before the end. Why, I would ask, were there hundreds of bechirak (depopulated) villages, some of them not re-occupied to date, after the great famine, if it was not that Sir Richard Temple and his school refused relief until the people were "skinned to the bone"? By the grant of relief before people were so stripped in the last famine the state of the people at the end of it was not irretrievably worse than it was at the beginning. This point did not escape the Famine Commission of 1878. They classed the "smallest proprietors or occupiers" with the "actually landless class who live on the wages of labour" (page 109, part I); they held that the official machinery was inadequate to accurately test the individual necessities of large numbers (page 110), and held (page 111) that "the only test which in their opinion it is ordinarily desirable to enforce is the demand of labour commensurate in each case with the labourers' powers, in return for a wage sufficient for the purpose of maintenance but not more." In the Deccan districts the number of pattadars paying R10 and less is 339,355. If the Government demand at all approaches to 50 per cent. of the net profits of agriculture, these persons, multiplied by four to allow for their families, are practically destitute, and should be treated as such.

I consider that a high task and a low rate of wage are in themselves sufficient tests, and, in this connection, by a high task I mean a fair task. I can most positively state from an intimate knowledge of the people, their ways of life and thought and language, such as few officials possess, that they are generally loath to accept of Government relief, and will only do so when actually driven to it. Here I do not mean "gratuitous relief in the form of doles," though many would be too proud to accept this if they did not want it.

77. Residence on works *is* so distasteful to the people that many of them—certainly more than half of those who need relief—will undergo extreme privation before they submit to it. I cannot quote the instances required, as residence was nowhere enforced, but I can quote instances where people starved at home rather than go unreasonable distances to reside on or near a work. The case of Kocheru mentioned by the Sanitary Commissioner—*vide* Government Proceedings No. 969, dated 17th November 1897, is an instance. The prejudice will not pass away. As before admitted, *some* will comply with such tests.

78. Yes, if the whole of India was not involved. The area involved in the last famine was very wide, and yet we did wonders in this direction. I do not think it likely that a larger area will ever be involved at any one time. When distress is confined to only one province, or even to two, the resources in the way of establishment over all India could be indented on, as was the case in the later months of 1877.

79. Yes. G. O. No. 216, dated 30th March 1897. I need not enter into details. Hutting was, with few exceptions, nowhere provided for reasons given elsewhere. The district officers did their best to prevent the distance allowance being abused in such cases, or when people from distant, took up their abode in adjacent, villages. I do not mean to say that no cases escaped detection.

80 and 81. It is said to have been R1-2 in Bellary and Ganjam. The hutting in Bellary was of the three playing card type and unworthy of the name. I have no doubt that there was much suffering from cold and discomfort on the works. It may seem strange to speak of cold, but, after the South-West monsoon has broken, the winds in the Deccan are violent, and at night and morning chill. The people are thinly clad, the mothers being often exposed and infants absolutely naked. The wind blowing on their bodies did cause suffering, and, among the infants, mortality. A cold wind blowing on the exposed body, or on cotton garments drenched with perspiration, is bound to produce fever and other illnesses.

82. No.

83. I cannot say, not having noted figures: I would expect the contrary, for the more accessible the works are, the more likely dependents are to come to them.

84. We had, practically, no piece-work.

85. No.

86. Yes. If there is a good earthwork which, on its merits, is worth doing, piece-work would be good, *provided that* gratuitous relief goes on also, and there are small works easily accessible for those who cannot go to the piece-work. I have discussed this in the report on the Famine Conferences.

87. The more I see of piece-work for relief purposes the less I like it.

88. They should be separately ganged and tasked—if you are going to have piece-work at all. One of the strongest objections to piece-work is that, if it is to be honestly worked as a form of relief, it will require an extravagant establishment to do this. If, however, piece-work is intended to be a mere specious offer of relief which it is really intended to refuse, then it is as economical as the worst enemy of the people could desire. By this I do not mean that every one who swears by piece-work is averse from giving reasonable relief, but such persons are mentally astigmatic, and they are not likely ever to see straight. They may be, and often are, very kind hearted and well intentioned.

89. Yes. I would not allow any one person to earn more than will support himself and five other persons, of whom two may be children.

90. This is technical; but, if the piece-work system is to be fairly worked, the workers must be allowed to form their own gangs, and each gang must be paid separately, however many there may be.

91. Yes. When the people form their own gangs: not when the officials form them.

92. If piece-work is to be worked honestly, as a real form of relief, and not as a specious refusal of it, I look for a considerable increase of establishment as compared with the task-work system.

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93. There will always be difficulty.

94. The Code system is best for classification. I do not accept the C and D wages.

95. The Code wages for A and B classes might stand. The A wage would, and should, rarely be given. I think that the B wage should be given to class C, even though they perform a smaller task, and the D wage I would abolish altogether for tasked labour. Properly the people who belong to the D class should do no work at all which could be tasked. For a subsistence wage perhaps the C wage would suffice for them. It is no use to give these wages in chataks as they are already in the Code in ounces.

96. This is a very troublesome system. I would propose to add a pie or two to the B wage and have no computation of the component parts. For firewood some addition to the B wage is desirable. Possibly one pie would, all round, be enough, but I would prefer two pies.

96A. Yes. The men and women should be tasked separately.

97. The Conference has made a fair proposal about this.

98. Generally *seven*. It often happens that bright, active children below seven want to work, and I would allow them to do so, for the child's wage, when at all capable. In view of the general dislike for kitchens, the line was not always sternly drawn at seven years in the last famine. Such children often, as carriers or breakers, do very fair work. Their presence enlivens the works and adds to the comfort of the parents. Drawing the line generally at seven, I would leave it open to let in younger children in exceptional cases.

99. Section 106 of the Famine Code is all that is needed.

100. Yes. If workers are neither malingering nor contumacious, they should not be fined below the minimum.

101. Yes. There was a good deal of this in the beginning of the famine. As promiscuous fining and an impossible task was imposed, it would not be clear whether the people actually deteriorated on the D wage, for they very often did not get it. The Sanitary Commissioner has reported on this. See also Board's Proceedings, No. 144, dated 18th February 1897. The C and D rations were afterwards abolished, and not brought into force again until the end of July, and were too short a time in force to allow of inferences being drawn from them.

102. I think the words "Question 12" in this question must be a mistake. I don't think in famine times it is at all desirable that people should earn more than the Code A and B wages.

103. I would give the Sunday wage to any one who had attended for four out of the preceding seven days. It is most unfair, when a person has been absent—probably for some good cause, illness or other—and lost a working day's wage to deprive him of the Sunday wage also.

104. *Vide* Conference report.

105. Technical.

106. Ditto.

107. Any one above the rank of overseer *ought* to be able to grasp this, but I do not believe that all would grasp it. Some overseers are very intelligent and could grasp it; some never would.

108. The gang of one hundred works well in practice. If the task is *fair* there would be no objection to fining those who fell short of it. An intelligent subordinate ought to be able to detect individual "malingerers," and fines might generally be limited to them.

* * * * *

112. Ganjám—

Up to May	1 : 2
In and after June	1 : 3
Vizagapatam—	
Up to June	1 : 4
July and August	1 : 3
September	1 : 2½
Kurnool—	
April	1 : 3
May	1 : 2½
June to September	1 : 2
October	1 : 2½
Bellary and Anantapur—	
Up to June	1 : 3
July and August	1 : 2½
September	1 : 3
Cuddapah—	
Throughout	1 : 2½

113. It is always the case that women and children predominate. This was markedly so in the beginning of the 1877 famine. The men will not come at the early stages. I have referred to this elsewhere. Suppose the men do find private employment at wages in excess of the famine wage, the rise of prices leaves their earnings still no more than they can consume themselves. No man would be content with the famine ration who could buy more. Even when the men did not come in equal proportions it was necessary for the State to support the wives and children.

114. Only petty village work, village roads, deepening wells and such like works should be carried out by the Civil officers.

115. I agree generally with the recommendations of the Conferences on this point. I consider that the Divisional officers have been hardly dealt with, but, if a *modus vivendi* is to be arrived at, I fear they must be thrown overboard.

116. See Conference report.

117. Ditto.

118. I understand the question to refer to Civil officers. The Conference has touched on this point, see pages 38—39 of the report.

119. See Conference report, paragraph 20.

120. No. *Imprimis* the word "camp" should be used only for a large piece-work assemblage of labourers. It would not refer to task-works on which residence was not compulsory. If there is a Civil officer, he can look after these matters. If not, the medical officer should look after sanitary arrangements after the Public Works officers had once constructed latrines; the paymaster may be under the Collector on small works and under the Executive Engineer, as proposed by the Conference, for large works. The Tahsildar can look after bazaar arrangements if there is no Civil officer.

121. No. The Magistrate and the policeman should be conspicuous by their absence on all relief works.

122. No. In such rare exceptions, in which the Civil—by which I mean the Revenue—officers looked after works, they were conducted under the Code rules.

123. As far as possible, all works should be carried out by the Public Works Department. There were no works carried out by the Civil Department which should have been transferred to the Public Works Department except the one case where an Executive Engineer threw up all charge of a work, and the Assistant Collector had to keep it going until the Executive Engineer reconsidered himself.

124. In both cases daily at first, and afterwards once in three days.

125. Pay to the nearest *pie*.

126. The payments should be made by the paymasters. We don't know what Muharrirs mean, but in no case should the head cooly of the gang make disbursements. This does not apply to petty gangs made up by the villagers themselves on the piece-work system.

127. No. I consider that it would be a most undesirable practice.

128. (i) Yes, when the Revenue and Public Works officers were dealing with them. Their own missionary, the Rev. Mr. Cain, had no difficulty in getting them to attend and work steadily. It is a pity that all the works started were not under him. The Forest Officer, Mr. Ward, could have got good work out of the hill people if he could have employed them on strictly forest work; but it is a fact that they did tank work for their missionary. It is to be regretted that their old Civilian officer, Mr. Spencer, was not there, for he, probably, could have got good work out of them. It is absurd to send an ordinary Public Works officer up to Bhadrachalam and expect him to conduct relief works

(ii) Yes, under their missionary. It is not to be understood that the workers were Christians. They were ordinary Kois; but Mr. Cain has lived among them, with his wife, for a quarter of a century, and they know and trust him. We change our Civilian officer about once in two years. I think that an endeavour should be made to get, for our hill tracts, men who would find it worth their while to stay in them to know and be known by, and to win the confidence of the wild tribes. There are always men of the Outram stamp to be found. What he did with the Bheels could be done amoung the Khonds and Kois. Occasionally a police officer makes a long stay in these tracts. A Civilian rarely, as promotion is absurdly rapid in the junior ranks of the Civil Service, and has been for years. Young Military officers could easily be found for such posts. In the one case where a Civilian stayed for a long time in these tracts he obtained such a knowledge of the language and of the people, and so won

their confidence both in the cutcherry and in the jungles, that he could lead them at will. I refer to Mr. Douglas Taylor, who was for years in charge of the Jeypore Estate.

129. It depends very much on how they are spread out. I don't think one man could well look after more than five thousand labourers. As to the minimum, on professional works it might be fixed at 300. In that case only an overseer would have charge.

130. No. We may press the outcaste children into our kitchens, and a very few of the lower class Hindus and generally the poor Muhammadans, but, with caste workers generally, to offer kitchen relief is to refuse all relief, and throw them on their parents' wage for maintenance. Any experienced officer can tell where the objection to kitchen relief is, by the mode of thought of the people, justifiable, and in such cases dole should be given.

131. The ratio depends so much on the increase in the price of grain on which wages are based, and the amount of inefficient labour that comes on the work, that it is not possible to give a ratio which will hold good in all cases of distress. When, as in the last famine, the prices rose by more than 200 per cent. and the inefficient hands on works were from two to three times the number of efficient hands, it would not be unreasonable if the payment in wages amounted to three times, and the total cost of work, including relief to dependants, and incidental charges, four times the normal value of work done. In this Presidency the cost of relief of dependants was not debited to works, and was not shown in the accounts separately from the cost of the gratuitous relief of other persons. But the actual cost of the works including the cost of work establishments and contingencies was 3·3 times the normal value calculated at ordinary rates.

132. No. The former is matter for experts. The latter can be considered when the Code is amended. I could not go into it here.

133. I have separately reported about this —*vide* Board's Proceedings No. 553, dated 5th August 1897.

134. See above. Generally they were unfounded or unreasonable.

135. Such employers offered only the normal wage. There were cases in which employers tried to whittle their normal wage down to the level of the famine wage.

136. The employers don't want whole families; they want to pick their employés and, of course, when this is done, the employed could eat all that they earned. I regret to say, to my knowledge, some such employés where paid a liberal—though the normal—wage, and drank the surplus. They always do. I refer to the Adoni cotton press. The families are left very much to fend for themselves. Even in good times much of the man's wage goes in drink and the family fares badly. This was partly the cause of bad condition at Adoni. When drink comes in family affections are sacrificed to it. We unfortunately have thousands of instances of this nearer home.

137. I would do, as I did in this famine, *i.e.*, do our best to meet the wishes of private employers. I would even shift a work farther away, if necessary—provided always that the wage offered was sufficient. If, however, the private employer wants men only, the excess of women and children on works will be still larger and call for remarks.

138. I don't think there was any such help by private employers except such as was given by the Rajah of Bobbili and the Zamindar of Parlakimedi, and this was to people who would have ordinarily gone to earth-work or stone-breaking. There was, of course, much employment given to coolies by ryots who were digging wells or exterminating *nuth* grass (*Ischæmum pilosum*). The persons employed by them were not "professional earth-workers"—only "Wudders" are properly so called. The Rajah of Bobbili and the Zamindar of Parlakimedi would not have got the work done had it not been for the distress. The ryots would always be glad to dig wells and exterminate *nuth* grass if they could afford it. No doubt, when they get loans for such purposes they eat part of the loan, and so it may be said that in ordinary years they would not generally do this kind of work—certainly not on so large a scale.

139. No. Such of our Rajahs and Zamindars as are not in pecuniary difficulty will generally, from one motive or another, do something in this line, but beyond this I do not expect much. Should, however, famine touch any district where one of our great firms has interests, manufacturing, mining or forest, I think that such firms would gladly strain a point to help, but they would do this on mercantile, not philanthropic, lines, and would expect the value of their money. The sum scattered in the cotton district by the large firms is very great. I know one firm which expends as much as 20 lakhs in a year, but this goes mostly to the cultivator, who spends some of it in wages. Some goes to the employés in spinning mills and cotton presses.

* * * * *

148. Four per cent.

149. Yes.

150. Generally yes. There were minor exceptions, *e.g.*, when one person, who perhaps could work, was put on relief because he or she had to look after a sick or crippled relation. By "resources of any kind" if it is meant that the women sold their *Thalis* or amulets and petty jewellery, the answer is no. In the humane and commonsense meaning of the term the recipients of this relief were destitutes. Possibly some of them had a calf or a goat, or a couple of fowls or a pig. They were not required to sell these or the roof, poor as it was, over their heads, and I hope that they never will.

151. In ordinary years their relations support them, and the beggars get charity. I need not say that it is often a very poor support which such people get. In famine times charity begins at home.

152. Eighty to 90 per cent. were women and children. The *parda nashin* women were very few. In the agricultural tracts they are always few except in the Circars, where the Hindus are day by day making their women more and more *parda nashin*. The Coast Sudras of the better class from Kistna up to Ganjam affect to treat their females as gosha. The Kshatriya women are mostly gosha. It is a fact that many respectable Panchamas in the towns affect to keep their females within walls. In the towns, in the affected tracts, the *parda nashin* women were generally on the Indian Famine Relief Fund.

153. The numbers would vary so much, according to the system on which the gratuitous relief was being given, and the personal equation of the Government and officers giving it, that I would hesitate to state any figure which could be regarded as a standard, seeing specially the use which has been made of the Indian Famine Commission statement that 15 per cent. would be the maximum expected to come on relief in any tract—*vide* question 10 *supra* and my reply to it. If I am asked to name what I would consider the maximum which, under duly administered relief, should come on *gratuitous* relief during the worst of an acute famine, I would take the figures on gratuitous relief for August 1877. These are (Salem) 165,737 or 8·4 per cent. of the population of 1871, and (Bellary) 140,408, or 15 per cent. on the population of 1871. The mean of the two percentages is 11·7 per cent. I should think that this would be a fair estimate of the percentage which should come on gratuitous relief in an acute famine. I choose the figures for August rather than those for September or October, because practically our organization fell to pieces about that time, until we were stiffened by new hands from other Provinces. The disaster was so great that we could not shroff applicants for relief, and had to let all who claimed it in, pending enquiries. The numbers would vary with the tract and with the severity and stage of the distress.

154. No. On the contrary, there are conditions conceivable under which small numbers on relief might be synchronous with a large demand for gratuitous relief. Piece-work and distance test, or task-work with absurd task, or inhumane supervision might produce this result. In my opinion we always start gratuitous relief too late in this Presidency. I think that it would be true economy to begin with it, and, if we provided for the "useless mouths," the others might be able to make a better fight for it without works, at least for a time. No one who has not actually gone among the poorer classes, into their houses, and watched them at cooking and meal times, talked with them under the village tree, and in the shikar camp, can have any idea of the amount of absolute misery which may exist before officialdom recognises that the time for relief has come. In my opinion, year by year our officers are getting to know less of the people, and to be more and more out of sympathy and touch with them. Government itself is removed from contact with the people for six months of the year. It is not from the educated natives who have their own purposes to serve, or from addresses presented by Municipalities and Local Boards, or even by District Associations, which are merely the quintessence of Vakildom, that the governing minority can get at the minds of the masses; for the masses have minds and thoughts and wants, though they are not apt at shaping them into words. The Dravidian languages are always a bar between the people and their rulers. The old type of Civilian was a much better linguist

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than his successor. I remember, more than thirty years ago, when the Huzur Sheristadar of Madura did not know a word of English, that the then Collector, the Honourable D. Arbuthnot, did all his work with him in Telegu. The Honourable Mr. L. Forbes, when Judge of Bellary, once charged a jury for three hours in Telugu. The Telugu text-books of the day are the work of a Civilian long dead and gone, and so was one of the best Telugu dictionaries up to a short period back. It is more and more necessary that we should insist on a full working knowledge of the vernaculars in the ranks of the Civil Service. The only case in recent years in which I have known a young Civilian to be a good linguist was the case of a gentleman who had been born in the country.

155. No. I think that gratuitous relief should begin earlier, and that such people should be relieved in their villages.

156. It would depend on circumstances. If the able-bodied relation was earning a wage elsewhere, and that wage did not cover the keep of his relatives, why not admit the incapable person to relief? To refuse, and drive—if you do suceeed in driving—the able-bodied relation on the work is to make Government relieve two persons instead of one. There are other causes which might keep able-bodied persons from going to relief works.

157. Yes. No doubt many who do not want doles would accept them if given, but there has been no such promiscuous dole-giving.

158. Yes, as regards the Circle Relief officers, except in some cases in the Circars. The Taluk Relief officers were appointed rather late, and there were cases in the Circars in which undeserving persons had been admitted, but they were soon shroffed out. Of the two I should say that the danger of refusing relief to the deserving was the more likely failure to expect from Village Circle Inspectors.

It is not necessary to go into the details about the precautions taken. The usual inquiries would be made of the village officers and the more well-to-do villagers. The interior of houses would be searched for grain, etc.

159. It is not easy to make the comparison. Thus we often would have only one Taluk Relief officer for a taluk in which there might be an Executive Engineer and two or three Supervisors or Assistant Engineers and some Overseers. I should say, if a liberal provision of work is made, that the demand for supervision in the Public Works Department would be greater than that in gratuitous relief. The latter is supervised by Tahsildars and Deputy Tahsildars or by Divisional officers as well as by Taluk Relief officers. It might happen that as many as four Taluk Relief officers would be required for a single taluk. I would say that, as a rule, gratuitous relief would not require so strong a staff of the higher officers as relief on works, properly given, would require.

160. The acceptance of doles does not entail any particular stigma. To accept kitchen relief is considered generally degrading, except among the outcastes, and even they, sometimes, ape the caste sentiments on the subject.

161. No. No form of charity dries up which would not otherwise dry up. On the contrary, the Government example is largely followed by private persons, who recognise that famine time is a time for doing *dharman* and acquiring merit. Much charity is therefore given which would not be given in ordinary times.

162. I think this question may be practically answered in the negative. Our relief works, as I have shown elsewhere, received large numbers who ought to have been on gratuitous relief. If the question is pushed to an extreme it is possible that some of the recipients might have done some work, say, gathering leaves, etc. I do not think that the question is asked in this sense. It is a fair answer to give that gratuitous relief was not given to persons who ought to have done a task of any kind.

163. No. And this question clearly shows that question 162 referred to some genuine form of work.

164. I have answered this already *ad nauseam*. Kitchen relief should—as I have said that all gratuitous relief should—be started in the early stage of distress, but it only appeals to certain classes, and no offer of it will tempt those whose caste prejudices forbid them to receive it. This prejudice dates from 1877. I must add that there was a much greater readiness to accept cooked food among the Sudras in 1877 than there is now. It is probably because they suffered socially for having done so that they refuse now. The other prejudice, that those who entered the kitchens in 1877 died, has its influence in keeping people out. I might add that this is an unfair prejudice. The people mix up camps and kitchens. There was enormous mortality in the camps in 1877, but not to any serious extent in the kitchens, but it would be useless to try and explain the difference.

165. See above. To offer kitchen relief alone would be to refuse relief altogether to many classes of persons.

166. No. Even one kitchen for every five miles diameter would be a large strain, and this is a very awkward arrangement. Supposing a district to be divided in five miles squares. These would contain 25 square miles. Even if the kitchen were exactly in the centre it would be a walk of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the corners and $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the sides. This doubled, supposing the kitchen to be in a corner, would be a fatiguing journey for weak adults and out of the question for small children. Practically a kitchen helps the people beyond half a mile from it very little. It would be quite impossible to establish and manage as many kitchens as would be required.

167. In grain. The matter is discussed in paragraph 17. of the Conferences' report.

168. They generally had to come to a central place for it. In the case of very respectable families it would be sent to them. This would be rare. The Indian Charitable Relief Fund generally took up such cases.

169. No, to both the questions. There were cases in which village officers *choused* recipients out of part of their grants from the Indian Charitable Relief Fund.

170. The Revenue Inspectors were generally Circle Inspectors. The village servants would always be consulted in such matters. The number of Circle Inspectors appointed was as follows:—

	No.
Ganjam	50
Vizagapatam	68
Kurnool	26
Bellary	13
Anantapur	21
Cuddapah	8

The village officers were consulted. If "home relief" means bringing and giving the dole to such recipients at his or her home, this was not done, unless the Indian Charitable Relief Fund did it. The respectable inhabitants in the larger villages helped in the latter.

171. Official relief went through official channels only. The Indian Charitable Relief Fund employed unofficial agency largely.

172. We had practically no poor-houses—see page 35 of the Conference report. In my opinion there should never be any poor-houses if relief is properly given.

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182. I would deprecate legislation to this end. No doubt it would solve difficulties, but it is very doubtful how such legislation would be regarded by the people.

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184. In the great famine escapes were constantly taking place. No fencing will keep in those—and often weakly persons—who are determined to get out. Besides the love of freedom they tried to go and beg in the big towns.

185. Doles were generally given in central villages—not in every village. The machinery is not equal to providing a separate dole centre in every village, *e.g.*, there might be no grain shop in a village, etc.

186. The doles were—as a rule—only for persons properly entitled to gratuitous relief under section 62, and from such persons it would be improper to require work. Doles are also admissible to gosha women and respectable persons under sections 135 and 137 of the Code. From the former some kind of work, such as grinding corn, is at times demanded.

187. No—to both queries.

188. The "relief centres" were the "village relief" and not a substitute for it. The distance was never more than the recipients of relief could reasonably walk. When they were numerous, some villagers would have one day, and others, another, on which to receive their doles. Perhaps these relief centres really correspond with what the Famine Commission seem to understand by "village relief."

189. I consider that gratuitous relief ought to start *with* works, if not before them. If given in time, the opening of works might be somewhat postponed, but then there

would always be the cry that the demand for relief had not been "tested." I consider that the existence of scarcity rates is sufficient test to justify the commencement of gratuitous relief.

190. I think it is plain that our relief centres are what the Commission means by village relief.

* * * * *

192. No, except when relief was given from the Indian Charitable Relief Fund.

193. To provide for the children of workers mainly, and for such persons, qualified under section 62, as may be found in the adjoining villages.

194. They are required both for works and for gratuitous relief under section 62. The theory is that no one should get doles who ought to take food in a kitchen, supposing that there is a kitchen within a reasonable distance.

195. The substitution would have the effect of reducing numbers (*a*) because the distance would be too great for some, and (*b*) because many will refuse to enter the kitchens under any circumstances whatever.

196. Only to persons furnished with tickets.

197. The Revenue officers supervised the kitchens, and the Circle Inspectors and village officers helped. Respectable ryots used to take an interest in them. Often they would subscribe for, or supply, vegetables to be added to the ration.

There was no waste or misapplication of the food worth mentioning. Attendance was not always regular, and occasionally some rations would lie over. These would be kept for the next meal. The kitchens were ordinarily in charge of officials; but, in big towns, respectable townsmen used to interest themselves in them and inspect them. The Adoni kitchen was under a committee on which were non-officials as well as officials.

198. When there is not a genuine objection, it is better to have the children fed in kitchens, and this may generally be applied to Panchamas, Chamars, Native Christians of the poorer classes, and the poorer Muhammadans. When the parents work, they are not likely to misappropriate the child's wage; but there would be danger of a father sending his children to the work, staying at home himself and consuming most of the children's wage or dole. In Ganjam the parents are often not to be trusted.

199. See pages 30 and 31 of the Famine Report.

200. Yes. No doubt, when a ryot takes a loan of ₹200 for digging a well, he eats some of the loan. This is fair and expected. He supervises the work and pays himself for doing it. His family probably eat up some more. The Government is secure, and this does not signify.

201. Yes, to both questions. The grant of such loans is a trouble to the Revenue officers, and many are lacking in zeal on this point.

202. *Periods of repayment.*

Ordinary Rules (L. I. Loans Act).			Maximum period.
	₹	₹	yrs.
For loans from	100 to	500	10
Do.	500 to	1,000	15
Do.	1,000 and upwards		20

Special Well Rules.—All loans must be repaid within *thirty* years at the latest.

Agriculturists' Loans Act.—

A loan for the purchase of seed must be repaid within *one year.*

A loan for the purchase of cattle or for any other purpose within the meaning of the Act and the Rules, shall be repaid within *two years*, or such further period *not exceeding ten years*, as the Collector, with the sanction of the Board of Revenue, may see fit to declare.

203. Yes, in Bellary only. The amount was limited to ₹20 each, at ₹5 per mensem for four months.

204. No. It means indebtedness. Better make them work and start them free of debt.

205. It depends on how you look at it. Of course it is more economical to lend and recover the money lent than to give work and wages and get no money return; this is one way of looking at it. My opinion is that it is a low and short-sighted way of looking at it. The agricultural classes are indebted enough. Debt debases the debtor. He is not a free, or his own, man; it cramps his efforts; it is against the interests of the whole body politic that debt should increase. It tests a man's grit more to offer him work and wage than to lend him money.

206. A large number would, if it was likely that they would get the loans; but, as a fact, the authorities could not deal with a whole population. I have answered the rest of the question above. *Mr. W. J. H. Fanu.*

207. See paragraph 30 of Famine Report.

208. The tenant generally will get the benefit of these concessions. The kists in such cases have never been collected, and therefore *remission* does not mean *refunding*. The remission is made when the annual settlement comes to be made. The village officers may sometimes get something from the ryots. This cannot be helped. There is no *law* to secure that remissions reach the ryots, nor is any law necessary.

209. Of much advantage, yes. It would be difficult to say how much ryots were thereby kept from relief works, but it may be generally accepted that most of those profiting by the remission would have been ruined if they had not got it.

210. All revenue suspended will be eventually recovered, and that, generally, without severe pressure on the ryots if *seasons are good*. As a fact, the last season is a very middling one, and there will, especially in Cuddapah, be some suffering in consequence of these recoveries.

211. No. Such suspensions will be collected in the current year.

212. (*a*) If the rent payable to landholders by their tenants is meant, the practice varies. The land revenue payable to Government and suspended in bad seasons does not carry interest.

212. (*b*) I think not, for more than one reason.

213. I do not know any estate absolutely free of some charge, peshkash, quit-rent or such like. Government can give relief to such by suspending collections. Such relief was given to the zemindar of Punganur in 1891, to the amount of ₹50,000, and the sum was collected in four years. The words "rent" and "revenue" in this chapter seem not to be used as we generally use them. Revenue is what is paid to the State; rent is what the tenant pays to the landholder. Taking rent in this sense Government has no power to direct that rent due to a zemindar should be suspended, and no such power is necessary.

214. Yes, but I respectfully demur to the idea that a four-anna crop will feed and clothe the owners and their dependants and cattle (to say nothing of paying the kists).

215. See paragraph 43 of the Famine Report.

216. *Vide* paragraph 32 of Famine Report. The people generally had no access for the collection of edible fruits, roots, etc. I am not, however, certain of this. In "high forest" all persons are excluded. I do not believe that there would be any difficulty in people entering the ordinary forests for this purpose. As a fact, however, the affected tracts contained no forest worth the name, except the Nallamalais, which are deadly feverish, and left generally to the wild Chentsus. Bhadrachalam is jungly, and the Kois can go and come there as they like. The jungle tribes would utilise edible fruits, roots, etc., when not rented out.

217. Yes. I proposed that the forests should be thrown open to free grazing in December 1896. Permission was then refused and not granted until May 1897. It was too late then to be of much use. Cattle cannot march to the forests in a season when there is not a blade of grass, or a leaf, or a drop of water, on the route. The cattle, too, were too much exhausted to make a march of any kind.

218. No. This was tried in 1891-92, and the people were unwilling to *pay for* the grass collected, though ready enough to take it when given for nothing. This is a matter which will develop in time. If the people would only cut and store in the proper season, there would be large stocks of fodder available, but they are too lazy and wanting in foresight to do this, as a rule. Though the departmental operations were not resumed, large quantities of grass were removed from the forests and carried to places even 40 and 50 miles off. This, however, only taps the fringe of the distress, for the distant villages are practically debarred from benefiting in this way.

The cost of labour and carting is no small item. Except the Nallamalais there are no forests worthy of the name in the affected parts of the Deccan. The Sandur hills produce a kind of grass, but it is really only fit for thatching or bedding, though large quantities were removed for cattle. The grass on the Cuddapah hills is also poor stuff. It would be no great exaggeration to say that in Anantapur the so-called forest reserves have no grass fit to be mentioned. This is all the more reason why the Nallamalais should be thrown open at an early period of the distress, when a bite can be picked up *en route*, and the cattle have strength to walk.

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219. Those who understand where to find them get some roots. There are also some berries and leaves, notably the *Devadari* (*Erythoxylon Monogynum*) leaves, which help the people to eke out a living. In the Agency tract of Bhadrachalam, the roots are not obtainable in the hot weather, as, even if they exist, the ground is so hard that the people cannot dig them up.

220. The Code rules are sufficient. With proper administration there should be *no* famine orphans. There were a few orphans, but there will be such in all years. Famine orphans proper should never be found. In 1877-78 many orphans were made over to asylums, one of which was in Madras and supported by charity. A large number were made over to the French Missionaries at Dharmapuri in Salem—some 200 or more. The priest in charge got at the time a grant of some five to seven hundred rupees, which went for medicine, etc. These orphans were entirely brought up, and put out in the world, by the missionaries (being converted of course). When there is absolutely no one to claim them, there does not seem to be any objection to this course. When I visited their village (Dharmapuri-Koilur) 19 years afterwards, I could only find one of the orphans, a married woman, who seemed to be very happy. The rest had scattered, setting up for themselves, aided by the priest, who seemed to be idolised by his village and evidently deserved their affection. At an early stage of the recent famine the Jesuits of Trichinopoly put in an application for famine orphans. The Dharmapuri Mission is not under the Jesuit Order.

221. There will be no need for such aid. Private charity will always meet the want to any reasonable extent. A small grant from the Famine Charitable Relief Fund would be sufficient to keep the children till they can fend for themselves.

222. Yes. The objects are enumerated in paragraph 40 of the Famine Report. I object distinctly to Object 1. The subsistence ration, and the hospital ration, either are or are not adequate. If adequate, they should not be supplemented by private charity. If inadequate, they should be increased at Government cost. The use of the fund money has largely tended to obscure the question of the sufficiency of the C and D wages. I also object, as long as sections 134 and 137 of the Famine Code survive on the record, to Object 3. Government either means, or does not mean, what it says in the Code, the theory of which is all that the highest benevolence could require: when, however, it comes to the spending of money, *i.e.*, to the translating of the Code theory into practice, there is apt to be an outcry that money is being spent, and the officers who take Government *au grand serieux* run the risk of being taken to task for their action. My objection to Object I does not extend to the grant of clothing, which in this Presidency may fairly be left to private charity. In a colder climate, failing such charity, Government might have to act.

The fourth object enumerated is partly met by our loan laws, but I do not object to the expenditure from the fund, as loans from Government must stop somewhere, and Government could never afford to rehabilitate a large section of its population. Further help given should be a gift, not a loan. I have heard that the Famine Charitable Relief Fund money has in some places been lent, not given. I entirely disapprove of this, and I consider that such action is contrary to the intention of the donors.

223. See answer to last question.

224. In a properly-administered famine there should be, as I have said before, no orphans, *i.e.*, no orphans whose status as such is directly attributable to famine. If, however, there are any such, I think that their maintenance from the Famine Charitable Fund would be in strict accordance with the wishes of majority of the donors.

225. I would not call this "restricted." I do not see what more could reasonably be expected.

226. We cannot always be sure that there will be a Famine Charitable Relief Fund. This being so, I do not see how the Code can be modified. It certainly does not go too far at present. Whenever such a fund exists, it may be taken as a moral certainty that any relief of the kind specified under "thirdly" will be given from the fund. When no such fund exists, the only relief possible will be that given under the Code, sections 134 to 137, and it will depend entirely on the personal equation of the Government of the day, and of its officers, whether that relief will be given or not.

227. This was done in Bhadrachalam, but not with the purpose of relieving those only who are specified in this question. The fact was that grain was scarcely purchaseable, certainly not at reasonable rates, and the ordinary working population would have starved had not these shops been established. The conditions of Bhadrachalam have been explained in the Famine Report.

228. Such shops would interfere with private trade *if there was any*. In Bhadrachalam practically there was not. When the shops are for the benefit of those persons only who are contemplated by question 227, sales should be on tickets only.

229. No local experience of the kind here. In parts of Ganjam the Collector considered that Government depôts should have been started for providing grain for doles, not for sale.

230. Yes, if the state of the season admits of cultivation. When, however, on the arrival of the cultivation season the rains hold off, it would not be wise to give such help, as the temptation to consume the grant to meet present wants would be irresistible.

231. Roughly speaking, the pattadars paying R10 and under.

232. Yes. A gift is always better than a loan; besides, in a period of distress, the demand for *takkavi* is enormous and would be larger than it seems on paper were it not that idle and unscrupulous officials discourage the people in applying for loans. As a fact, the demand, with the best of intentions, is so great that the ordinary staff, even when reinforced, would find it difficult to grapple with it. Much depends on the personnel of the district. All the officers, or the native officers at least, take their cue from the Collector.

233. Yes.

234. Undoubtedly, except where they trenched on what is Government work, pure and simple, *i.e.*, when they were used to eke out the Government wage on works and ration in gratuitous relief. This was not done in this Presidency. In every other respect the operations of the fund were of the greatest use, and the only regret is that more money was not given *in time*.

235. See paragraph 40 of the Famine Report.

236. Head I, 24,108; Head II, 867; Head III, 234,369, and Head IV, 161,952.

237. It would be hard to say; the gratitude of the women and girls for cloths, and the blessing which the gift of flannel squares to emaciated babies proved, could not well be exaggerated.

238. I cannot answer this.

239. Yes. If these people are to be effectually helped, a gift, not a loan, is needed. If we keep the cooly alive and strong, he and his family are not much worse off at the end of a famine than at the beginning. The petty cultivator is in danger of falling in the social scale, and it is very difficult for him, once fallen, to retrieve his original status. His prosperity also means employment for the coolies. At the same time, the question suggests itself whether a system under which the mass of the cultivators are on the verge between the agricultural labourer and the ryot class is one which does not admit of amelioration in some way. It is a very difficult question, not peculiar to India. I think emigration is the remedy. The native is slow to move, and crowds on the poorer soils rather than up stakes and track.

240. Undoubtedly.

241. About 550,000 acres.

242. None, except in Cocanada—see page 18 of Conference report.

243. The wandering was not to a great extent; it was partly due to a scare and partly to the Collector being short-handed and, to some extent, sitting on a rail, as side by side with the scare, were calls to explain numbers on relief.

As to the jungle people, the missionaries and the Forest officer working together, with a free hand, which means that they have the confidence and backing of Government, could wholly prevent their wandering. As to people who wander at certain seasons of the year, it would be a question to be decided on the merits in each case whether their wandering is objectionable or not. If they can wander to an area where cooly labour is scarce and harvest operations large, I would not prevent them.

244. See the article on Vital Statistics in the Famine Report.

245. Some wanderers came from the Nizam's territory and from the Central Provinces (Sironcha I think) to Bhadrachalam; the Bellary and Kurnool districts must have received in all from 10,000 to 12,000 wanderers from the

Nizam's Dominions. There was some petty wandering from Banaganapalle to the Government taluks of Kurnool. In all cases the cause was because relief had not reached the tracts from which they came, or had not been effectual. In the Nizam's Dominions there was no timely relief, and in Banaganapalle it was inadequate.

246. No.

247. I would relieve them without distinction. I think however that, in case of a great disaster, a Native State like the Nizam's should be awakened through its Resident to a sense of its duty. Mysore was on the watch from the beginning. The Dewan kept count of immigrants from British territory, but these found employment without coming on the State for relief.

248 to 250. All that is really worth having and available on this subject is contained in the chapter on "Vital Statistics" in the Famine Report.

251. Yes to both questions; to the latter question specially. The freedom from fever mortality has distinctly obscured the effect of famine.

252. Some of the cholera mortality was probably due to this cause.

253. See Report on Vital Statistics in the Famine Report and the tables appended.

254. This is a question for experts. The Sanitary Commissioner's views are before the Famine Commission. So far as a very experienced Famine officer, who is not an expert, may speak on such topics, I am at one with the Sanitary Commissioner in his views as to the C and D rations.

255. See Famine Report "Vital Statistics." It was only in Ganjam that parents neglected their children. They did not abandon them.

256. There are no recorded deaths from starvation. I would not affirm that there were absolutely none. Dbone Subba Rao, who was a witness before the Commission at Bellary, assures me that there were some, in Ramallakot taluk of Kurnool. He purposely did not mention the matter, as he was conscious that Mr. Elwin, the Collector, had been urgent in relief matters, and that the delay to recognise the distress in Ramallakot was due to others, not to him. When distress was fully diagnosed, relief was freely given, mostly gratuitously, in this taluk. The numbers on relief called for remarks, but were not under the circumstances excessive. It can hardly be said that, elsewhere, there were any deaths actually due to starvation. Much of the mortality in Bhadrachalam in June and following months was due, directly or indirectly, to innutrition or malnutrition. The tract was a very difficult one to deal with. Cholera comes in very handily when famine mortality is in question. Whether the mortality be due to cholera proper or to famine diarrhœa, it is certain that cholera is the handmaid of famine, and that famine conditions favour the development and spread of cholera.

257. There was on the whole no mortality which was not inevitable in a famine year, when the whole population, not merely those on relief, feels straitened. Some of the small excess mortality was amongst people who did not, and probably never would, come on relief. I did not think any mortality was due to insanitary conditions connected with relief. "Every practicable precaution" is a very broad phrase. We did not provide Pasteur Filters; but I can truly say that continual care was everywhere exercised to provide pure water in connection with relief.

258. No. The supply of officers was inadequate. Those who were employed had generally such medicines and comforts as are ordinarily forthcoming in a small mofussil dispensary.

259. The population of 1891 was 12·53 per cent. more than that of 1871. Later figures are not available.

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261. The annual rate of growth between 1871 and 1891 was 6·14 per mille. This, however, covers the period of the great famine.

262. The only "other cause" of which I can think would be immigration. There is no immigration into the Madras Presidency.

263. It would be hard to over-estimate the effect of the causes enumerated. Whole districts would be practically depopulated by an inroad of Haidars or of the Mahrattas. Famine unchecked might easily carry away half a population. God has sent into this world as his angels, for certain purposes, battle and disease. It cannot be for the good of any nation to be steeped, as South India is, in eternal peace. If there were no humane considerations to guide our actions, I would say that it would be well for the survivors if plague, pestilence and famine, battle, murder and sudden death could have a free hand once in a generation. The time must some day come—unless some miracle is wrought by science and chemistry—when the resources of the State will be unequal to fighting famine.

264. The increase in area under food-grains between 1871 and 1891 was only 9 per cent. Much has been done to improve irrigation; much remains to be done. I am not sanguine about methods of cultivation being improved, except by manuring, and the people burn much of their natural manure.

265. This is not a question to be answered off-hand. There has been a steady rise of prices, but it would not be easy to prove that the increased demand of the extra number of mouths was the cause of it. Improved communications do much to equalise prices, and so when the surplus can find a market, prices will rise. I think that the producing powers of the soil have not been developed in proportion to the increase of population.

266. No reliable information is available.

267. It is not easy to answer this question. It is very far-reaching. Possibly prices might rise and population increase and wages might remain low owing to there being more persons seeking employment.

As to the latter part of the question—

Distress would not reach intensity so soon amongst a population which had a high standard of living. Such persons have something to cut down. When people have no luxuries to part with, and have in all years a battle for the necessaries of life, scarcity would develop rapidly amongst them into famine. When, however, food is dearer and there are no wages at all to be earned, the position would be still more accentuated. Such is the condition of the mass of the agricultural workers in this province in time of trouble.

268. The result would be as premised in the question, but this result has not yet been reached in the Kistna and Godavari Deltas. I do not know Tanjore well enough to hazard an opinion about it. It is an admitted axiom that the tendency is for population to overtake and pass the means of subsistence.

269. Any remedy which could be suggested would be only for a time. It would be as hopeless to look for a permanent remedy as to seek to suspend the law of gravitation.

270. Solved. Yes, for a time only. Much could be done in this direction in India. The missionaries are everywhere crying out for land. Why not give them a chance? Their agency costs nothing. Each year in India increases my admiration for their single-hearted work.

271. "The millions," no. It is a fact that the educated classes are beginning to adopt the remedies generally associated with the name of Doctor Allbutt. Exeter Hall would make it impossible for officialdom to move in this direction, nor could the missionaries be expected to do so. I think it is possible that assisted private enterprise might do something.

272. Malaria is not always allied with the irrigation. Very much the reverse. Some of our best irrigated tracts are remarkably free from malaria, and some of the driest tracts swept by it. If the question means that the spread of irrigation might, by favouring malaria, lessen the fecundity of the people, I should say that no result of the kind is to be hoped, or wished for: I say "wished for" because, however desirable it may be that the rate of increase in population should diminish, it could not be at all for the good of the body politic that large numbers of the population should be malaria-stricken. Such persons should not be permitted to propagate.

273. Rice and ragi in Ganjam, and ragi or cholam in the other districts.

274. Where they can get it, three meals a day are eaten. The evening meal will always be a hot meal. The other meals are what is left from the evening. When they can get it, they will always eat until a feeling of repletion follows. It may be said that 80 tolas of grain will be the average consumption of an adult, apart from chatnis and vegetables. The upper classes, Brahmans especially, eat rice. Some dholl will also be eaten. The richer classes will add ghee. I can give an interesting result of a practical experiment, made under European management, in a technical school where the boys are boarded. Different rations were tried, and the boys found to fall off in condition. The rations given below were found necessary to keep them in working condition, the work being, besides study, athletics and active

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trade employments, such as carpentering, blacksmith's work, etc.:—

Adult—Boys of 17 years and upwards—

Morning—A gruel consisting of 5 (five) oz. of ragi and 1 (one) oz. of rice.

Noon—A thick porridge made of 10 (ten) oz. of ragi and 2 (two) oz. of rice.

Night—13 (thirteen) oz. of rice.

Boys of 9 years to 14—

Morning—Gruel made of 3½ (three and a half) oz. of ragi and 1 (one) oz. of rice.

Noon—Porridge made of 7 (seven) oz. of ragi and 2 (two) oz. of rice.

Night—8½ (eight and a half) oz. of rice.

Besides this they got—

Vegetables—at 1 (one) pie each.

Meat—at 2 (two) pies each, and

Dholl—1 (one) oz. each, in addition to curry stuff consisting of chillis, onions, spices and tamarind, + 1¼ (one and a quarter) oz. of salt each. When vegetables are not available, each boy gets 4 (four) oz. of dholl daily. The diet is not, perhaps, in the exact scientific proportions necessary; but it is a fair diet, and found to be absolutely necessary to keep growing, working, boys in health.

275, 276, 277. They may substitute thenai (*Setaria Italica*), sámai (*Panicum miliare*), kambu (*Pennisetum typhoideum*) and horse-gram (*Dolichos biflorus*). Green-gram (*Phaseolus mungo*) and black-gram (*Phaseolus mungo* var *radiatus*) are not used as sole constituents of diets. I should say that, amongst grains to which they are not accustomed, ragi (*Eleusine Coracana*) is the one most commonly objected to, and naturally, for its preparation is an art. The excuses to the use of unusual grains are various, but may be all summed up in the phrase "it does not agree with my body." The objection to ragi, among those not accustomed to it, is one not to be despised, for it took our Jail departments years to grasp the peculiarities of this grain, and the need for careful preparation. There is a general longing for rice, and all will eat it, more or less, when they can get it. When the prices of dry grains approximate at all to that of rice, the workers are likely to resort to the latter: it is easily prepared—no small matter after a hard day's work—and a smaller quantity will produce a feeling of repletion.

278. The ration usually given was cholam or ragi. Weak cases got rice, under medical officer's orders.

279. Two meals a day. Each meal was supposed to be half the day's ration.

280. There were no complaints generally against the ration under section 122. The sickly people always ask for rice. When the D ration was substituted for that under section 122, there were complaints that it was insufficient. It could not be argued from this that the ration under section 122 was sufficient. I do not say that it was insufficient, but, as the recipients of relief in kitchens were generally the waifs and strays of rural society, they were generally satisfied with the quantity given, as they were not—as a rule—equal to eating a larger ration.

281. See diagram III appended to the article on vital statistics in the Famine Report.

282. The high prices were due to legitimate trade operations, which are—especially when extended over so large an area of country—a barometer on which Government may infallibly rely. Here and there there may be some holding up, but, generally speaking, the merchants buy to sell. I wish to point out that the merchant and the ryot are not on an equal footing as to holding up of stocks. The ryot has his granaries and underground pits, where grain—or some grains—will keep for years. The merchant gets his grain in sacks, and, what between weevils and rats, he does not hold it up longer than what a fair trade speculation would justify. I do not think that all parts of the country had stocks, and, had the rains of November 1896 not fallen, and had, thereby, six to eight more districts been distressed, I believe that we would have had to depend on Burma and Calcutta as in 1877. It is notorious that the Deccan, as a whole, does not grow grain enough for its own consumption.

283. I don't think that the fall of silver has had anything to do with spasmodic variations in prices, but I think it must have a general tendency to cause a rise in prices. I think 20 years is too short a period to consider. There has been a sensible rise in the general level of prices since the triennium, 1881—83; and it is unlikely that prices will again go back to the 1881—83 rates, as the rise was in part due to the general levelling up of prices owing to improved communications.

233-A. Prices in the adjoining non-affected districts were from 30 to 50 per cent. cheaper than in the affected districts.

284. Yes. In some places there was a want of activity in the grain trade, which baffled enquiry, but, generally speaking, the market met the demand fairly and fully, excepting Ganjam. This is a backward tract, and it was specially in ragi that the stock ran out. The railway has only recently come to that district, and the merchants had not got accustomed to new means of communications. They would have to get their supplies partly from the Bengal side and, prior to the railway, their communications with that side had been necessarily few. Trade relations had, in fact, not been fully established, and this, I think, is partly the cause why the merchants were behindhand; on the other hand, the people of Ganjam are backward and "casual." They are likely to progress rapidly in future.

285. Generally speaking, yes. There would always be some variation between prices in different villages even of the same taluk, but the variation would not be likely to be more than a measure in the rupee. No rates were quoted for condiments, etc., and practically everything rose in price. The following extract from my report on prices in Jammalamadugu in June 1897 will be interesting:—

"It is not only fodder and food-grains which have risen in value, but all articles of consumption, except salt. Prices in Jammalamadugu have risen as follows:—

Dholl from 12 to 4½ local measures per rupee.

Green gram from 12 to 4 local measures per rupee.

Bengal gram from 12 to 4 local measures per rupee.

Wheat from 12 to 4 local measures per rupee.

Horse gram from 16 to 8 local measures per rupee.

Ulundu from 8 to 4 local measures per rupee.

Coriander from 32 to 4 local measures per rupee.

Castor oil from 16 seers of 20 tolas to 7 seers per rupee.

Gingelly-oil from 8 seers of 20 tolas to 3¾ seers per rupee.

Tamarind from As. 8 to R1-6-0 for one maund of 48 seers of 20 tolas.

Chillis from R1-2-0 to R4-8-0 for one maund of 48 seers of 20 tolas.

Ghee from 6½ seers to 4½ seers per rupee.

Jaggery from Re. 1 to R1-14-0 per maund.

Cotton seed from As. 8 to As. 12-9 per maund.

Cholam-fodder from R3 to R20 per bandy-load."

286. Yes.

287. Yes and No. From the actual distressed tracts there would be little export that was not through export *i.e.*, brought first from, say, Mysore, and then sent on. Export to other places never took place owing to want of local capital. The Famine Report, paragraph 13, touches on this point.

288. Money was made and lost. There had, no doubt, been purchases for a rise, especially in and before November, but the rains of November upset all the calculations. One dealer committed suicide in consequence of his losses. After the November rains there was a marked absence of what might be properly termed speculative buying. Of course all buying is, in a sense, speculative; but the buying after November was a genuine trade operation. The classes who made and lost money were the regular native grain dealers. The European firms had no share in these transactions.

289. I cannot answer this fully. The grain dealers keep their grain in bags, not in pits. They had reasonable stocks, as justified by the demand, throughout. There was no actual depletion, nor could it be said that any of their stores were unopened, for, though bags may be kept in a godown, their godowns would be resorted to daily for daily transactions.

290. Yes. Many had such stocks, but the many were, compared with the mass of the cultivators, few. Their stores may be regarded as non-existent for purposes of trade and for meeting famine demand. The large ryots shut up at once when famine comes, as there is no foreseeing how long it will last, and, in the recent famine, the general impression was that famine had set in, and would last up to the end of the century. Ryots were not tempted by prices treble the normal rates, but those who refused to sell at 10 measures opened their stores when prices fell to near 20

measures per rupee. This for the Deccan. The same is true of the Circars. As to Bhadrachalam, the agency tract there is inhabited by Telugas and Reddies, who are to an extent intruders from the plains, and cling to the river banks. The interior is inhabited by the Kois mostly. The Riparian villagers are comparatively well-to-do, and had good stocks of grain, and, except the Panchamas amongst them, did not suffer. They, however, absolutely refused to put their stocks on the market, and, had it not been for the courage of the Collector, who imported without orders, there would have been a catastrophe. Partically no one but the Collector could, at the time, have imported, as grain could be thrown in by steamers only, and the Rajahmundry merchants could not command them. Some mistakes and shortcomings there were in relief administration in Gódávari, but I cannot withhold my tribute of admiration for the courage shown by the Collector in taking the bull by the horns, and importing grain in defiance of all precedent. He could not have certainly counted on his action being supported, as it was. It is not every officer who would have faced the responsibility.

291. The cultivators were not selling. Of course those who did sell would have to allow for the difference between the sellers' and the buyers' prices, but this, owing to competition, would not be an unreasonable margin. Nothing is more remarkable than the net-work of trade between the different tracts of India. Railways and Telegraphs, and the English language, have brought all India into one basket. How the dealers of Madura and Tinnevelly and Mysore came to know the dealers of Agra and Delhi, as well as of Sholapur and Bijapur, is a mystery which would be worth study. All India now suffers, or prospers, as a single being. The last twenty years have completely knit up the previously severed parts. This is a change which may have very grave and important results in another direction.

292. There is no reason to believe that they were not. Allowance would have to be made for railway transit charge over great distances. The Board published information on this subject at regular intervals, showing exactly at what prices export to different foreign places was possible, and trade no doubt profited by the information.

293. Professional grain dealers do not store grain in pits. Ryots do so, but it is doubted whether they hold up stocks to the same extent as formerly—*vide* paragraph 43 of the famine report. High prices and the facilities of modern transport tend to produce this result.

294. Yes—to both queries.

295. It would not be possible to answer this question fully. None of the larger landholders came on relief. Many petty holders did so. The Revenue Settlement is supposed to take nearly half of the net produce of the land. It does not really take so much, but, for the present purpose, let us suppose that it does. The 5 and 10 rupees pattadars are numbered by tens of thousands. If therefore a man's whole net share of the produce is only R5 or R10 for a year, and, if in a famine year, he has not even got back his seed-corn, would it not be wonderful if many of such ryots did not come on relief? It would be a very bad policy which would prevent them from coming on relief, or strip them to the bone before so allowing them; and yet this policy is not without its supporters. There are few officials who know the gradual srtuggles by which the agricultural labourer emerges into the ryot class. There is a universal thirst to own some, if it be only a little, land. Perhaps as payment for grazing the cattle of richer ryots, or by saving or by borrowing, the poor labourer gets a little calf. This is at once a little god in the family. The women pet it, the children play with it, all stint for it. They give it some high-sounding name, such as Chengalráyan. Little tots, of eighteen months, play the grown up, and shout at it and drive it with tiny twigs for goads. The household go to great lengths to get food for it, and, as it grows, its training takes up much time. If the labourer has two of them, they will be linked together by a figure-of-eight rope, and taught to walk side by side. Anthrax, rinderpest, red water and many other cattle complaints often come, and upset the calculation of years. Supposing the cattle to grow to working years, there is the difficulty of getting a piece of land. All the good land is occupied. All kinds of difficulties beset the would-be ryot, especially if he be a Panchama, the higher castes uniting to keep him in slavery. Perhaps he can only get land as an under-tenant, on the *wáram*, or sharing system. This is not promising from the outset. Then he borrows a plough, and his seed-corn, and works, and watches, and waits, night and day for months. His crop is probably already mortgaged to the village Chetty, or to his landlord. Then some bad seasons, one or more, and the poorer lands feel them most. The crop yields nothing; credit is exhausted; cattle are not saleable, except at nominal prices. The owner will spend whole days in distant jungles to gather some burnt-up sour thatching grass to keep life in the poor beasts. He cannot maintain his family, and the ryots want no labour. He sends his family to the relief works, or perhaps he goes himself. Then comes the "skin them to the bone" official, and either drives them from the work, or girds at them as not destitute, and so the parrot-cry goes round that ryots, who are not destitute, are on relief. If self-help, and self-denial, and the ambition to rise in the social scale, are virtues to be cherished, then the policy which would make such persons sell their little all, before permitting them to earn the scanty famine wage, is a policy which cannot be too severely condemned.

296. To the agricultural labouring class, the Panchamas, Madigus (Chamars) and poor Musalmans.

297. To want of money? In the effected tracts—of the Deccan especially—non-agricultural employment of labour is so small an item that it may be neglected. Even this, however, did fall off, *e.g.*, the cotton presses would require less labour when the cotton crop itself was more or less a failure.

298. No. Except the wage of domestic servants, who can always put the screw on their masters. The reason is simple as any of the laws of political economy. The demand for employment was greater than usual, and the demand for labour less. The employers are men of business, not philanthropists, and regulate wages by the market price of labour. The great standard of price for labour would, in such times, be the price which Government paid for it, and the tendency amongst outside employers of labour would be to get labour as cheaply as possible.

299. I have made no observation on the subject, and I am not sure that I understand the question.

300. I can make the comparison, but I cannot draw any valuable conclusion. I would say that the resisting power of the people is very much what it was 20 years ago. The recent famine was less severe than that of 1876-78, and much more severe than that of 1891-92. A very important factor in resisting famine, or rather in resisting panic, is the belief, now rightly or wrongly engrained in the people, that Government will always come to their help.

301. They are decidedly more averse from going to kitchens than in 1876-78. I have touched on this before. They are no more or less ready to go to relief works than before.

302. No. We did not drive them to this. There was, however, a considerable amount of sale of gold ornaments in Ganjam, so much so that the price of gold fell in consequence—see page 37 of the Famine Report, Volume II. Cattle were sold to a considerable extent at what may be called nominal prices. More could not be sold, as purchasers could not feed the beasts. There was no evidence that the fall in silver made the people reluctant to sell silver jewellery. There is very little of this in the Deccan. There was a fair amount of gold jewellery in Vizagapatam, and more still in Ganjám. As for the mass of people on relief, they had, practically, nothing which was saleable.

303. No. Trade needed no stimulus except in Ganjám and in Bhadrachalam. In the latter the dealer could not import owing to the natural features of the place.

304. Our relief system was, with a trifling exception in Ganjám, conducted solely on the dry grains.

305. I made enquiries, with special reference to ragi, on this point early in the famine, and leading European merchants were even unable to name any other country from which it could be imported. It seemed, strange to say, that the grain was known in Germany, which I can hardly believe, as I know Germany itself better than England; and it was suggested that Turkey might supply, but, as a fact, no one knew anything definite.

For the north of India, wheat could come from America Russia, Argentina or Australia. I doubt if the American maize is the same as our staples. Indian corn is certainly not our Deccan cholam. I have no idea how our dry grain-eater would take to the Indian maize of America. I remember distributing the latter myself in the famine of 1848 in Ireland. The people did not like it, and said that they did not know what to do with it, or how to cook it. I can hardly conceive it being ever necessary to import from such distant countries, and, if a catastrophe which, to that end, must involve all India, were to come, I feel sure that the European firms would be equal to meeting it, though, possibly, they might want some stimulus, or even some guarantee, from Government at the

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beginning. The arguments for and against Government direct action in the matter of importing grain are arguments which I need not recapitulate.

These questions are intended for Chamber of Commerce Experts. I only give a few notes regarding them.

306. Figures of sea-borne trade for the year just past are not yet to hand.

307. I do not know what "other commodities" are referred to.

308. Import of food-grains was stimulated.

309. In this Presidency the prices have, on the whole, risen of late years, and the periodical recurrence of distress prevents the prices from going down to their old level. The rise in prices of late years was as follows:—

Average of five years ending	Rice.	Cholam.	Ragi.	Cumbu.
1874	16·1	28·4	31·1	28·6
1887-88	14·9	27·4	29·1	26·4
1896-97	12·0	20·7	22·9	21·2

310. The influence suggested is probable, but as yet it is obscure. It would be bound to be felt in time.

311. I should say not. Really, except rice for manufacturing purposes, I do not think that this Presidency makes any food-grain export. The wheat exports of the north-west may tell in the direction suggested.

312. In ordinary years the imports by sea are small, about 150,000 tons, and more than this quantity is generally exported.

313. I should say that, year by year, the trade falls more and more into native hands.

314. Imports are chiefly rice from Burma. The recent famine was fought almost entirely on the dry grains. The only district exclusively depending on wet grain imports is Malabar.

* * * * *

316. There were good stocks in Mysore, and in the southern Tamil districts. There was no general impression on the subject, but had the South-West monsoon completely failed, I think that the stocks remaining would have given out or, so far as the ryots have them, been held up, and we would have been thrown on rice only, as in 1877-78.

317. I have answered this under question 288 *supra*.

318 to 345. These questions are evidently intended for Calcutta experts only.

Mr. W. C. DeMorgan.

Written Statement of Evidence by MR. W. C. DEMORGAN, *Superintending Engineer, I Circle, dated 12th February 1898.*

The Ganjam District has always been subject to famine. There was the great famine of 1866, another in 1877, again in 1889, and lastly the distress in 1896-97 which has only just subsided. The conditions of the district are peculiar, and it has been recognised generally that special allowances should be made for these conditions. Too much stress has been, in my opinion, laid on these conditions. The Uriyas, no doubt, are a race very different from any other in the Madras Presidency, but on the broad lines which should guide measures in a period of general distress, there is no reason why they should receive any special consideration. The fact that there have been one or two famines principally confined to Orissa and Ganjam has had a demoralising influence on the people. After the 1866 famine, those who had accepted Government relief were outcasted. Consequently in the next famine it was difficult to induce the Uriya to accept relief at all. I was in Ganjam in 1889 and saw how difficult it was to induce persons unfit for work to come to the kitchens and how their reluctance was based on the fear instilled into them by the Brahmins and heads of castes.

2. The Uriya is a very shrewd and very obstinate individual. The tenderness of Government towards their prejudices was detected at once, and its value recognized. It was soon found out that the Uriya could not or would not go to works at a distance, that he would not be hutted, and consequently that to meet his particular case, works must be started within easy reach of villages. It is needless to say that the Uriya fell in thoroughly with this view of his case, and when any attempt was made to concentrate works, his natural obstinacy came in. The result was that the Public Works had charge (roughly speaking) at one time of a maximum of 38,000 to 40,000 coolies divided over 55 to 60 works. The maximum on one work at any time was only about 3,500.

3. The cause of the late famine was, generally speaking, the failure of the north-east monsoon of 1896 and consequent drying up of tanks, and the subsequent failure of light rains in the early part of 1897, whereby the dry crop suffered. Ganjam is called "the granary of the world," and in a good year, no doubt, the crop of rice is more abundant, and of a very fine quality, for which there is a very large export demand. Much however depends on chance, as the Uriya insists on planting highlands which depend entirely on rainfall at particular periods with rice To the eye of a casual observer, Ganjam, particularly in the north part, would nine times out of ten be described as a dry crop district with two fine sources for rice irrigation, *viz.*, the Rushikulya system and the Languliya and Vamsadhara River Channels. The principal dry crop is ragi.

4. Signs of distress were first observed in the Chicacole taluk in Takkali and Paltalagam Khandams. There was certain earthwork (channel clearance) and embankment available as employment, and a test was tried. The people with their instinctive dread of famine regulations declined to respond, but intimated that they wished for work on piece-work system, and under these terms, the work was proceeded with. By timely rain, the condition of affairs was ameliorated and the necessity for actual relief in this part of the district postponed.

5. Serious distress first appeared in the Atagadda and Kallikota taluqs towards the middle of April and relief works were opened in rapid succession. In May there were about 20 works in progress in the Berhampore Sub-division.

6. A task table was framed on which all tasks were based and alterations were made after discussion between the Executive Engineer and the Collector, and it may be said that these discussions never led to any friction. It must be admitted that the table was tentative, but worked out in very great *detail*. The detail was unnecessary, as it was found that the numerous refinements could not be carried out in practice, and generally speaking the limits between which the tasks varied was extremely small. It is perfectly certain that the tasks in the table erred on the side of leniency; in fact at the time that the table was framed; the line of policy indicated was one of extreme leniency—in my opinion of undue leniency. At the same time the tasks prescribed in the Madras Famine Code are in my opinion too high.

6*a*. Works were started on the task system. It was not until quite the end of the distress that the intermediate piece-work system was attempted. Distress was so nearly at an end that the system did not have a fair trial, but naturally after the very liberal task system, the labourers failed to appreciate it and rapidly left the works.

7. In my opinion Mr. Higham's classification of relief works should be followed; and it should be an invariable rule that if distress is declared and relief necessary, work should be commenced on the ordinary contract system, piece-work system, or combinations of the two, and so work up to *task-work* pure and simple. It is perfectly obvious that any attempt to work backwards from task-work to work conducted on the piece-work systems must be a failure. Consider task-work as daily labour, and daily labour lightened by various rules and restrictions, all of which are in favour of the labourer and against Government interest, and recognise that the labourer is perfectly well aware that work must be found for him, and that his interests are jealously watched and guarded, and it is no wonder that he will use every endeavour to avoid any system that involves payment by results.

8. I should commence all work on the piece-work system. The value of each cubic yard, foot or other measurement settled beforehand. The people should be allowed to form their own gangs, and one of them selected by the gang to receive payments after measurement of the work, which should be made at first as frequently as possible, and afterwards at longer intervals, as the prosperity of the labourers increased. The gangs would naturally be of a very mixed description. As a rule people of the same village, and of the same family, would find their way into the same gangs, and there would be a number of old, infirm or crippled persons who in ordinary times subsist on charity who would not find a place. Such persons should not in my opinion be em-

ployed on works at all. They should receive gratuitous relief under the orders of the Revenue Department.

9. The limited experience of the Ganjam famine has to my mind proved the futility of attempting to employ such persons on works, however low they may be classed, or however much their task decreased.

10. To prevent a large increase on the numbers on gratuitous relief, such persons were in Ganjam set a nominal task which meant they might or might not do anything according to their inclination and that in any case they received a minimum wage, which was more than they used to get under ordinary circumstances. The result may be anticipated, although occasionally from sheer ennui they did some work.

11. In framing estimates for famine works which are to be conducted on the piece-work system, it must be recollected that rates should be higher than ordinary rates to cover the differences between the different persons in gangs. I am able to give my personal experience of the working of a relief work on the piece-work system.

12. In 1889, when distress was declared imminent in Ganjam, I was sent up on emergency to start the excavation of the Ganjam-Gopalpur Canal, the plans and estimates for which I had prepared some 5 years previously. I had one Conductor, who had been with me on the investigation of the project, and a supervisor. For clerks, etc., I was allowed to make my own arrangements. The great point was to get the work started, and so put money into the market without delay, as it was an easy line of country, and as I had been there before I had very little difficulty in doing so. Part of the canal was set out and labour came in the second day after my arrival at Chahapore. Labour flowed in rapidly, and in 3 weeks, 10,000 coolies were at work. The Code of those days allowed much greater latitude for personal action than the Madras Code under which the late famine was conducted. Had it not been so, it would have been impossible to make payments, take measurements and observe regulations with the staff at my disposal. Cash payments were out of the question; the best that could be done was payment on measurements by a cheque. The people were asked to form gangs and to select a representative in whose name the cheque should be drawn. They knew that they would receive payment by measurement and also the rate for each yard with allowance for lead and lift. At first, as might be expected, it was hard work drawing out cheques for the number of gangs, and had my clerical establishment been greater, cash payments might have been made. Within 10 days, however, the people began to amalgamate and the small gangs merged into larger, until within three months payments were made to 8 to 12 representative men. During that time there was never a complaint. The measurements were unquestionable, the rate was known, and the labourers were satisfied. As soon as the work had reached a point at which it became laborious, the workpeople began to leave, and the life of the work was a short one. In fact, it was recognised from the commencement that it was purely a work on which employment might be found on an emergency, and that the possibility of completing it was very doubtful. Such was proved to be the case, but this in no wise affects the principle under which the work was carried out.

13. The labourers came from a maximum distance of 20 miles. They came or went as they pleased, and no arrangements were made for hutting them. They looked after themselves. There was a special civilian officer on the work who saw that the bazaar supplied what was wanted; there were two very good hospitals (which as far as I can recollect were never occupied), and very careful arrangements were made to prevent any pollution of the drinking water-supply, and to enforce reasonable sanitary rules.

14. That the work never came to any practicable termination was of course to be expected, as it had already been condemned by an expert. That is outside the question regarding the advisability of constructing it as a means of alleviating distress. This end was well served; the conditions under which the work was carried out were satisfactory, and the management was left solely in the hands of the Public Works Department officer in charge, between whom and the Collector in charge, Mr. J. Horsfall, C.I.E., the most cordial relations existed.

15. It must be pointed out that the estimate was framed simply and solely to meet famine exigency, that is to say, the initial rate which was for excavation in pure sand was annas 1½ per cubic yard and the rates allowing for lift and lead increased proportionately as excavation was deepened. The ordinary contract initial rate would be 9 pies per cubic yard. The points to which I wish to call attention are:— *Mr. W. C. DeMorgan.*

1. The advantage of the present system.
2. The desirability of giving the Public Works Department Officer in charge absolute independence as regards the conduct of his works.

16. Another point in favour of piece-work against task or daily labour is that piece-work may be executed at night. Task-work from its conditions must be done by day. As it generally happens that relief works are in progress in the hottest time of the year, this is a very important consideration. On the Ganjam-Gopalpore canal referred to above, the greater part of the work after March was done at night; the same in the day time was too hot for the labourer's feet.

17. The advantages of piece-work over task-work as regards facility for making payments for work done are so great as to require no remarks.

18. Any plan, however, which makes the head of a village the petty contractor, or which nominates particular persons as eligible for accepting piece-work, and making the payments to such persons, should, in my opinion, be avoided. The selection of persons to receive payments should be made by the gangs concerned. Naturally the work will gradually centre itself in the hands of a few more wealthy, or more energetic individuals. There appears to be no objection to this. If the measurements are correctly made and the bills fairly prepared, the labourer will certainly receive fair treatment.

19. In the famine of 1889 the Rushikulya Project afforded employment to persons in need of it in the Gumsur taluq and places bordering on it. The average on the works was about 4,000, and work was conducted on the same principle, *i.e.*, piece-work.

20. With reference to the distance test, it is worthy of remark that on the Ganjam-Gopalpur Canal the maximum distance from which people came for work was 20 miles. The majority were Telugas. The Uriyas went to Rushikulya works in Gumsur. No special arrangements were made for hutting: but, of course, every facility was given to the labourers to obtain what they wanted. Mr. Higham has so fully pointed out the malpractices that arise when allowance is made for distance, that I do not consider it necessary to say anything more. I fully agree with his conclusions.

21. *Classification.*—In the Ganjam district it may be broadly stated that nearly all those seeking relief (except helpless class, beggars, etc.) were classed as B. Classification appears to me to be the coax of the situation. The rule laid down is that those seeking relief *must* be given employment on relief works. Unless the conditions are so arranged that a man can only earn by performing the prescribed task sufficient to support himself, and that by distasteful and irksome toil, the result must invariably be the same. That is, that all the loafers and vagabonds of the neighbouring towns and villages will flock to works, and earn sufficient to purchase luxuries.

22. This was most remarkable on works in the neighbourhood of Berhampur. All servants out of employ, loafers, in fact, the dregs of the place, thronged the work. The task was light (breaking and conveying metal), fining by order was only to be inflicted under certain conditions, and the result was that the majority of the persons on the work, who had never been in actual want, enjoyed a really good time. The principle of classification also aided them. Logically they were classed as C; they could easily perform an A task: but could not logically be classed as A workers. As soon as they were classed as A, they left the work.

23. In my opinion the principle that all who come to relief works must be received is fallacious. It should be within the power of the officer in charge of the work to reject those who in his opinion are fit for work elsewhere.

24. It is not desirable to make relief works attractive. They should be regarded in the same way as the labourer at home regards the poor-house and work-house. In Ganjam they were distinctly attractive.

25. I do not think that the rural population are at all inclined to go on relief works if they can help it. But when a work is started in the neighbourhood of a large centre, special rules should be framed to avoid a condition noted in paragraph 22.

26. The classification into A, B, C, and D, is in my opinion cumbrous, and the fact that nearly the whole of the relief works in the Madras Presidency found their way into class B shows that it is unnecessary. From a professional point of view, Mr. Higham's classification into I, II and

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III is preferable ; but it may be remarked that classes I and II exclude nearly all the women.

27. Among the professional class in Ganjam and generally elsewhere, the carrying capacity of the woman nearly equals that of the man. In fact, in the long run the woman is probably the better carrying agent.

28. Mr. Higham's "special" class needs, I think, reconsideration and careful definition. Water-carriers need not be included in it, and *mates* in charge of gangs would, I take it, correspond to our head coolies, or gang mistries, who are the most objectionable employés on a relief work. I do not think that any special advantage can be gained by the re-classification. The Madras Code classification A, B, C, D would do very well, if the anomalies between the C and D class were removed, and the relation of the combined class to A and B established, *i.e.*, if the classification is made less cumbrous and more elastic. For purposes of payment, I think the Madras classification more convenient.

29. The Madras Code fixes the proportion as 1 man =2 women =4 children, making the child the unit. Of course this is only an approximation, and experience shows that it is not correct, particularly when stone-breaking is the task. My experience leads me to conclude that 1 man =1½ women =3 children, or 1 woman =2 children is much nearer the truth. Treating them as a class aside, children are very valuable working agents, but when mixed up in a gang their value is lost. Under proper management it is astonishing how much work can be got of children ; but the gang at work must be entirely composed of children.

30. In Ganjam, the relief works under the Public Works Department consisted entirely of—

(1) Earthwork in channels and tank embankments.

(2) Breaking metals for roads.

(3) Breaking ballast for East Coast Railway ballast.

(4) Constructing roads.

All the above classes are very suitable for relief work, and conducted on the piece-work principle would give very satisfactory results.

No. (1) is, of course, the most satisfactory, but unfortunately in most districts there is very little work obtainable under this head. In Ganjam, except for two or three channels under the Rushikulya Project, and a tank or two, no earthwork was available at all.

No. (2), metal breaking, is a very satisfactory form of relief work, provided that metal is required The situation where stone is procurable is generally dry and healthy. Shady work spots can generally be found for each gang, and it is easy to make general arrangements for the comfort of the labourer. The objection of course is that the Local Fund Department are, as a rule, not in a pecuniary condition to start new roads or to maintain them after they are started. And, it is a matter of time and chance whether or not they have at site the amount of metal they require for maintenance.

No. (3)—It was fortunate for Ganjam that the East Coast Railway required large amount of ballast for the line, and agreed on representation from the Collector to accept it from the Public Works Department on certain terms. The labour employed being famine labour, without the assistance of the railway it would have been impossible to find labour.

No. (4)—A small length of road (2 miles) was metalled and gravelled. Under efficient supervision there is no reason why this form of labour should not form an economic class of relief ; but the quantity of work done was too small to afford grounds for a satisfactory conclusion.

31. Having collected a large quantity of metal at quarry, the question of removal to road or railside arose. According to orders, *head* conveyance only was admissible, and it was very difficult to frame a suitable task. When the question was simply one of loading railway wagons in a siding from the upper level of a cutting with judicious supervision, a full day's work was easily exacted from the labourers ; when, however, distances had to be traversed (loaded and empty back), it was not easy to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. It is a misleading item, and one on which the task in the table was fixed too high.

32. The following experiment was tried :—

Head load for A class coolie =50 pounds.

Do. B „ 25% less =37·5 pounds.

1 c. ft. of granite carefully packed weighs 90 lbs.

1 ordinary packed cubic foot weighs 80 or 75 lbs.

Load for B class coolie $\frac{75}{37{\cdot}5} = {\cdot}5$ cubic foot.

„ for 1 unit or ½ man =½ cubic foot.

Say, that including stoppages, a child will travel 2½ miles or 20 furlongs per hour, or for a working day of nine hours, 180 furlongs, or 22·5 miles. This proved too high, and the speed was reduced to 2 miles per hour, in which case, the unit would walk 18 miles per day and carry 70 cubic feet per furlong per day. This also proved too high. By reducing the working hour per day to 8, the unit would have to carry ·58 cubic yards per furlong per day. This also proved too high, and actually the task performed was less than ·25 cubic yards. It is an unsatisfactory kind of task, which is not easily supervised and can hardly for obvious reasons be dealt with under the piece-work system. I consider that it should not find a place among relief measures.

33. In continuation of paragraph 30 the question naturally arises, how is work to be found to relieve the next famine? It is clear that had the East Coast Railway not been in a position to afford relief by accepting ballast from relief works there would have been nothing to fall back on, unless the Local Fund Department were burthened with a quality of material to pay for while their finances would be strained, and which they possibly would never require. If a supply of road material is not to involve loss, the material must be used at once. It is impossible to calculate the loss involved by the possession of a stock of material lying at roadside. The railway disposed of their ballast at once. In Ganjam the Rushikulya Project will never provide for famine labour and there are very few projects remaining on which any amount of labour could be employed. Such projects should be thoroughly investigated and sanctioned as soon as possible and the investigation must be conducted by a special staff under the Executive Engineer in charge of the Division. But I wish strongly to emphasise the point that as time goes on it will be more and more difficult to afford relief on detached works. Any project that may be sanctioned as "Protective" will require concentration of labour, and even of such projects there are very few.

34. *Wages.*—In the late famine in Ganjam, the wages of the woman calculated according to the proportions of grain at market rates per seer of 80 tolas, approached very close to the man's wage, the result being that the women on the work were in a very large majority. It is by no means easy to see how this can be rectified.

35. The coolie wage in Ganjam is low ; generally that of a man may be taken at annas two and that of a woman from 9 pie to one anna three pies. Among natives a part of the wage is generally paid in grain. In calculating the relief wages on the prices of grain, a man would frequently receive annas two three pies and the woman one anna nine pies, sometimes as much as annas two. Experts had calculated the quantity of grain, condiments, etc., required to support a man or a woman, and wages were calculated accordingly.

36. This appears logical, but is open to an objection. That a particular amount of grain is required to support the labourer is true ; also that he is enabled to earn enough to purchase that amount. In practice, however, does he do so? Certainly not. He spends his "mamool," as he would say on grain, and the balance on luxuries, toddy, arrack, beads for his wife, and tobacco for both. And the more he is paid the more he will spend on luxuries, still holding to his "mamool" quantity of grain. This is only natural ; but due regard should be paid to it in fixing rates.

37. The woman, therefore, earns as nearly a man's wage, sometimes quite a man's wage in ordinary years. Consequently the man stays at home, idles or goes about other work ; all the women are sent out to the works, and adding their wage to that of the dependants and children, earn enough to support the family and something over.

38. The presence of such a number of women on the work makes arrangement of tasks, etc., very difficult and has a decidedly demoralising effect. So long as the woman can earn enough, the man won't work ; besides, as the woman can earn nearly the same as the man, the male

amour propre is offended and he considers it beneath his dignity to work with the woman. So he remains idle. It is a pity, but it is a fact (at all events in Ganjam) and the only way to prevent it is to put a maximum on the wage a woman can earn, say not more than two-thirds of a man's wage.

39. Mr. Higham suggests that extra wages should be given for extra work. I do not see the necessity of this. Taking dependants, children, distance allowance, etc., into account, the labourer is more than well off. Besides, if the work is *task* and this is the only condition under which an *extra wage* is possible, it would be difficult to keep labourers from trying to work over hours and so payments would be delayed and confusion ensue. Of course, if work is "piece", the labourer can do as much as he pleases. Similarly wage should, I contend, be abolished.

40. Dependants should not be allowed on works. They should be handed over to an officer of the Revenue Department and kept separately in a hut or shelter, built for the purpose, and this they should not be allowed to leave during working hours.

41. Nursing mothers should not be admitted on task works. They do nothing and are in the way. They should be granted a minimum wage and kept in a shelter by themselves. If they go on piece-work, there is no objection. Their admittance is a matter for the other members of the gang to consider and decide on.

42. *Fining.*—The leniency shown at the commencement of the famine accounts in a great measure for the short outturn of work. As before stated, tasks were absurdly low and could easily have been performed. But the extraordinary restrictions as to fining intervened. The lower subordinates were afraid to fine and to save trouble either proposed reduction of task or altered the ganging. The coolies who were sharp enough when their own interests are concerned, saw this at once and came to the conclusion that the easiest plan was to idle, as in any case they would be safe. A minimum wage should be abolished, and fines enforced to meet the task.

43. To reduce the task is merely admitting that the tasks were framed carelessly or without sufficient knowledge. But this should not be the case. A task may be fixed too low or too high. In practice, it is mainly always the former. If that task is not performed, the proportionate fine should be inflicted. The experience of a week will show whether the failure to perform the task is wilful or not. If the latter, the matter would be examined and the task re-adjusted, always assuming that the engineer officer has sole and unquestionable charge of the work. If failure to perform the task is proved not to be *wilful*, the classification of the gang should be reduced, not the task.

44. *Payments.*—If works are conducted in task system, it may be necessary at the outset to make daily payments. There is no reason why daily payments should not be made on any work which is properly organised. Nevertheless, if the imminency of distress is recognised in time and due precautions taken to meet it, task-work and consequently daily payments should never become necessary. In any case, the paymaster should be an officer appointed by the Public Works Department and responsible to the officer immediately in charge of the work with an appeal to the Executive Engineer of the Division. Daily payments and task work should only be necessary at the end of a famine, and their necessity would tend to show that the measures of relief adopted at the outset had partially failed.

45. *Distance Test.*—This is a very important point especially in Ganjam, where it has been conceded that the Uriya will not leave his village and go into huts on works. I am inclined to think that the position assumed by the Uriya has not been subjected to a sufficiently right test. It is time that the idea that the Ganjam District and the Uriya are so different from other districts and natives is exploded. If proper hutting accommodation is provided on works, and no other means of relief afforded, the people of Ganjam will live on works readily enough. In the late famine no labourer resided on works although shelter was provided, but then there were many works within easy distance of villages. If the distance test was increased, and residence insisted on, the objections would speedily vanish. I have no data on the expense of hutting, but is certainly more expensive and troublesome. The amount of supervision would, however, be reduced, were the labour concentrated on large works; and certainly the works would be carried out better, and better results obtained.

46. *Subordinates.*—One of the greatest difficulties in Ganjam was the supply of subordinates. The number of works in progress was the principal cause. Not only were men of all kinds brought in from outside districts but officers from other departments were requisitioned. The difference between the different classes placed in charge was very marked. The best Public Works Department subordinates invariably made the best famine officers. Those who had done good work departmentally, did good work on famine, proved themselves the best organisers and obtained the best outturn of work. Those who had not been accustomed to handling labour, although in many cases good men in their own branches, did not do so well. And of course there was the usual number of parties who had taken posts because they wanted something to do belonging to no department, and therefore having nothing to lose. Nearly all of these were unsatisfactory officers. Great difficulty was experienced in procuring paymasters, as many were required. The paymaster should be selected by the Public Works Department and answerable only to Revenue Department officials. I know that the Collector of Ganjam agreed with me on this point. If it is conceded, a great deal of petty friction will be avoided.

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47. *Relation of Civil and Public Works Officers.*—It is laid down as an axiom that the Collector being responsible for the famine, must be responsible for everything in connection with the famine and consequently for the execution of works instituted in relief of famine. This is neither logical nor reasonable. The Collector is responsible for declaring his district in a state of distress and that being admitted, for deciding what measures are necessary for relief. In the latter duty is included the settlement of locality where works should be opened or closed. Having decided the locality and nature of the relief works to be opened and entrusted to the Public Works Department, the Collector's responsibility should end, until he declares that the works should be closed. For the proper organisation and management of relief works, the Public Works Department is solely responsible. The officer in charge is bound to receive all who are sent by the Civil authorities to the work, and to carry on the work subject to the rules prescribed by the Local Government in his department and under the Superintending Engineer of the Circle.

48. Supposing that an important Irrigation scheme in which the Collector was interested was in question and not a famine, provided that the Collector from his point, *viz.*, that the scheme is desirable and remunerative and funds are forthcoming, the necessary designs would be prepared, and work, if *sanctioned*, be commenced in the Public Works Department. The Collector's responsibility ceases then, and so it should do in the case of a work which has been started because distress demanded it. I am fully with Mr. Higham in his recommendation (*a*).

49. The Collector should be kept fully informed of all that is going on and his opinion and advice asked on all matters necessary, but the organisation and arrangement of the work should be in the hands of the Executive Engineer, alone. The task should be fixed by the Executive Engineer fines inflicted by his orders and without question, the classing, ganging and re-ganging done on his authority, and the Public Works Department are to be held responsible for the economic and satisfactory conduct of the work. I do not consider that the Collector or anybody other than the Superintending Engineer should issue orders directly on the work. In this I differ from Mr. Higham.

50. Any officer of the Public Works Department of a few years' standing who has been employed on a fair number of works and has taken an intelligent interest in his profession must be in a far better position to judge of the capabilities of the labourers and the best means for organising them, so as to get the best result compatible with their condition, than any Collector or Revenue officer, whatever their length of service. A Collector would be very much surprised were the Executive Engineer of his Division to criticize his settlement of jammabandi claims in a year of scarcity, and would probably and justly resent the interference, and seeing that the Executive Engineer's business is purely technical and requires a special training, he has a very distinct ground of complaint if the Collector interferes with or criticises his work.

51. Mr. Higham proposes that a special Civil officer should be nominated by the Civil Department on all large works. I think this an excellent proposal. I may add that when I was in charge of the Ganjam-Gopalpur canal, a Civil officer was appointed in a very similar capacity to that suggested by Mr. Higham and the arrangement worked admirably.

52. Small relief works and others that do not require professional supervision, should entirely be in charge of the

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Collector and Revenue officers. If the Collector wants professional advice, he should ask it from the Executive Engineer who is of course bound to give it.

53. In Resolution G. O. No. 958 of 16th November 1897 it is written :—" The Collector of the district should exercise general supervision over all works, as over all other arrangements, for giving relief within his district, and should be responsible to Government for their efficiency. Pending reference to Government or other superior authorities, his decision should be accepted by the Public Works officer in all matters relating to the task and wage of the people employed, as well as in opening or closing works and generally in everything, except arrangements of a purely technical nature."

54. I submit that this order is indefinite. As regards the wage, there can be no question, as the Collector has already settled it; as regards the task, he is not in as good a position to judge as the Executive Engineer, and finally a clear definition should be given of what is a matter of a " merely technical nature ".

55. I suggest that the following points should be left entirely to the Public Works Department's officer after it has once been settled by the Collector that work is required at the particular spot :—

(i) Classification.
(ii) Ganging.
(iii) Tasking.
(iv) Regulation of wages.
(v) Measuring up work.
(vi) Fining.
(vii) Water-supply.
(viii) Hutting.
(ix) Kitchens in connection with works when hutting is necessary.
(x) Provision and custody of tools.
(xi) Provision of funds and establishment for work.

56. In the late famine in Ganjam, the relations between the Collector and Public Works Department were always most cordial and no serious disagreement arose. But it should be recognised that absence of friction was due to the fact we tacitly decided from the outset that friction was undesirable and could not possibly be advantageous. The policy and procedure to be observed were laid down; the proper course was obviously to fall in with them, and, if necessary, dissent after the distress was over.

57. In my opinion, it is not between the Collector and the Executive Engineer of the division that friction is likely to occur. My experience is that the trouble always arises between the subordinate officers of the departments. If Revenue officers, even divisional officers are allowed to give orders on works and criticise the arrangements made by the Public Works Department, it is impossible to maintain discipline. There can be no dual control; and no body is more fully aware of this than the relief worker who thoroughly understands the advantage of having two sets of masters. Subordinate native officers both Revenue and Public Works Departments, are very sensitive of their dignity and very ready to squabble about trifles. It is impossible to make them understand the give-and-take system for the good of one common object. By diminishing the channels of appeal the quantity of work turned out will be increased and discipline more easily maintained. I deprecate inspections of works by officers other than those of the Public Works Department. It is sometimes urged in favour of frequent inspections by various officers, that irregularities in upkeep of muster-rolls, false returns of dependants, etc., are more likely to be detected. This may possibly be the case; but if the work is properly organised and the Public Works Department officers are as active as they should be, such petty irregularities should be easily detected. Allowing, however, that a certain number of false entries are detected, will this compensate for the delay caused by taking the gang away from the work, and getting it back to work again, to say nothing of the time lost in listening to complaints of grievances which are generally imaginary. A gang of coolies are very like a class of school boys and thoroughly understand the principle of " Sparring for time ".

58. The Collector having decided that a relief work is necessary in a particular part of the district, and if there is a choice of works, having decided which is most suitable, may very well leave the entire conduct of the work in the hands of the Public Works Department until such time as he decides that it should be closed. The Public Works Department should be held responsible for the proper organisation and prosecution of the work, and any interference with them is unnecessary and undesirable. Of course if the piece-work system or intermediate system is in force, the necessity for inspection is further reduced.

59. On the broad principles of Famine Administration, I am completely with Mr. Higham.

60. The experience gained from famine in Ganjam is limited as compared with what might be gathered in the Deccan. The fact is that distress was recognised so early and measures of relief taken so promptly that the people never had an opportunity of falling off in condition. The Surgeon-General inspected a relief work at Ankoli near Berhampore with me. There were over 1,000 workers and the percentage of nursing mothers was very large. Among all the babies he remarked that only one could be called a famine child, and even the condition of that child might be possibly due to parentage and not to want.

61. As regards grain distribution the Collector should be permitted to purchase in the best markets and establish depôts whence rice might be distributed. As it stands, Government have to purchase from the bunnias, who keep up the price of grain and practically rule the prices of the district. Even now prices have fallen little below scarcity rates, as the bunnias are speculating on scarcity down south, and are not disposed to sell: and this will always be the case unless measures are taken to affect the local markets.

Written Statement of Evidence by the Hon'ble P. RAJARATHNA MUDALIYAR, *Diwan Bahadur, Inspector General of Registration, dated 27th March 1898.*

The Hon'ble P. Rajaratha Mudaliyar.

The points on which my written evidence has been called for are summarised in paragraph 4 of Mr. McIntosh's letter of the 13th January 1898, printed in G. O. No. 47-Revenue, dated 26th idem. They are :—

(*a*) Departures from the prescriptions of the Madras Famine Code which have occurred in the Presidency during the recent famine.

(*b*) Degree of success which has attended the measures adopted, considered primarily with regard to the relief of distress and the saving of human life, and secondarily with regard to economy.

(*c*) Advice as to the measures and methods of working which seem likely to prove most effective in future in these two respects.

(*d*) Other recommendations or opinions thought likely to be useful in future famines.

2. The questions practically open up a wide field for discussion, and I much regret that the time at my disposal is not sufficient to enable me to furnish as complete a reply as I should wish. I also labour under the disadvantage that I have not had actual experience of the recent famine (having left the Board in July 1896) and cannot therefore state from personal knowledge in what respects the provisions of the Madras Famine Code (prepared after the famine of 1891-92) were found to be really defective or were widely departed from. I shall therefore confine myself to a few general observations suggested by a perusal of the reports published by the Famine Department and by the results of my experience gained in various capacities during the famine of 1866, 1876-78, and 1891-92.

3. One important point on which there has been a difference of opinion and which requires to be definitely settled is whether any restriction shall be placed on the indiscriminate admission of applicants for relief. The fundamental principle of all State relief is that it shall be given to all who are in *actual need*, that is to say, to all who would, in the absence of their ordinary means of livelihood, be in danger of starvation, if not relieved by the State. Following this principle, pattadars and others who were known to have some resources to enable them to tide over the distress were generally excluded from relief works in all previous famines.

Whether any restriction should be placed on the admission of persons on relief works.

Paragraph 110 of the Famine Commission Report.

When the distress deepened and famine became widespread and acute, the restrictions were relaxed at the discretion of the relief officer. During the recent famine, however, no attempt was made to enforce such a restriction, and all who sought relief, whether rich or poor, were freely admitted "without question," from the very outset of the distress. The Tahsildars and Deputy Collectors whom I met in the course of my inspection of the Sub-Registry offices in the Kurnool and Bellary districts in January 1897 frankly admitted that, if they were given the discretion, they would have rejected a large proportion of the coolies from the works. I brought the fact to the notice of the Acting Collectors of Kurnool and Bellary and to the Famine Department, but was told that the Famine Code did not contemplate the exclusion from relief works of any one who was willing to submit to the wages and tasks imposed by the Code.

4. The only section in the Madras Famine Code which refers to this subject is section 93. The section lays down that "all persons applying for work, however weakly, etc.", shall be received by the officer in charge; but this is simply a direction to the officer in charge not to exclude weakly persons, etc., and cannot be construed as a direction to admit all who seek admission, whether rich or poor.

It is generally assumed that the exaction of a rigorous task, coupled with the lowness of the famine wages, must tend to keep off from the works all persons who have not been reduced to much suffering and distress, but a careful examination of the records of famine operations during the past thirty years will show that the task actually exacted from famine labourers has, in the majority of cases, fallen far short of reasonable expectations. Even during the recent famine campaign which was conducted under the most favourable circumstances, the outturn of work was, I understand, considered to be far from satisfactory. When thousands and tens of thousands of persons of all classes and conditions in life flock to the relief works, it is always difficult, if not impossible, with the limited supervising staff that will be available, to exact a fair task from one and all who seek admission. It is generally task-work that is necessarily resorted to on such occasions, and as payment of the wages on such works is regulated not by piece-work but by the amount of task turned out collectively by the whole gang, and fining is not generally allowed to be inflicted beyond a certain limit, it very frequently happens that the task actually exacted fails to act as a deterrent against persons in easy circumstances flocking to the nearest works on the chance of getting at least the minimum wage for attending the works for a few hours and doing what is nothing more than a nominal task. I can speak from experience that these persons often prove a drag on the more hardworking members of the gang and profit at their expense. Considering, therefore, the known difficulty that exists, and must always exist, in enforcing a proper task, I venture to think that some discretionary power might well be vested in Collectors, their Divisional officers and Tahsildars, to exclude from relief works, at least during the early stages of the famine, persons who may be found on enquiry to possess sufficient resources to enable them to tide over the distress without much suffering. If this is not approved, it should at least be laid down as a necessary condition that such people should be formed into special gangs and employed on piece-work at some distance from their homes—say five or six miles, so that the "labour test" on which so much reliance is placed for keeping off all but the needy, might be practically enforced. It seems to me that some restriction of the kind is necessary in the interests alike of the State and of the general tax-payer, and if the power of exercising this restriction is vested in officers not below the rank of Tahsildars, there can be no possible danger of its being abused to the detriment of the suffering masses.

5. I note that, in his Proceedings, No. 202, dated 8th March 1897, passed on the fortnightly report of the Collector of Bellary, the Famine Commissioner strongly deprecated any such restrictions being introduced, and remarked that the "fact that some of the people coming to the works are not actually destitute is as it should be"; and that "the lesson of 1877 has been taught in vain if the perverted idea is to revive that only those actually and literally resourceless are to be admitted to relief works"; and in paragraph 12 of the Proceedings, he attributes the enormous loss of population in that year to the enforcement of this "perverted" policy. The frightful mortality which occurred in that great famine was due to a variety of causes, the chief among which were the introduction of the famous one-pound ration of Sir Richard Temple and his arbitrary rejection from relief works of all persons who did not exhibit a marked falling-off in flesh and muscle. In less than two weeks after his advent to this Presidency, the numbers on relief works in the Deccan districts were reduced by nearly one-half and this at a time when famine was increasing in severity, and hundreds and thousands of the unfortunate coolies who were thus turned adrift soon fell an easy prey to cholera and small-pox, which committed terrible havoc amongst the famished population. The famine was unprecedentedly severe and prolonged, and raged over a vast area, and adequate relief measures were not started in time. Stocks of food-grain were exhausted, and private trade was paralysed and proved wholly unequal to the demand until a late stage. It seems hardly fair to point to the lessons of that great calamity as an argument against any enquiry being made into the condition or the persons seeking relief, even in famines such as we have recently passed through.

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6. It is also asserted that the suggestion put forward by me is entirely opposed to the principles enunciated by the Famine Commission and tacitly accepted by Government. A careful study of paragraphs 105 to 112 of the report of the Commission convinces me that this is not really the case. In paragraph 105, the Commission lays it down as a necessary condition of State relief "that the calamity shall be one which places it beyond the power of an individual to obtain the requisite relief or efficacious remedy otherwise than with the aid of the State", and in paragraph 107, in referring to "certain important limitations by which the administration of relief must be restricted", it remarks that it is "especially important that the Government, when it has to deal with calamities such as famine, should so frame its measures as to avoid every tendency to relax in the people the sense of the obligation which rests on them to provide for their own support by their own labour, to cultivate habits of thrift and forethought, and as far as possible to employ the surplus of years of plenty to meet the wants of years of scarcity". The Commission then proceeds to discuss the several classes of people who are likely to be affected by famine, and takes care to affirm (paragraph 109) that "such of the agricultural classes as possess a proprietary interest in the land or a valuable right of occupancy in it do not, as a rule, require to be protected against starvation in times of famine, unless the calamity is unusually severe and prolonged, as they generally are provided with stocks of food or money, or have credit with money-lenders". "The classes who are the earliest in point of time to feel the need of relief" are then enumerated in detail, and are divided into (1) "those who are accustomed and able to perform work of some sort, and (2) those who from any cause are incapable of labour". The former class is described as comprising—(1) "the actually landless class who live on the wages of labour, and the smallest proprietors or occupiers" who eke out by the profits of their petty holdings "their wages as labourers" and "possess no credit"; and (2) "artisans and small traders". The paragraphs which follow, including paragraph 111 which prescribes the "labour test" (that is, "the demand of labour commensurate in each case with the labourers' powers in return for a wage sufficient for the purpose of maintenance but not more") as a sufficient and the only test by which necessity may be proved, clearly refer to the classes of sufferers just referred to, and do not seem to me to preclude the exercise of the moderate restriction which I have advocated in regard to the admission of landholders, traders and others who "are provided with stocks of food or money, or have credit with money-lenders". It might be urged that such persons would never resort to the relief works. If so, there can be no possible objection to the reservation of the power such as has been advocated above. My experience, however, of the Deccan ryots is different.

7. In recommending the "labour test" as the only one which "it is ordinarily* desirable to enforce", the Commission explained (paragraph 110) that "in an Indian famine the Government has to deal not with limited numbers but with millions of people, and the official machinery at its command, however strengthened for the occasion, will inevitably be inadequate to the task of accurately testing the individual necessities of so great a multitude". It may be asked whether, if the official machinery, however strengthened for the occasion, is deemed to be inadequate for testing the necessities of the multitude that flock to the relief works, it will be found adequate enough to undertake the much more important task of exacting "labour commensurate in each case with the labourers' powers, in return for a wage sufficient for the purpose of maintenance but not more" (paragraph 111); but the point is not material. The passage quoted shows that the Famine Commission, in speaking of "the millions of people" to be relieved, evidently had in view a calamity as severe and widespread as that of 1876-78. On such occasions, it may probably not be necessary to enter into a detailed enquiry into the circumstances of every applicant

* *Note.*—The expression is significant as showing that even as regards the classes mentioned, the test was not intended to be an absolute test.

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for relief, but I can find nothing in the paragraphs referred to which absolutely prohibits such enquiries being undertaken at any stage of the famine. Such an enquiry is recognised as a necessary preliminary for the administration of gratuitous relief, and I cannot conceive why a similar enquiry should not be made in regard to workers admitted to relief works. In the words of the Famine Commission (paragraph 110), the main point to be kept in view in all relief operations is "how to avoid the risk of indiscriminate and demoralising profusion on the one hand and of insufficient and niggardly assistance on the other—how to relieve all who really need relief and to waste as little public money as possible in the process". From past experience, I feel convinced that this double object cannot be satisfactorily attained unless some power is reserved for restraining the indiscriminate admission to relief works of persons in easy circumstances. As already stated, there can be no possible danger of the power being abused or worked in an unsympathetic spirit, since it will be exercised only by the superior officers in charge of relief works.

8. I am quite prepared to admit that even those who "possess stocks of food or money, or have credit with money-lenders", are entitled to sympathetic treatment and should not be driven to the necessity, to quote the Famine* Commissoner's words, of "selling at a cruel sacrifice their last head of cattle and their seed-grain, before they qualify for earning the *Saueres Brot* of the famine wage". But it can hardly be seriously maintained that it is the duty of the State to provide relief to all such persons, so that they might be enabled to preserve their stock and credit intact, without trenching on their own resources in the least degree. Such a position seems altogether untenable in the face of the "safeguards" against the risk of indiscriminate and demoralising profusion, and waste of public money so pointedly urged by the Famine Commission.

* Pros. quoted in paragraph 5 *supra*.

The most appropriate way of relieving these classes is by granting loans, where necessary, under section 4 of the Agriculturists' Loans Act, which provides, among other concessions, for the "relief of distress" of "owners and occupiers of arable land". The existence of this liberal provision is not generally known, and Tahsildars, even when their attention has been specially drawn to the matter, very often try their utmost to discourage such applications for loans, in order to escape the worry and responsibility incidental to the work, especially in times of famine when they are terribly overworked. In the beginning of February 1897, in a private letter I wrote to Mr. H. A. Stuart, Acting Collector of Bellary, I brought to his notice how in one village of the Alur taluk I had occasion to pass through, applications for loans to the extent of over ₹12,000 were one and all withdrawn owing to the ill-advised action of the Revenue Inspector entrusted with the enquiry,—this was before Mr. Stuart took charge,—and I strongly urged the appointment of Special Deputy Collectors for the grant of loans under the two Loans Acts. I beg to quote below my reasons for the suggestion.

"From all that I saw and heard both at Alur and Adoni, and in the villages I passed through or at which I halted, I have no doubt but that distress is now beginning to deepen in those taluks, and the numbers on relief works will probably be more than doubled before the end of March unless advances under the Loans Acts are promptly and liberally granted. At Adoni, the day of my inspection (of the Sub-Registry office) happened to be a weekly *shandy* day, on which several thousands of people living within a distance of 8 or 10 miles generally attend to buy their stores for the week. I went to the *shandy* between 12 and 1. I did not notice any signs of emaciation amongst the people. Some women who were questioned, complained that they had no work and were starving, but when told that work was available within 3 miles of their village, they said that it was too far! The fact is that considerable numbers of the male adult labourers have for the past two months and more been getting profitable employment in removing nutt grass, a work which is carried on largely by the well-to-do ryots in all the cotton-soil villages, in seasons like the present when labour is cheaper than usual. The labourers on these works are paid two Bellary seers (86 tolas) of cholam a day, or 2½ to 3 annas, if paid in cash, at 3 pies per square yard. The men go early in the morning and generally complete their task before 12 or 1. This accounts for the very small number of male adults on Government works. If advances under the Loans Act had been promptly and liberally granted, the ryots would have employed a much larger number of labourers in removing nutt grass in their own villages, and the numbers on Government relief works would not have been half so large as they have been during the past several weeks. I have reason to believe that more than a lakh of rupees could, with advantage, be disbursed in each of the affected taluks of Adoni, Alur, and Bellary. But for this purpose, it would be necessary to appoint a special Tahsildar, or, preferably a Special Deputy Collector, to each taluk, who will be able to move rapidly from village to village, make the necessary enquiry and pay the loan on the spot. This I know was also the opinion of Sir Henry Stokes, and Mr. LeFanu, to whom I spoke soon after my return, also agreed with me, and ordered a draft to be prepared for submission to Government. Mr. Campbell, to whom also I mentioned the subject, fully agreed with me, but said that it has become the *mamul* to appoint special Revenue Inspectors for the purpose, and doubted whether Government would sanction a highly paid Deputy Collector. Every District Officer knows that the low paid special Revenue Inspectors are generally corrupt, and the ryots very seldom get more than 80 per cent. of the amount they borrow from Government. They are moreover ignorant and timid, and there is also great delay in disbursing loans on the strength of their reports which are not always full and which have to pass through checks and scrutinies at the hands of the Taluk and Divisional office clerks. With a smart and honest Deputy Collector, all this delay and blackmailing can be obviated. His services will not be required for more than three or four months in each taluk (unless the next rains fail . . . .). His pay (or rather that of his substitute) will be ₹250 a month; he may be allowed two assistants on ₹50 each and a small staff of peons and a clerk, costing, say, another ₹50. The total cost will be ₹400 a month or ₹1,600 for four months, or say ₹2,000 including travelling allowance and contingencies. If a lakh of rupees could be advanced in a taluk, it would certainly be worth spending at least a quarter *per cent. per annum* on the agency employed for the purpose. This will not amount to ₹2,500, and will not be a recurring charge . . . . . The Tahsildar of Alur and the Deputy Collector of Adoni are both fully alive to the necessity for disbursing loans promptly, but they have so many other calls to attend to that it is not possible for them to expedite the disposal of "these applications which impose on them serious responsibilities."

I understand that some special Tahsildars were subsequently appointed, and that over three lakhs of rupees were most usefully disbursed as loans in that one district. The appointment of such special officers for loans work should be an essential feature in all famine relief operations.

9. *Distance test.*—In this connection, I beg to offer a few remarks regarding the distance test which, I find, has been advocated by Mr. Higham. In the earlier stages of distress, I see no objection to applicants for relief being required to go some distance from their homes as a test of their necessity, but such distance should seldom exceed 5 or 6 miles at the outside. Such a test would be a useful and a proper one, useful because it will enable relief officers to correctly gauge the extent of the distress and keep off all but the needy from the works, and proper because it will be impossible for Government to open works in or near every affected village or groups of villages, and it becomes a matter of necessity, if all are to be treated fairly, that the various gangs of coolies concentrated on large relief works should be so located as to avoid some of them being enrolled nearest their homes, while others are sent off to work at a longer distance than they need or should be. But to require workers to go 40 or 50 miles as suggested by Mr. Higham will be practically tantamount to a denial of relief, as in most parts of this Presidency and especially in the Deccan districts which are most liable to be affected by drought, it will be impossible to induce even the most distressed section of the population to go any long distance to toil for their means of livelihood. In the great famine of 1877, thousands of coolies in the Kurnool* district were, under the orders of Government, selected from amongst the able-bodied and sent under escort to the Buckingham Canal Works in the Nellore district. They were granted batta for themselves and for their families if they chose to take them with them, but most of them deserted before they crossed the Nallamala Hills (Eastern Ghauts), and hardly a tenth of the number reached their destination. These too did not remain long on the works. I had served as Tahsildar, Collector's Sheristadar and Deputy Collector for over ten years in the Deccan districts (Kurnool and Bellary), and from my experience of the character of the people I have no hesitation in condemning Mr. Higham's distance test as impracticable.

*As Divisional Officer, I was in charge of relief works in one of the worst affected taluks of that district.

10. *Task-work.*—I understand that some difficulty was felt during the recent famine in fixing the amount of task to

be exacted from different gangs. Section 107 of the Madras Code gives ample discretionary power to the Engineer officer in charge, subject to the sanction of the Collector, to modify the tasks "to suit particular circumstances or to meet excessive hardness of material or varying lengths of lead and lift." In most districts of the Presidency, especially those liable to frequent droughts, there are very few (if any) irrigation works or other projects which could be undertaken in times of distress. In such tracts, relief operations must necessarily be confined chiefly to the collection of metal along existing roads and to construction of feeder roads. In these cases, there ought to be no difficulty in determining and fixing beforehand for each mile, if not for each furlong, of road the normal tasks which contractors ordinarily obtain from their workmen for various descriptions of work. From three-fourths to two-thirds of this task might fairly be fixed as an average; and if this is found to be too high, it should be the duty of the officer in charge—not below the rank of a Supervisor—to personally superintend the work for two or three days and see for himself what amount of task the relief workers are capable of performing under thoroughly efficient supervision. About ninety per cent. of the task so determined might then be fixed as a fair average. The sanction of the Collector should be obtained in every case the task is reduced below two-thirds of the normal rates.

11. *Compulsory residence on relief works.*—I am not in favour of making residence at the works compulsory as a test of the labourers' necessity. The enforcement of such a condition would be as cruel as it is unnecessary. As a general rule, all relief workers prefer to return to their village after the day's labour, unless the works are at a considerable distance, in which case they usually manage to find accommodation in the nearest village. Except in rare cases, therefore, the provision of huts for the coolies will ordinarily not be necessary. In most of the districts liable to drought, materials for hutting are also difficult to procure except at a prohibitive cost.

12. *Allowance for distance.*—I do not think that any allowances should be granted on account of the distances which famine labourers may have to go to reach the works. The system cannot be carried out in practice without opening a wide door for fraud.

13. *Wages and rations.*—When the Madras Famine Code was approved by the Government of India, that authority decided that the wages proposed by the late Mr. Clogstoun should be calculated with reference to "unhusked grain", and disallowed any allowance for wastage in husking. The consequence was that the wages were found to be unduly low. It has now been decided to take the *flour* or *husked* grain for purposes of calculation. Even with this concession, the labourers will get no more than a bare subsistence wage.

As regards the ration allowance prescribed for persons in receipt of gratuitous relief, the only change I would recommend is that full discretion be given to the Collector to vary the proportion of all items other than grain, subject only to the condition that their total cost is not exceeded. The Code gives such a discretion (section 122) as regards the proportion of chillis and tamarind, and it seems to me equally necessary that a similar power should be reserved for varying the quantities of pulse and salt so as to suit local peculiarities. Medical officers might probably say that a certain quantity of pulse and salt is essential for the health of the recipients, but I venture to think that the peculiar habits and tastes of the people might well be consulted in such matters.

14. I think the unit equivalents given in the Famine Code might well be modified as follows:—

Vide note to form F, Appendix III.

1 man = 1½ women = 3 children.

15. *Frequency of payment of wages.*—The Famine Code provides (section 102) that "labourers on task-work should in the beginning be paid daily, and after a time, twice or thrice a week." This is a most salutary provision and should be scrupulously carried out, because if payment is not made daily or at least every alternate day, the famine cooly will be forced to buy his or her grain on credit which means a loss of 24 to 36 per cent. in the value, as the merchant will insist upon having his "pound of flesh" on such occasions. In the recent famine, there were many instances in which payments were delayed for a whole week or more.

16. *Nursing mothers and pregnant women.*—As a rule, all nursing mothers, *i.e.*, mothers with infants not more than six months old, and women somewhat advanced in pregnancy, ought to be formed into special gangs and set to work at metal breaking not far from their villages or in some tope conveniently situated. A sufficient number of coolies (preferably their own children and relations) should be allotted to such gangs for collecting and storing the required metal, and the task for breaking it should be fixed at more than fifty per cent. of that prescribed for the B class labourers. The wages should not be less than those of the B class. If such gangs are allowed to work at a distance from the main relief works, the nearest village officer might be entrusted with the duty of measuring the work daily and paying the wages accordingly, subject of course to the instructions and control of the relief officer in charge. Pregnant women admitted to such works should be given gratuitous relief for at least one month before and one month after accouchement.

17. *Position of Public Works officers.*—The duties of the Public Works and Revenue officers in regard to the conduct of relief operations are defined in Chapter VII of the Famine Code. In my tour through the Bellary district in January 1897, I noticed that there was a regrettable want of cordial relations between the two departments, and wrote as follows to Mr. H. A. Stuart who had just then been posted to that district, but had not taken charge:—

"Some definite instructions would seem to be necessary for defining the duties and responsibilities of the Revenue and Public Works officers in regard to the management of relief works. The Department of Public Works appear to resent the interference of the Revenue officers. In seasons like the present, there should be no friction between the two departments. The Code lays down certain rules, but it is as well to issue further instructions in the matter. I think the Department of Public Works should be held responsible for enforcing task and for preparing correct nominal rolls, etc. The Revenue officers should see to the admission of all coolies who are in need of relief and to the regulation and payment of the wages with reference to the prices and to the amount of task reported by the Public Works Department. When a Revenue officer is not present, the Public Works officer may admit coolies, subject to approval by the Revenue officer (Civil officer)."

The best way of avoiding friction between the two departments would be to place the Executive Engineer of the district and all his subordinate staff under the orders of the Collector and eliminate the Superintending Engineer. It is the Collector that is responsible for the efficient administration of famine relief, and it is therefore indispensable that he should have full control over the entire staff employed in the conduct of relief operations in his district. With divided authority, the responsibility must be weakened. The Executive Engineer would, like the District Forest Officer, occupy the position of a Personal Assistant to the Collector, and in professional matters be responsible to the Chief Engineer for Irrigation and Joint Secretary to Government, who should assume the direct control of the Public Works staff entrusted with the charge of relief works in all the affected districts. This arrangement would obviate the delay which now inevitably occurs owing to the Superintending Engineer being made the channel of communication, would secure more efficient supervision and ensure prompt action being taken when things go wrong. The Chief Engineer and the Famine Commissioner would, by frequent inspection and by their personal influence, be able effectually to prevent the relations between the Revenue and Public Works Departments becoming estranged.

18. In one of the fortnightly reports from the Cuddapah or Anantapur district, I remember that a Public Works officer was found fault with by the Collector for delay in erecting huts for the coolies, and it was stated that the Tahsildar got the work done in less than twenty-four hours. I do not think that the Public Works Department should be burdened with this kind of work which could be more economically and promptly attended to by the Revenue Department. The duty of the Public Works officers should be confined solely to the execution and supervision of relief works. The Revenue officers should avoid interfering in professional matters; they should see that all who are in need of relief are admitted on the works, that in the formation and location of the gangs the provision of bazaars, kitchens, hutting and prompt payment of the wages, etc., the instructions in the Famine Code are carefully carried out. Under the orders of the Collector, Revenue officers not below the rank of Tahsildar should have power to check the nominal rolls and report to the Supervisor or Sub-Engineer in charge of the works any defects that may be found. The power should, however, be exercised with tact and discretion and not in a captious or fault-finding spirit.

19. *Protection of cattle.*—Section 139 of the Famine Code prescribes that in times of drought the forests should

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be thrown open for grazing on payment of a low fee or for free grazing and also "for the cutting of boughs and leaves." This last concession is much valued by the ryots, as they consider that the leaves of various kinds of trees serve as better fodder than hill grass; but Forest officers seldom allow the leaves to be cut for this purpose for fear that the twigs and branches might be recklessly felled by the persons in charge of the numerous herds of cattle that are sent into the reserves on such occasions. Even where the concession is permitted, the ryots find it impossible to reap the full benefit of it owing to the exactions of the Forest underlings.

I would therefore suggest that the leaves should be cut under departmental supervision and allowed to be removed by cattle owners on payment of the cost of felling which would be a mere trifle. The hill-tribes who probably suffer more during famine than those living in the plains might be advantageously employed on such works.

During the recent famine, ryots were allowed to cut and remove grass from the forests free of charge, but the Chairman of the Famine Charitable Relief Committee found that the concession was rendered practically nugatory in several cases by the action of the Forest subordinates who refused to permit carts to enter the reserves to convey away the cut grass, and insisted on the cartmen carrying the grass on their heads to the carts outside. Such restrictions should never have been imposed.

In regard to free grazing, it is a well-known fact that it is the richer classes of ryots who own large numbers of cattle that generally avail themselves of the concession, while the smaller pattadars possessing only a few head of cattle are, for obvious reasons, not in a position to follow their example individually. I accordingly suggested to the Executive Committee of the Charitable Fund, when the question of sending paddy straw by rail to the affected districts of the Deccan came up for discussion, that the Revenue authorities might be asked to use their influence to induce these ryots to club their cattle into herds under appointed drovers (to be paid from the Charitable Relief Fund, if necessary) and send them to the reserves under the supervision of a Deputy Tahsildar or Revenue Inspector possessing the confidence of the people. It seemed to me that the ryots, when reduced to the alternative of having to choose between selling their cattle for a mere trifle or letting them die of starvation, would not hesitate to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by such a proposal of saving their cattle without much trouble and expense, more especially if they found that one of the Revenue officials of their own taluk would accompany the droves and do all in his power to preserve them. The proposal (which is briefly referred to on page 16 of the Committee's first report dated 21st December 1897) was approved and circulated to the Collectors of affected districts, but it was found too late to take any action, as the ryots had begun to bring back their cattle in expectation of the early rains. The Collector of Bellary, however, remarked that had the suggestion "been made earlier, it might have been of great value". I merely refer to the subject as the plan might be usefully tried in future famines.

20. *Grain dole versus money dole.*—As a test of the necessity of the applicants for gratuitous relief, grain dole is certainly preferable to money dole. Many a person who would readily receive a money dole would prefer to hold out as long as possible before accepting relief in the shape of grain doles. This phase of the question was overlooked when the Executive Committee of the Famine Relief Fund gave preference to money dole in distributing its funds. There may of course be exceptional cases in which the grant of money doles should be permitted, *e.g.*, cases of respectable families in reduced circumstances, etc., but these are provided for in section 84 of the Famine Code.

21. Before concluding the memorandum, I beg to offer a few remarks as to the measures that might be adopted to exact a fair task from relief workers and prevent demoralisation. In the early stages of distress, it is desirable to enforce piece-work, as far as possible, without the intervention of contractors. I followed this system without difficulty during the distress of 1866 in the Bellary district, and in the first three or four months of the famine of 1876-78 in the Kurnool district. The labourers were allowed to form themselves into small groups, varying from ten to twenty people or so, and take up work in an adjacent village at rates slightly below normal. When, however, the distress deepened and the numbers increased beyond manageable proportions (eight to ten thousand coolies), it was found impossible to carry out the system efficiently with the staff available, and "task-work" had to be resorted to as a matter of necessity.

One chief difficulty under the latter system is that individual members of the gang have no inducement to exert themselves. A gang ordinarily consists of one hundred coolies of all sorts, and when left to themselves they can never realise that it is for their own good that they should combine together and work steadily and to the best of their power. The more willing amongst them are deterred from exerting their utmost by the feeling that their labour would simply go to benefit the indolent and lazy, while the latter rest perfectly satisfied that they will get at least the minimum wage, or that they will fare no worse than their more hard-working brethren. The only means therefore of compelling the gangs to work properly is by exercising constant supervision over them. Very often the head coolies and the maistries leave their works soon after the muster roll is called and the day's work is allotted. This should never be permitted. They should be made to remain at their posts until the task is completed, and should be held responsible, on pain of heavy fine, for exacting adequate work from each and every member of the gang. The Sub-Overseer and the Overseer, and the superior officers of the Public Works and Revenue Departments should make sudden inspections at different hours of the day and see that every one attends to his duties properly. These are, however, matters of detail, which would more properly find a place in the instructions to relief officers than in the Famine Code. If these precautions are adopted and if the power given by section 106 of the Famine Code of fining down to the proportionate value of work actually done and of relegating contumacious characters to the poor-house is judiciously exercised, I feel sanguine that a fairly adequate task could be enforced in most cases on works carried out under the task-work system.

22. The various suggestions referred to above may be summarised as follows:—

(1) Power should be reserved for restricting, at least in the early stages of distress, the indiscriminate admission of persons seeking relief.

(2) Loans for relief of distress should be freely granted, special officers being appointed to do the work.

(3) The distance test advocated by Mr. Higham cannot be adopted in this Presidency without causing extreme hardship, though there can be no objection to applicants for relief being required, in the early stages of distress, to go some distance from their homes—5 or 6 miles—as a test of their necessity.

(4) Task-tables should be prepared for all existing roads in districts liable to drought, and if alterations are necessary, they should be made after personal supervision and test by a Supervisor or Sub-Engineer, subject to the Collector's sanction.

(5) Compulsory residence on works should not be insisted on.

(6) No allowance should be made to famine coolies on account of distance.

(7) Wages should be calculated on husked grain and Collectors should be given discretionary power to modify the items other than grain provided for gratuitous relief.

(8) Wages should be paid daily or at least every alternate day.

(9) Nursing mothers and pregnant women should be formed into separate gangs and put on light task near their villages, the task not exceeding fifty per cent. of that prescribed for the B class labourers.

(10) Pregnant women should be put on gratuitous relief at least for a month before and a month after accouchement.

(11) The duties of the Public Works and Revenue officers should be clearly defined, and the Executive Engineer and his subordinates placed under the orders of the Collector, the Executive Engineer occupying the position of his Personal Assistant. The Chief Engineer for Irrigation should assume direct control of the Public Works staff employed on relief operations in all the districts.

(12) Leaves of trees should be cut under the supervision of the Forest Department and allowed to be removed for fodder for cattle on payment of the cost of felling. Carts should be allowed into the

reserves to remove grass. Ryots should be encouraged to club their cattle into herds under appointed drovers and sent to the forests under the charge of a Deputy Tahsildar or Revenue Inspector.

(13) Grain dole is preferable to money dole.

(14) Piece-work should be tried during the early stages of the distress, and special measures should be taken to exact adequate work from gangs working on the task-work system.

The Hon'ble P. Rajaratna Mudaliyar.

Written Statement of Evidence by MR. T. M. MUNISAWMY IYER, *Honorary Secretary, Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund, and Pleader, Cuddapah, dated 18th February 1898.*

Mr. T. M. Munisawmy Iyer.

I understand that under G. O. No. 216, dated 31st March 1897, relief workers were classed under class A or B: class C was restricted only to those who may be called "weak" or those who can do only nominal work and will not resort to kitchens. Class D was abolished.

Departures from the prescriptions of the Famine Code, which have occurred in the Presidency during the recent famine.

2. The above change was a wholesome one. There is a considerable consensus of opinion that the D class wage is insufficient for the relief worker. This receives support from the fact that when the kitchen rations under section 122 (which were in force since the commencement of the famine till the middle of July 1897 and were found just sufficient for the *non-worker*) were reduced to the D wage under section 120, there was a general clamour in the kitchens that the food allowed was insufficient. An experiment was made in Jamalamadugu in the early part of famine in the private choultry there maintained, and the C wage was found ordinarily to be insufficient, judged from the quantity eaten by the inmates on other days.

N. B.—The raw grain allowed under section 122 . 50 tolas.
The raw grain allowed under section 122 in D wage—
Male . . 40 tolas.
Female . . 35 "
The raw grain allowed under section 122 in B wage, 53 tolas.

3. In the G. O. above noted the Government said:—

"The Code directs that persons of 12 years and upwards should be treated as adults. The Government is of opinion that an exception may be made in the case of boys of 12 to 16 years who cannot turn out as much work as an adult, but whose growing frames require as much food as adults. These should be taken as equivalent to two or three child units for work, but should nevertheless receive the wage for an adult male." Similarly in the case of girls.

The change was a necessary one, as otherwise the continuance of a number of boys or girls decreased the earning power of the gang in which they were.

4. Rule 8 of Appendix VI was modified and half a day's wage was allowed for half a day's work. For late attendance a special rate of fine not exceeding one-fourth day's wage was prescribed instead of the Code provision by which no concession was permissible except proportionate reduction of wages for the whole gang for short work.

The price of grain adopted for the calculation of the wage was that prevailing in the nearest village, the provision in the Code being that it should be that of the cusba town of the taluk in which the work is situated.

Gratuitous relief was given to Ghosha women without exacting any work from them in return (section 125, Famine Code).

The fining system was worked in a liberal spirit.

II. State relief was administered—

(1) in providing work on road and irrigation works;

(2) in supplying food to dependants on kitchens attached to the works and in central kitchens;

(3) in giving grain-doles in the houses of those who needed relief but who would not or could not go to a work or kitchen.

5. Judging from the attendance one might say that the works were largely availed of. At the early stage of distress, grain-doles were not given, and even when this form of relief was worked, it was not extended to any large scale, comparatively speaking.

The relief in kitchens was the one least liable to any abuse though distasteful to all classes excepting the lower castes. The system of grain-doles carefully supervised was next best and largely clamoured for, though least applied, and that very properly. The system of relief works was the most availed of and in that sense most popular.

From a strict economical point of view one might in the first instance be inclined to condemn a system by which thousands of labourers are employed on breaking stones as was actually the case now, *i.e.*, in practically unprofitable labour.

Of the 32 relief works at one time opened in the district a very large number consisted of road works, *i. e.*, the coolies were employed in breaking stones, stacking road materials and road-making. But for the fact that the excess road materials are expected to be paid for by the Local Funds, which is after all a very poor solace to the general tax-payer, the system is one to be least resorted to when others are available. Unfortunately in the tract where the works were opened large productive works were first out of the question, and when these were at last commenced, they were opened at a comparatively late stage. It was very long before either the Peddapasupula project or the Rajolu project could be taken on hand. The Lingala and Muddamur works were commenced late. These are the only useful large works I am aware of, which were worked in the famine. None of the above irrigation projects were, however, completed. The State has not thus utilized famine labour as it might have, had the works been commenced earlier.

6. Having regard to the true criterion of famine relief, *i.e.*, a small bill of mortality, the operations of the late famine were a success. The mortality in the affected part increased more than the average from the month of May, rising to a high percentage in September. The high rise in September when the relief operations were contracting is attributed to cholera.

As to the sufficiency and economy of relief measures—

Average.	
1895-96. 867	May 1897. 1,049
1895-96. 719	June 1897. 827
1895-96. 767	July 1897. 975
1895-96. 857	August 1897. 1,199
1895-96. 709	September 1897. 2,365

	On work.	Kitchen.	Grain-doles.
Cuddapah	20,854	2,194	1,443
Proddatur	24,994	1,850	2,322
Jammalamadugu	24,856	1,454	4,013
Pulivendla	22,261	1,513	10,735
Totals			110,221
Add numbers of weavers' relief. Proddatur			2,398
Jammalamadugu			9,999
			122,618

The mortality directly due to famine appears to be *nil*.

The worst month of the famine was July 1897, when 122,618 persons or nearly 30 per cent. of the total population were in receipt of State relief.

Paragraph 75 of the report of the Famine Commission, Part I, appears to indicate that in a similar state of circumstances in Behar, the highest percentage of attendance was only 15 per cent.

Comparing the statistics of the present famine, one is struck at the high percentage, even making due allowance to the fact that in the present distress there was no mortality, while in the 1877 famine a portion of the population is believed to have died without resorting to State relief. The causes for the high percentage appear to be—

(1) that the people knew where to go for relief;

(2) that the relief works were within easy distances; works were on the average about 10 to 12 miles apart;

(3) that every possible endeavour was made to help those that sought help;

(4) every one was admitted to relief who would submit to receive the low wage offered and perform the allotted task.

7. Considering that there is a strong sentiment of degradation in receiving State relief, I can say that on the whole only those that deserved help were aided by the State; and then the fact that those on the works were made to work according to task conditions, was a sufficient check to prevent the undeserving from resorting to them.

There were 32 relief works scattered at one time. They were so opened as to be within easy reach of the worker, and enable him to return home at night.

The system so adopted appears better than the one under which one central work is proposed for each taluk. I would advocate the opening of works within 10 miles of each other, compelling no man to reside on the work. If residence were considered necessary, the works should be at most 30 miles apart, so that a worker may have to travel not more than 15 miles when he wishes to return home on the rest day.

To compel residence on the works will not only be unpopular but practically impossible. I should consider the cost of providing hutting accommodation to a numerous floating population would be comparatively prohibitive, as the accommodation will have to be shifted from time to time as the work on any one spot closes, and this will necessarily have to be done very frequently from the large attendance one would expect on such a work.

8. In this district gratuitous State relief was commenced rather late.

9. Indirect relief in the shape of suspension of revenue was given. The question of remission was dealt with in a niggardly spirit, and I believe it is not yet settled.

Mr. T. M. Munisawmy Iyer.

On the whole, the relief given by the State and the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund was such that one can say that the landowning classes, the labourers and artizans, are not in a worse position than they were in before the famine.

As to the arrangements existing for ascertaining the amount of scarcity.

10. From what I understand of the existing system of revenue accounts, there appears to be no means under which a prompt forecast of the outturn may be made. Information on this head was available only under special instructions of the Board of Revenue.

Relations between Civil and Public officers in connection with the management of relief works.

11. The Collector of a district has more opportunities of observation and is in direct touch with the people. He is the proper officer to be in charge of famine operations of his district. The officers of the Engineering Department being professional gentlemen should be entirely left alone in the detailed management of the relief works. *The tasks would rather be better set by these officers.* Prior approval of the task by the Collector, as is now the rule, seems unnecessary. This rule is practically not observed, but the existence of the rule is known to be an inconvenience. I should suggest that the Engineer officer should ordinarily set the task, but the Collector should have power to alter it should circumstances appear to him to call for the change.

12. I would not under any circumstances advocate the delegation of the power of paying the coolies to the Engineering Department. For many reasons it is safer that the paying work is in the hands of the paymaster under the Revenue Department, as of itself it ensures a certain amount of safety against peculation. It has been possible to avoid delay in payment by sufficient diligence.

As to private charitable relief as auxiliary to State relief.

13. Assuming that funds are available, I consider the opening of grain shops where wholesome food-grain could be sold at cost price or rates below the market rates to the respectable poor, to be very beneficial. I know many a household which has silently borne through the famine under many adverse circumstances without State relief or aid from the Charitable Fund. Their suffering could legitimately be alleviated by such shops. The practical difficulty is not so much in carrying on the shop as in the selection of proper recipients. Disinterested agency to work such shops is available in kusba towns only. Such form of relief it is impossible to extend to villages.

Such shops were not started in this district. A private attempt was made in Proddatur, but it failed for want of continuous sympathy.

Such shops are not likely to interfere with private trade, as the number to be helped would be comparatively small. Relief to broken-down agriculturists was given in this district immediately after the rains fell.

That was just the season when the money could be utilized to the best purpose.

The money was largely spent on small puttadars, *i. e.*, puttadars paying less than R10. This help should be extended to all small landowners, whether circar or inam. I do not agree that puttadars paying more than R20 should be aided from a Charity Fund at all. They should be aided by the State with loans, as their condition is normally such as not to be handicapped by having to repay a loan.

I think the Charity Fund should have nothing to do with those who received *taccavi* loans, as there are ordinarily many more persons who would not be entitled to such loans and who need relief.

The Charity Fund has served a very useful purpose in this district. It was spent—

(1) in relieving the respectable poor;

(2) in relieving such poor who cannot be classed respectable as Bhatrajas, Komaties, etc., who are fit for work and so not eligible for State aid, but at the same time would not go to relief work;

(3) in providing small comforts to kitchen inmates in Government kitchens as vegetables, butter, milk, etc.;

(4) in providing cloth to the needy;

(5) in giving money doles to the respectable poor.

Details of the operations of the Fund are available in the accompanying report. The Fund was best utilized in providing cloths to the needy and in the help it gave to the poor agriculturists. From both it evoked the greatest amount of gratitude and economically did the greatest benefit to the latter.

14. *Gratuitous relief.*—Gratuitous relief was administered to 5 per cent. of the population, and the persons so relieved were, as far as my knowledge goes, those who were incapable of work, and were eligible for relief under section 62, Famine Code. In ordinary years, such people would no doubt depend upon their own relations or upon the charity of the public, but in famine years, it happens that private charity is contracted, and the relations themselves resort to relief works. I am not in favour of requiring the incapable dependants of the relief workers to follow the latter to the works, and to remain there. Such a measure would be very undesirable, and no advantage can be derived by enforcing the rule.

The Code already provides for the steps necessary to ascertain the real need of persons, and where such need has been established relief can be administered without difficulty. The acceptance of State relief is looked upon as a social stigma on the recipient, and there is no reason to believe that any but the absolutely destitute incapable to labour will avail himself of gratuitous relief. In this district, only two forms of gratuitous relief were introduced, to wit:—

(1) distributing cooked food in kitchens—
  (*a*) attached to works;
  (*b*) others;
(2) distributing grain-doles in villages.

In my opinion, both forms of relief are necessary.

There is a general feeling among the lower classes that the partaking of cooked food in kitchens is not only very degrading, but will also bring on death. This feeling, which was due to the recollection of high mortality in kitchens in the late famine of 1876-78, was expelled in a large measure during the recent famine, but there are persons who have real caste or other objections to eat cooked food. Kitchens are costly, and it will be possible to open them only within a distance of five miles from one another. The very old, the weak, and the decrepit cannot be expected to walk a distance of 10 miles every day. If, therefore, village relief is altogether dispensed with, and substituted by kitchen food, people of the description above enumerated, will be shut out of relief, and privation, and eventually death, may ensue. I must admit that gratuitous relief at home in the shape of grain-doles is more popular than food in kitchens. Once the eligibility for gratuitous relief is established, the Code does not make any distinction between the different forms of relief to be given. But it seems better when kitchens are within easy reach, to restrict grant of village relief to those who have real objections to go to a kitchen. On the whole, I think that gratuitous relief was administered satisfactorily in this district. No cases of malversation or extortion came to my notice.

15. *Loans to cultivators and landholders.*—I must state that the extent of the loan operations in this district was very small, at least was not such as the conditions of the affected area and of the population of the tract required. Very little was done to push on the operations when the advances were most needed, and it was not until the season began to show signs of improvement that steps were taken to secure speedy disposal of the very large number of pending applications by the entertainment of special establishment and the like. In the affected area in this district, there are many villages where well-sinking is possible. This will be apparent from the statistics showing the number of wells existing in the several taluks. Wells constructed in this area, though requiring a large outlay on construction, are of a more substantial character than in the rest of the district, and irrigate, on an average, a comparatively larger area. In the distress of 1891-92, a great deal was done to provide employment to the labouring classes by granting advances for land improvements, and the result of the strenuous efforts made in the direction was that large sums were advanced for improvements of land. Had similar efforts been made in time during the recent distress, I think a very large number of men would have been benefited, and much good might have been done to the country. But the grant of advances was very slack in the commencement, and was pushed on so late that a large number of applications were withdrawn owing to the altered condition of the season.

Loans were granted under the Land Improvement and Agriculturists' Acts for various purposes coming within their scope. In the case of loans for land improvements, short periods were allowed for completion of work equal to the amount advanced, and owing to the existence of a system under which the works are frequently inspected and reported upon, I think that the loans were, as a rule, applied to the

purposes intended. The payment of loans having, however, been suddenly stopped, some of the works could not be completed. Loans for the purchase of cattle and seed-grain should, however, be granted very sparingly in times of famine, when owing to the scarcity of fodder the ryots will be unable to maintain their existing stock. Such loans should be granted after rains have fallen, and cultivation is to commence. No advances were made to landowners and cultivators for the purchase of food. I approve of the principle of granting these subsistence loans, for they will enable the ordinary pattadars and others who, though poor, will consider it a great social degradation to resort to State relief, to tide over the season without falling upon Government relief against their inclinations. In this connection I may be permitted to refer to the advantages of State aided agricultural banks now under consideration of Government.

16. *Suspensions and remissions of land revenue.*—Collections of revenue on dry land were suspended during the recent famine, and this concession, I think, was of much advantage to the landowning classes. I do not think that the concession had the effect of keeping any large number of these classes from the relief works, for the classes of men that resorted to the works would have done so even though the collections of kists were suspended, but I believe that the concession prevented the ryots from falling into debt. I believe that the suspended revenue can be recovered without pressing severely on the landholders should season be good, and I would recommend that the recovery be extended over at least two years. I do not know if the suspended revenue carries interest or not, but I should say that if interest is levied the benefit accruing from suspensions would be very little. I would, however, submit that in the case of small pattadars, who can hardly eke out their livelihood and whose crops have failed below 8 annas, immediate remission of revenue would be far more advantageous than suspension, as, even after famine, such a man would not be able to make both ends meet from the ordinary receipts of his farm. If he should be forced to pay anything more than the ordinary revenue of any one year, it would simply drive him to the sowcar.

17. *Forests.*—At the instance of the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund Committee of this district the Board of Revenue was pleased to throw open the reserved forests for free-grazing, and the extent of the benefit derived in the affected tracts is summarised in the accompanying report of the operations of the fund.

18. *Medical.*—The staff of medical officers and hospital subordinates was insufficient during the famine. Some works had no hospital assistants. Even on works where there was a medical subordinate, there was not an adequate supply of medicines and medical comforts for the use of the sick.

19. *Ordinary food of the people.*—I understand that at present a single food-grain is fixed as the staple for the whole district. This district is a large one and is composed of tracts which differ as regards the products and the diet of the population. In the area recently affected, for instance, cholum is the staple food-grain; but in the sub-division, cumbu or ragi enters more largely into the dietary of the lower classes. Similarly in the Sidhout Division forming the eastern section of the district. I think, therefore, that a staple should be fixed in consideration of the conditions of the several localities, and that tracts which are similar to one another should be grouped together for fixing a staple and not the district as a whole. The determination of the staple grain is an important factor in the success of famine administration, for it is no good to pay a cooly at cholum prices if he has to eat ragi or *vice versâ*. In the area affected during the recent famine, the rations distributed in kitchens, consisted of balls of cholum and ragi mixed and red gram curry. The kitchen inmates complained of want of variety in the diet, for their food consisted every day of red gram jelly, which, they said, irritated bowels, especially in the case of very young children. I think that, as the Code provides for giving pulse without mentioning any particular variety of the pulse, it would be desirable to change the diet from time to time as may be found necessary, once red gram, another time green gram, and so on.

Mr. T. M. Munisawmy Iyer.

20. *Food stocks and prices.*—The high prices that prevailed in the early stage of distress were partly due to demand from without, partly to the panic of a 3 years' famine, and largely to the failure of the crops. The rains that fell at the end of November 1896 altered the circumstances. Grain was freely exposed for sale, and the apprehension of continued famine subsided to some extent. The subsequent rise of prices was not due to panic, but to the expected failure of the late sown crops. The facilities of communication existing at present tends to the equalisation of prices throughout the country, and the high prices that ruled in the recent famine were due to the above tendency, and not to the combination of the trading community. Combination on any appreciable scale was impossible.

Grain bazars were established at or in the vicinity of almost all the works, and the wages of the relief workers were calculated with reference to the prices reported to be prevailing at such bazars. People receiving relief in cash were therefore enabled to purchase grain at rates supposed to be current.

Owing, as stated above, to the tendency of prices to be swelled up in the different parts, the margin of profits to the traders was very small. It cannot therefore be said that any very great fortunes were made in the grain trade during recent famine.

The cultivating classes in this district, excepting very rich landlords, do not generally possess large reserves, and many grain-pits orgodowns do not therefore exist.

This habit of storing is diminishing in proportion to the development of the operations of trade consequent on the facilities afforded by the different provinces being connected with one another by means of railways. I think that there was not very great variation in the proportion of wholesale and retail prices, as the demand for grain was very great.

The inability of the distressed people to buy grain at high prices is due to want of power to withstand the pressure resulting from the failure of the harvest. In this district there is not much of non-agricultural employment except that by way of advances made to weavers. The latter employment also ceased in the early stages of distress, owing to the absence of demand for the woven goods in Northern India, where also there was famine.

The wages of artizans and servants did not go up in any degree in consequence of the rise of prices; but their profession suffered to some extent owing to the diminished demand for their services. I think that people had power to resist, and they did resist destitution. Such of them as had jewellery chose to sell it and thus to drag on for some time, and went over to relief works only as an extreme measure, when poverty drove them to such a step. Their regard to status in life and aversion for falling on State relief were so great that the fall in the value of silver jewellery did not make them reluctant to sell it.

From MR. S. ADINARAYANA RAO, Assistant Master, Municipal High School, Cuddapah, to the Secretary to the Indian Famine Commission, dated 27th January 1898.

Mr. S. Adinarayana Rao.

Sir,—I have great pleasure in offering myself to give evidence before your Commission when it meets at Madras from 11th to 18th February next, on the following points. The experience I have on these is practical, as I had the good fortune to serve my distressed countrymen during the famine supposed to have been terminated just now, in my humble capacity as Village Circle Inspector, in one of the most affected taluqs of this (Cuddapah) district :—

Gratuitous Relief.

1. That by the time relief operations are commenced, as people are reduced to a state of semi-starvation, the ration allowed in section 122 is too scanty to keep the body and soul together, and that it may, therefore, be increased by an amount equal to 20 tolas in grain.

2. That the total quantity of grain contemplated in this section to include 'other items' also, be given in the shape of grain only, leaving the recipient to purchase these 'other items' at his or her own discretion according to taste and habit. This change is desirable for three reasons: (1) that there is an economy of time and labour in the distribution of the grain doles; (2) that it allows the purveyor less chance to commit fraud; and (3) that the recipient can do away with such of the 'other items' as are not quite essential and purchase such of them as his or her taste and habit make them daily *necessaries*, but not contemplated in the section.

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3. That when the Government think it expedient to reduce the ration, as was done in the late famine, to the minimum quantity in section 120, no difference should be made between men and women, as it is found on practice that women eat as much, if not more, as men, though they are not capable of turning out the same work.

4. That as it has been found that kitchens in these parts at any rate are not successful owing to the very strong prejudice entertained by the masses against them, they can be done away *with much advantage*, except where they are attached to the relief works.

5. That in the preparation of bills by the purveyors, the conversion of tolas into lbs., etc., is both unnecessary and inconvenient.

Relief Works.

6. That so far as wages are concerned, no difference should be made between men and women, it being, however, necessary with regard to turning out work.

7. That the minimum wages prescribed in section 120 be calculated on the staple grain equivalent to *at least 85 tolas*.

8. That distance concession with regard to turning out work must be made on *2 miles* and above.

9. That the increase of task must never be made a test for eliminating numbers when occasion requires it, as it is simply inhuman to make a great many weak and famished people suffer for the sake of a limited few who may not be in urgent need of any relief.

10. That the relief works must be within a radius *not exceeding 4 miles*.

11. That special favour must be shown to the people in the hilly regions by opening works still closer to them.

12. That road works as relief works must be, as far as possible, replaced by irrigation works.

N.B.—I shall here quote the oral statement of a Special Deputy Collector with regard to this. Said the venerable gentleman: "How usefully these lakhs of rupees would have been spent if the Government had ordered 50 wells to be sunk or repaired in every village instead of wasting it away on these roads which have already been washed away by the floods."

Famine Officers.

13. That the Taluq Relief Officer must *invariably* be a person unconnected with other work for the time being which may be a pretext for neglecting the famine work, that he should not stay for more than three days in a month at his head-quarters, that he must be sending a 'Daily Report' to the Collector and that his pay should be at least the minimum pay of a permanent Tahsildar.

14. That the Village Circle Inspector should invariably be an independent gentleman, but that in case the Revenue Inspectors are to be appointed for this office, they should not be kept in their own taluq or district.

15. That it should be binding upon every Circle Inspector to maintain a healthy pony, and that for the purchase of this an advance of R50 be made to him by Government which may be recovered by instalments from his monthly salary which should not be below R70 or above R100.

16. That from the time a tract is officially declared to be 'affected,' both the Village Magistrate and the *Karnam* should receive an additional pay of R3 a month, and the other village servants R2.

17. That all Famine Funds, whether Charitable or Provincial, be distributed as far as practicable in kind rather than in cash.

From MR. S. ADINARAYANA RAO, Assistant Master, Municipal High School, Cuddapah, to the Secretary to the Indian Famine Commission, dated 17th February 1898.

Sir,—In thankfully acknowledging the receipt of your letter No. 200, dated Calcutta, the 3rd February 1898, informing me that the notes of evidence I submitted to the Commission would be placed in record, I have the honour to request you will be good enough to accept the enclosed explanatory notes in its support. From the meagre information contained in the newspapers, and in the absence of any other source of information by which I could be guided, I could not know what exactly I had to send, and I, therefore, satisfied myself by submitting the bare skeleton of the evidence I wished to place before the Commission. It has thus become incumbent upon me to place this further evidence, without which it may not be of much use to the Commission. Some of the points I have raised are of such vital importance that the Commission, in my humble opinion, cannot pay too much attention to them. However lengthy my explanations may be on these points, I am confident that they cannot adequately express all that I wish to place before the Commission. I shall exceedingly be thankful if the Commission can allow me *a few minutes' hearing* before they leave this Presidency, so that I may place the facts before them as clearly as they deserve. I am prepared to undergo any amount of cross-examination in substantiating what I have stated.

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

The numbers in this correspond with those of the original of 27th January 1898.

1. The months of April, May, June, and July 1897 were the most critical of the whole period of the late famine, when the people felt the distress more keenly than ever. However, gratuitous relief could only be started at the beginning of June when people were more dead to the world than living. On 16th June 1897 Dr. W. F. Thomas, the District Medical and Sanitary Officer, Cuddapah, made the following observations in his inspection report of one of the relief works started a fortnight before:—

"* * * Out of this number (1,711), 131 or nearly 8 per cent. are in a very weak anæmic and debilitated condition; while the general physical condition of the workers must be considered *bad*. There are a large number of very old men, women and anæmia very largely present. * * The health and physical condition of the workers of this camp must be taken as an index of very great distress prevailing in the neighbouring and surrounding villages, and these people have just been taken in time to prevent them getting into a worse condition. Light task and a generous wage will produce a better state of things in time. I saw no cases of scorbutus or of actual starvation (a good few are bordering on this latter condition) * *."

Ten days later, on 26th June 1897, I wrote of the people living in a different taluq altogether, thus:—"* * The increase in numbers is certainly due to the ever increasing distress, and I am afraid that we have not yet seen the beginning of the end. Wherever I go, it has been my painful duty to witness numbers of hungry famished people who can be fit objects for a place in a physiological laboratory or a public museum. Most of the people of the lower order live purely on '*Denadari*' leaf which is no better than swallowing fire itself. It is due to this reason chiefly that the people have been reduced to the state of living skeletons * *."

Further, a week later, 3rd July 1897.—"* * The only thing for which the people must appreciate these hills is for the *Denadari* plant with which they abound, and whose leaf, they think, keeps them from dying. The Chemical Examiner and the Sanitary Commissioner only must be able to decide whether this leaf can really save them against these hard days. But for my part, I think that this only paves their way to an early grave. I apprehend that the mortality will be fearful in course of time if these people are allowed to continue to live on this leaf * *."

This *Denadari* leaf is a kind of worm-killer and certainly does good if taken periodically, once in a fortnight or so. Those who know the properties of santonine need not be told of the disastrous effects of this leaf on the famished system when taken *at every meal*.

There can be no doubt that if there is anything for which the masses should feel ever grateful to the British Government, it is for the various relief operations above all. This gratefulness has been deeply impressed in their hearts. But what I wish to contend here is that if the relief was started earlier and was sufficiently administered, the Government could have prevented such high mortality in the affected taluqs during the year 1897, as will be shown below. Of course, no death can be directly attributed to actual starvation, but the Government cannot rest satisfied with this. The causes for the high death-rate must be ascertained. Cholera and small-pox, above various other diseases

which are the accompaniments of famine were present with their quota of work.

The following figures may be instructive :—

Total population of the district according to the census of 1891	1,272,072	36 per cent.
Do. of the four affected taluqs	460,455	
Total number of deaths during the year 1897 *for the whole district*	32,945	45 per cent.
Do. for the affected taluqs	14,804	
Total number of deaths between September and December 1897 when the mortality was highest *in the whole district*	16,112	51 per cent.
Do. in the affected taluqs during the same period	8,259	
Total number of deaths from *small-pox* during 1897 for the whole district	838	73 per cent.
Do. for the affected taluqs	614	

I must state here that the severity of small-pox cannot be known from the number of deaths. It should only be known from the number of persons attacked and the duration of its stay. I know in my own circle this epidemic did not leave single villages containing only five or six hundred population for over six months. I wrote thus on 31st July 1897 : " * * small-pox has been resident in the circle for the last over six months, and human wisdom has perhaps proved useless to extirpate it * *."

I must also state here that in Pulivendla taluq where I served, this epidemic was most virulent from the fact, I think, that this taluq is more *hilly* than any of the other affected taluqs, where relief could not reach as satisfactorily and sufficiently as the country deserved. *Out of 838 deaths from small-pox in the whole district, as many as 281 or 33 per cent. occurred in this single taluq.* What I wish to place prominently before the Commission is that the high rate of mortality shown above is mainly due to over-heated system of the people *which is again due to want of proper and sufficient food.* I shall just compare the gratuitous relief ration as allowed by the Code and as again changed by the Government, with that given in the Civil Hospitals and Prisons :—

Hospitals.		*Prisons.*	
Raw rice	60 tolas.	Ragi, cholum or cumbu—SIFTED FLOUR	60 tolas.
Ghee	1½ „	Oil, gingelly or cocoanut	1½ „
Dhool	5 „	Dhal	7½ / 12½ „ (four days in a week).
Curry-powder	2½ „	Curry-powder	1½ „
Tamarind	2½ „	Tamarind	1½ „
Salt	2½ „	Salt	1·375 „
Onions	1½ „	Onions	1½ „
Vegetables	6¼ „	Vegetables	15 „
Section 122, Famine Code.		Further reduced to the minimum in section 120.	
Ragi, cholum or cumbu *raw*	50 tolas.	Ragi, cholum or cumbu, *raw*	40 tolas.
Dhool	5 „	Dhool	5 „
Salt	1½ „	Salt	13 as. 2 p. weight.
Tamarind	1½ „	Oil	13 „ 2 „ „
Chillis	1½ „	Condiments and vegetables	1½ tolas.

It will be seen from the above figures that whereas hospitals allow *60 tolas of raw rice*, besides another 40 tolas for 'other items', and prisons allow 60 tolas of *flour*, besides another 45 tolas for ' other items'; the gratuitous relief ration allows only 50 tolas of ragi, cholum or cumbu (*raw*), further reduced to 40 tolas, which when ground into flour will not weigh much above 45 and 35 tolas, respectively, besides another 30 for ' other items '. The ridiculously small quantity of salt and *condiments and vegetables*, according to the reduced scale, cannot be exaggerated. The tempting prison ration cannot fail to induce the famished people to perpetrate some crime by which they can find admittance into these prisons where they can be better off both in point of food and health to which particular attention is paid. Of course, this can only apply to the lowest order of people who exist in no small numbers.

It may be argued on the other hand that the object of famine relief is not to feed the people fat, but just to save them from dying through starvation during famine. The figures of mortality shown above seem to me to frustrate this object even. Such being the case, the Government, in my humble opinion, was not at all well advised in reducing the ration of section 122, by which a great many real sufferers suffered on account of an infinitesimally small number of people for whom it was intended. The Commission cannot pay too much attention to this most vital point.

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2. As Circle Inspector, I brought this question prominently before the Tahsildar and the Special Deputy Collector with the result that they both recognised the importance of this, and requested the Collector to allow them to make the desirable change. But the Collector replied that the Code should be strictly adhered to. Anyhow this change *was* affected in Anantapur district, when the ration was reduced, and the people were greatly benefited by it. In this short space, it is impossible for me to deal with this subject. I, therefore, leave it to the generous consideration of the Commission.

3. For reasons better known to them, the Famine Commission of 1879 did not make any difference between men and women, and for the same reasons at least, if not for any other consideration, no difference should be made between them, simply because the sex is different.

4. Every Famine Officer recognised this fact and recorded in strong terms. I have got volumes of evidence to support this. Dr. Thomas, in almost every 'Inspection Report' of his, noticed this fact in the following terms : "This is a very small number compared to the number of relief workers. The old and infirm people will not go to the kitchen, but prefer to do some work for wages." Most children of the relief workers below seven years shared the wages of their parents with what effect can be easily imagined. In one of the villages of my circle which was not more than two miles from a kitchen, not a single child could be made to go to the kitchen, although I refused them point blank to grant grain-doles. After a time, I saw their condition would be a matter of great anxiety and enlisted about 40 children on a single day for grain-dole. However short the distance might be from a kitchen, the people would not go from one village to another where there was a kitchen. I do not consider that the grant of grain-dole was made lavishly or that the people accepted it readily. The Special Deputy Collector, when he visited my circle, could not point out a single case where this grant was made lavishly. The establishment of kitchens was a great loss to the Government, and it must have been known to them by this time that the prevalence of great distress cannot be ascertained through the opening of kitchens.

5. I was given credit for moving this in my official capacity and *obtaining sanction of the same at the hands of the Collector* who issued a general circular to this effect. I never used lbs., etc., during the whole term of my office, and it was to the advantage of every one who would wish that bills should pass unreturned.

6, 7 & 8. These points have been fully explained under 1.

9. The task imposed during the latter part of the famine was so heavy that people were obliged to work from ten to twelve hours a day and go home in pitch dark sometimes. I noticed these facts and brought them to the notice of the higher authorities then and there.

10 & 11. The fact that people would not leave their homes until they think that their death is inevitable, must convince any one of the importance of these.

12. Seven-eighths of the relief works in this district were road-works, although there are good many irrigation works which could have been very usefully taken up.

13, 14 & 15. The importance of these points is better known to the Commission than I do. If a Tahsildar cannot visit a circle for over four months, although his presence is very essential, it must be evident that the practice of entrusting the Taluq Relief Officers with double duties is injurious both to the Government and the people. Again, if a Circle Inspector cannot visit all the villages in his circle once a week for want of proper conveyance or other causes, such as double duties, and cannot also pay the purveyor's bills every week, the work of the Circle Inspector can as well be done by the Taluq Officer. It must be simply absurd to every one to know that the purveyors were kept off the payment for four, five or even six months, or that the purveyors struck distribution on this account to the sorrow of famished people. Yet such things did actually take place.

16. These people are certainly not beyond the reach of famine, and a humane Government ought to look on them with extreme kindness at such times. It is these people that are annoyed most for every petty thing, and they are thought to be rolling in wealth.

17. The distribution of grant IV of Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund ought to set a wholesome example which should be never forgotten by every one who has the welfare of the country at heart. If there was any charity *worst abused*, it was this, and a true well-wisher of the country must shed tears at the WASTE of so many lakhs of

Mr. S. Adinarayana Rao.

rupees which could have been utilised in the most beneficial way possible. How many *permanent* charitable institutions could not have been founded with this enormous sum which has been actually thrown in the broad ocean without any one enjoying it? In the face of the strongest opposition, I am bold to say this. For, I ask, which ryot is there who has enjoyed the whole amount given to him? And which ryot is there who has utilised it for the purpose for which it was given? Who is there that will stand IN ALL CONSCIENCE and say that 50 per cent. of this money did not go into unlawful pockets? The distribution of cloths on the other hand proved *the most beneficial*, inasmuch as it could never be abused even when lavishly distributed. It is not, in my humble opinion, altogether impossible to effect this change in every branch of relief operations with the most beneficial results.

Mr. P. Sabapathy Moodr.

Written Statement of Evidence of MR. P. SABAPATHY MOODR, *Adoni, dated 4th February 1898.*

I have the pleasure in offering my few suggestions to your Commission, and trust you will accept the same. As my suggestions are only two—hence I am not prepared to give the same in person. I had the good fortune to serve my distressed countrymen in the late famine as Honorary Treasurer, Indian Famine Charitable Fund, Adoni.

Gratuitous Relief.

1. That no difference ought to be shown between men and women getting gratuitous and relief wages.

Relief Works.

2. That the relief works must be placed by irrigation works; if the same is carried out would put an end once for all to famine in these places.

G. I. C. P. O.—No. 1080 R. & A.—31-10-98.—P. P. M.

QUESTIONS DRAWN UP BY THE COMMISSION FOR THE GUIDANCE OF WITNESSES.

As to the extent and severity of the distress.

1. In your $\frac{\text{province}}{\text{district}}$ what was the area affected and its population?

2. To what was the distress due? To local failure of the rains and of the harvests, or to abnormally high prices, or both?

3. (*a*) Describe the extent to which the rains and the harvests dependent on them failed, as compared with the normal state of things.

(*b*) Were prices of food-grains much higher than in other years? Were they as high as, or higher than, those experienced in past famines?

4. Up to the time of the failure of the rains, what had been the condition of the affected area? Had preceding seasons been favourable or the reverse?

5. Under normal circumstances may the population of the affected area be considered to enjoy a fair measure of material well-being? Is there any section of the population in it which from special causes is ordinarily in an unsatisfactory and precarious condition? Is it relatively large?

6. Is the agriculture of the affected area specially dependent on timely and sufficient rain, owing to any peculiarities of soil, crops, absence of facilities for irrigation, or the like?

7. To what extent has the population of the affected area reserves of money or food for its support in the event of failure of one or more consecutive harvests? What sections of the population have not such reserves, and what proportion of the total population of the affected area is so situated?

8. How does the late distress compare in respect of its extent and severity with that experienced in any other famine of recent years in the same locality?

9. Is there any reason to suppose that the extent of crop failure, or the degree of distress, or the absence of resources on the part of the people, was under-estimated or over-estimated on the present occasion at any point of time? If this was the case, did it affect the character or amount of relief provided?

As to the sufficiency and economy of the relief measures.

10. The Famine Commission of 1879 appear to have held the opinion that the number of persons on relief in the worst months of a famine ought not to exceed 15 per cent. of the population of the affected tract (paragraph 75). Does this standard coincide with your experience? Is it liable to be exceeded in particular tracts, while being a fairly correct standard of relief as applied to the whole of the affected area in a province, some portions of which would be less distressed than others?

11. How do the relief figures of your $\frac{\text{province}}{\text{district}}$ in the late famine compare with the standard of the Famine Commission? If there are cases in which the standard was largely departed from, can you account for them?

12. Having regard to what you consider to be a fair standard of relief under given conditions, do you think that in any part of your $\frac{\text{province}}{\text{district}}$ the proportion of the total population relieved was larger than was necessary to prevent loss of life or severe suffering? Were persons relieved who were not really in need of relief? And, if so, to what do you attribute this?

13. On the other hand, were there any cases in which a larger proportion of the population might have been relieved consistently with the object of saving life and preventing great suffering? If so, what was the reason? Was it due to the attitude of the people themselves, or to defective or insufficient or ill-adapted relief arrangements?

14. If the relief arrangements were defective, insufficient or ill-adapted in any cases, was the cause of this circumstance avoidable or not?

15. Judged by the mortality of the famine period, has the relief given been successful in its object? If the mortality has been in excess of the normal, is there reason to think that this might have been prevented by more extensive or more timely relief measures?

16. Were any changes made at any point of time in the scheme of relief which was followed by a large decrease or increase in the numbers on relief? Do you consider that such increase or decrease was a direct or indirect result of such changes, and that they had the effect of excluding from relief persons really in need, or of bringing on to relief persons who did not really require relief?

17. Can any connection between such changes of system and the death-rate be traced?

18. The Famine Commission (paragraph 111) considered that the best safeguard against profusion on the one hand and insufficient assistance on the other was to be found in prescribing self-acting tests by which necessity may be proved. Do you consider that this principle has been observed to the fullest practicable extent in the late famine so far as your experience goes?

19. The chief test was held by the Commission (paragraph 111) to be the exaction of labour from all those from whom labour can reasonably be required, the labour being in each case commensurate with the labourer's powers, and the wage not being more than sufficient for the purpose of maintenance. In the late famine, were all persons who could do a reasonable amount of work required to work as a condition of receiving relief?

20. The phrase "who can do a reasonable amount of work" was intended by the Famine Commission (paragraphs 139 and 146) to include women and children, so far as they are healthy and capable of labour. Have these classes of persons been subjected to the labour test in your province?

21. The Famine Commission (paragraph 111) considered that if this principle be observed, the numbers of destitute persons to whom the test of labour could not be applied would be "comparatively small." What has been your experience in the late famine as to the numbers of persons relieved, otherwise than through the operation of a labour test, in comparison with (1) the total population of the affected tract; (2) the numbers relieved on works. Have they been comparatively small? If not, what is the explanation?

22. With regard to the labour-test, have the conditions of the task and the wage been such as to constitute a stringent test of necessity? Has the task been a full one, considered with reference to the working capacity of each person? Has the wage been more than a bare subsistence wage, regard being had to the fact that it was open to the several members of a family to obtain separate relief.

23. The Famine Commission (paragraphs 128 and 146), while objecting to a "distance test," as a condition precedent to a person being received on a relief work, considered that one large work in each sub-division would prove sufficient, and that most of the workers would find it necessary to reside on the work. Have the relief works been more numerous than this, and have the workers as a rule resided on them or not? Is residence upon a relief work disliked by the people, and does it constitute an effective and a fair test of necessity?

24. Can you give statistics showing the highest percentages on the total population of persons relieved on works

("dependants" being excluded) attained in the period or periods of maximum pressure?

25. How do these percentages compare with those attained in previous famines? If they are considerably higher, what is the explanation?

26. It has been alleged that in the present famine the people have resorted to relief works with greater eagerness and at an earlier stage of distress than in previous famines. Is this your experience, and if so, do you consider this due to the greater liberality of the terms of relief as compared with those in force in former famines, or can you assign any other reason?

27. Was "gratuitous relief" mainly given through the medium of poor-houses in which residence is a condition of relief, or in the form of cooked food in kitchens where residence was not a condition of relief, or by means of doles of grain or of money to persons in their homes?

28. The Famine Commission (paragraph 140) recognised that the "village system," or the grant of relief in the homes of the people, involved "the risk of a too free grant of relief." Do you consider that the risk was effectually prevented, and that gratuitous home relief was strictly confined to persons who were in real want and who belonged to the classes specified in your Code?

29. Has gratuitous home relief been given more largely and at an earlier date in this than in any former scarcity? If so, give the reason and say whether the change has been beneficial. Has it saved lives and kept villages and households together? On the other hand, has it in any way demoralised the people, by making them more ready to accept charity, or by weakening the moral obligation of mutual assistance?

30. State the gross cost of direct famine relief in your $\frac{\text{province}}{\text{district}}$. State the number of persons relieved (in terms of units of one day's relief), and the cost of relief per unit. Compare the cost with the cost of relief in previous famines. Having regard to the comparative severity of the late distress, has relief been economically administered on the present occasion?

31. What indirect relief, in the form of loans or suspensions and remissions of land revenue, has been given? Can you say how the amount of such relief compares with similar relief given in former famines?

32. What is the net result of the famine, alleviated as it has been by relief measures, on the economic condition of the population of the $\frac{\text{province}}{\text{district}}$, distinguishing between the land-owning class, the cultivating non-proprietary class, the agricultural labourers, and the trading and artizan classes? Have these classes respectively been permanently injured, or will they speedily recover their former position?

33. Is there any important matter in which the scheme of relief-measures prescribed by the Code is seriously defective, or fails to meet the requirements of a particular class or particular classes of the community.

As to the arrangements existing for ascertaining the imminence of scarcity.

34. Do you consider that the arrangements existing in your province for ascertaining and reporting failure of rainfall and crops are sufficient? Can you suggest any improvement on them?

35. If no revenue village organisation, such as patwaris, is maintained by the State in your province, how is information as to the cropped area and the condition of the crops ascertained?

36. Can the crop-returns be relied on as regards (1) the area and kinds of crops actually sown: (2) the extent to which sowings have failed: (3) the condition of the crops?

37. Are the returns obtained within a sufficiently early date after the crops have been sown to be a guide, when distress is apprehended, to the extent of the apprehended distress?

38. In the late famine were the relief arrangements of each district largely based on the agricultural information given by these returns?

As to the extent to which the prescriptions of the Provincial Famine Code have been departed from or have been found to be unsuitable.

39. Please describe each different measure of State relief used during the late famine or scarcity in your (province, district or charge, according to the grade or status of the witness). What measures of private relief were also in operation?

40. What opportunities did you have of gaining a practical knowledge or experience of the working of these measures?

41. Which, if any, of these measures were not Code measures, *i.e.*, not authorised by the Local Famine Code as it stood before the famine began?

42. Were any of the Code measures not used in the late famine, or abandoned after trial?

43. In working Code measures of relief, what material departures were made in practice from the detailed provisions provided for such measures in the local Code? Please to answer this separately for each measure, and explain the reasons for the departures, and give your opinion as to their sufficiency.

44. State the comparative advantages and disadvantages of each measure you have seen used (A) primarily with regard to relief of distress and saving of human life, (B) secondarily, with regard to economy.

45. Can you suggest any improvement of the measures you have seen used, or any other measures which you think ought to have been used; or which ought to be tried in the case of future famines or scarcities?

46. State the particular combination of measures which you would recommend, with regard to both the considerations mentioned in the penultimate question for the tract liable to famine which you know best.

47. If you know any other tract or tracts liable to famine for which some other combination would be better, please describe those tracts, and the combinations you have in mind.

48. Which measures were most approved by the general opinion (A) of the different classes in distress; (B) of the intelligent natives not themselves in need of relief?

49. Have you any other criticisms to express on the measures of relief used in the recent famine; or any other recommendations or opinions to advance which you think may prove useful in the case of future famines?

As to relief works.

I.—Extent to which works of public utility may be available as relief works.

* 50. State the number of relief works charges under the Public Works Department and Civil officers, respectively, at the time when attendance on relief works was a maximum, under each of the following classes:—

(*a*) Roads.
(*b*) Village tanks.
(*c*) Impounding reservoirs.
(*d*) Canals.
(*e*) Railways or tramroads.
(*f*) Miscellaneous works.

* 51. What was the total length in miles of new roads constructed as famine relief works—

(i) unmetalled,
(ii) metalled.

52. What do you estimate as the average number of day units of labour that can be employed per mile of each class of road, the work in the case of (ii) including the collection and consolidation of metalling, and collection of a reserve supply for five years?

53. Do you think that all the roads constructed as relief works will be of permanent service to the community, and that they will be effectively maintained in future, or that they will probably be abandoned as soon as they fall into disrepair?

54. If the roads now constructed are all regularly maintained, do you consider that there will still be room for new

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NOTE.—Questions marked with an asterisk (*) may be answered by one officer specially deputed for the purpose, or, if the Local Government prefers, the information may be given in the final famine report of the Province.

roads, should it be necessary a few years hence to open relief works ; and if so, what length of new roads could be proposed in the districts principally affected in the late famine ?

55. What is your opinion of the value of metal collection as a means of employment of relief labour ?

56. Has metal been collected for existing or projected roads in the late famine in excess of probable requirements for the next five or ten years ?

57. What is your opinion of the value of village tanks as a form of relief work—

(i) as a means of employment of relief labour ;

(ii) as a means of permanently benefiting the villages in which they are constructed ?

* 58. What is the total number of village tanks that have been excavated or deepened or enlarged as relief works under Public Works and Civil agency, and the approximate number of day units employed ?

59. What was the average number of workers for whom employment could daily be provided in a satisfactory way on an ordinary village tank ? Can you make any suggestion for securing strict supervision over small and necessarily scattered tank works, or for preventing the whole population of the village from applying for work on the tank because it is at their doors ?

60. Has the number of possible village tanks been exhausted by the recent famine works, or can we rely upon again being able to employ large numbers on such works on the recurrence of famine, say within 20 years ?

61. In what districts have impounding reservoirs been constructed ?

62. Can such works in these districts be regarded as in any way a protection against famine, or as increasing the powers of resistance against famine of the community for whose benefit they are constructed ?

63. Is there a prospect that many impounding reservoirs could be advantageously constructed in these districts as relief works in future famines, if projects were deliberately investigated beforehand, and on the assumption that the cost of their construction must in any case be expended in some form or another, for the purpose of relieving distress ?

* 64. What irrigation works, other than impounding reservoirs, have been constructed as relief works during the late famine, and what has been the approximate expenditure incurred on them as relief works ?

* 65. What expenditure will be required on them, on sub-heads of construction (such as land, masonry works, etc.), that are of little use for purposes of relief works, before the works can be completed and made available for irrigation ?

* 66. What is the area that these works may be expected to irrigate usually in ordinary years, and will the area that may be anticipated in years of drought be greater or less than may be expected in ordinary years ?

If any such works were constructed in former famines, have the anticipations of their utility been fulfilled ?

67. Do you know of any irrigation projects that can be usefully investigated with the object of providing employment for relief labour in future famines, and with the prospect that the cost of maintenance will be covered by an increase in the revenue that may be attributable, either directly or indirectly, to the works proposed ?

* 68. Under what arrangements with the Railway administration interested have feeder railways or tramways been undertaken as relief works.

* 69. Generally, do you think it would be possible, after careful investigation by competent officers, to prepare a programme of large and useful public works that might be put in hand in future famines in preference to petty works, such as have been carried out during the recent famine, the conditions being—

(*a*) That much of the expenditure on such portions of the work as can be carried out by relief labour will have to be incurred in any case for the purpose of affording adequate relief to the distressed population, and that, if not incurred on the works proposed, will be incurred on others of a less useful character.

(*b*) That the cost of future maintenance of the work will either be covered by the gross revenue that may be expected from it, or, if the work will not produce revenue, will not be out of proportion to the public benefits anticipated from its construction, or beyond the means of the authority that will be responsible for such maintenance.

(*c*) That the completion of the work will not involve an expenditure on materials or other items out of all proportion to the expenditure to be incurred on items that can be carried out by relief works, except when the work, as a whole, is likely to prove remunerative, or when its execution sooner or later has been decided on, in the interests of the public, and without reference to the necessity for providing employment for relief labourers.

70. What are the provisions of the Provincial Famine Code regarding the maintenance of a programme in each district of famine relief works, with sanctioned plans and estimates ? Has the Code been in practice observed, and were plans and estimates for the works entered in the district programmes ready prepared when distress appeared ? If plans and estimates were not ready, what was the reason ?

II.—As to large and small works, and the distance test.

71. What, in your opinion, is the greatest distance at which the distressed inhabitants of a village may be induced to attend relief works—

(*a*) when they return every night to their villages ;

(*b*) when accommodation is provided on the relief works ?

72. Do you think it would be practicable to withhold relief from all fairly able-bodied labourers who refused to attend relief works at the distances stated in reply to the last question ?

73. Would you recommend conveying relief labourers long distances of over 100 miles by rail or steamer to any large public works on which there is a strong demand for labour, or in which their labour could be very usefully employed, in preference to employing them near to their own homes on petty works of little use to any one, and the construction of which would never be contemplated, except for the purpose of affording employment for distressed labourers ?

74. In the late famine has residence on the works been the rule or the exception ?

75. Has residence been made a definite condition of relief, or has it incidentally resulted from the small number of relief works open and the distance of them from the homes of the majority of the workers ?

76. Are you in favour of making residence obligatory or of indirectly inducing it by concentrating the works ? Have you any evidence that when such a test is not enforced, the relief works attract many persons not actually requiring relief ? Do you consider that a high task and low rate of wage are in themselves sufficient tests ?

77. Is residence on the works so distasteful to the people that they will undergo extreme privation before they submit to it ? Can you point to any instances in which this feeling has prevented relief offered under condition of residence from being effectual ? Or any in which it has passed away or become less intense after a short trial ?

77A. Within your own observation is the objection to go long distances for work or to reside on relief works so strong in particular localities or with particular tribes or castes as to prevent relief offered under such conditions from being effective ?

78. If famine were widespread in the province, would the disposable establishments be large enough to supervise works so numerous and so arranged as to allow the majority of the workers to return daily to their homes ?

79. To enable relief workers to come to a relief work daily from homes several miles distant and yet to earn the full famine wage, have reductions for "distance" been made in the task of such persons ? Refer the Commission to the rules (if any) on the subject, and explain how they were

NOTE.—Questions marked with an asterisk (*) may be answered by one officer specially deputed for the purpose, or, if the Local Government prefers, the information may be given in the final famine report of the Province.

worked. Were such "reductions" allowed when hutting accommodation was provided on the works? What precautions were possible to prevent distance being overstated, especially in the case of those who did not return to their homes every night, but found shelter in adjacent villages?

80. What was the cost of hutting accommodation per worker?

81. Did the cold and discomfort attendant on residence on the works affect the health of the people?

82. Was it necessary to provide blankets and bedding for the people in consequence of residence being enforced?

83. Is the proportion of "dependants" relieved on the relief works less when works are small and numerous than when they are large and few? How do you account for this?

*III.—Task-work and piece-work.**

84. What was the proportion of labourers employed on task-work and piece-work, respectively, on the relief works under your charge, during the late famine?

85. Are you of opinion that piece-work is suitable for the employment of relief labourers in all cases?

86. If not in all cases, do you think that it is suitable in any? If so, specify the conditions under which you would generally recommend its introduction.

87. Do you consider the objections taken by the Famine Commission (paragraph 133) to piece-work as the predominant form of relief on works are overstated, or can be removed or lessened by administrative expedients? Or that they are on the whole less important than those which in your experience may be urged against task-work?

88. What arrangements would you recommend on works carried out under the piece-work system for labourers who might be too weak or incompetent to earn a subsistence wage at the rates offered, but are nevertheless not sufficiently helpless to be proper recipients of gratuitous relief, either on the works or in their own villages?

89. Would you propose any arrangements limiting the amounts to be earned on piece-work by expert and able-bodied labourers who might be able to execute far higher tasks than those assumed as the basis for the piece-work rates? If so, state what arrangements you would propose.

90. What is the size of the party to which you would make single payments for the work done, *e.g.*, in the case of earthwork how many diggers, with their own complement of carriers, would you put into one gang, or what would be the average number of diggers and carriers together forming a gang, and to whom a single payment should be made?

91. Are you of opinion that if payment for work done is made to the head of such a gang, as is referred to in the previous question, the amount paid will fairly be distributed by him among the members of the gang? Have complaints of unequal or unfair distribution been common when this system has been adopted?

92. Can you give any idea of the reduction that may be made, both in numbers and cost of special establishment, by the substitution of piece-work for task-work?

93. Do you think there would generally be any difficulty in inducing the people to attend works on the piece-work system if works on the task-work system have not been previously opened?

94. What is in your opinion the most convenient system of classifying relief labourers when employed on task-work?

95. What wage would you propose for each class in terms of the grain staple in general consumption by the classes from which labourers are drawn, expressed in *chattaks?*

96. Is it necessary to maintain the alternative system given in the Famine Codes under which wages may be calculated according to the cost of the component parts of a day's ration?

96A. Would you propose a different task and wage for men and women within the same class?

97. How would you classify, task and remunerate children—

(i) above 12 years of age,

(ii) below ditto.

98. What do you consider the minimum age at which children should be employed as workers?

99. What penalties would you propose for labourers who fail to perform the task set them, and how would you enforce them?

100. Are the present restrictions as to fining below the minimum wage necessary or expedient?

101. Have considerable bodies of relief workers been on the minimum or D wage for a continuous period? Has it resulted in enfeebled health?

102. Are you in favour of allowing all labourers to earn something in addition to the normal wage proposed in your reply to question 12 in the performance of a task in excess of the normal?

103. Are you in favour of paying a wage on Sundays, or one rest day in seven, and if allowed, what condition as to previous attendance would you propose as entitling to a rest day wage?

104. Do you consider it possible to introduce a standard task for all carriers as suggested in paragraphs 9 and 10 and in Appendix I of Mr. Higham's Report on the Management of Relief Works?

105. Do you think that the formula proposed in Appendix I of Mr. Higham's Report for determining a *reduced level*, in which allowance is made for the initial effort in each trip, for the vertical lift, and for the actual horizontal level is one that may be generally accepted for the purpose of a measure of the work done by carriers. If not, what modification of the formula would you propose?

106. Assuming that the reduced level is calculated as proposed in Mr. Higham's formula, or in any modified form of it that you may prefer, what is the *duty* that you would assign to an ordinary famine carrier, the *duty* being the number of cubic feet carried in a day multiplied by the reduced level in lineal feet, the value suggested by Mr. Higham being 10,000?

107. Do you think it possible to instruct the works establishment ordinarily available on relief works to arrange for the disposition of labour so as to secure, at all times, the best proportion of carriers to diggers, that may be possible under the circumstances; diggers being made to carry when the proportion of carriers is too low, and carriers being as far as possible employed in digging, even with reduced tasks, when carriers are in excess?

108. What is in your opinion the best unit for task work, that is, the size of the party to whom a given task is allotted and all the members of which should be liable to fine if the task is not performed?

109. (For Bengal only.) Do you know anything of what is called the Blackwood system, and do you consider it preferable to ordinary task-work or to piece-work? If so, state your reasons?

110. (North-Western Provinces only.) Have you had any experience in what has been called the modified intermediate system, and if so, do you consider it preferable to task-work under the system laid down in North-Western Provinces Circular No. 18, dated 5th December 1896, or to piece-work in which payment is made to the head of a working party simply with reference to the quantity of work done, and without any reference whatever to the constitution of the party?

111. (North-Western Provinces only.) If you consider this system preferable to the others, would you advocate its adoption on all relief works, whatever the degree of the distress? If you consider it inapplicable in districts in which the distress is very acute, please state your reasons?

112. In what proportion have the adult male workers stood to the women and children? Has it varied greatly in different districts and in the same districts at different periods? Has the proportion differed in the same district and at the same point of time on task-work and piece-work?

113. Can you account for the great preponderance of women and children on the relief works when these exceeded two-thirds of the whole number? Did the adult males find private employment at wages in excess of the famine wage? If so, was it really necessary for the State to support their wives and children?

113A. When failure of crops has caused great rise of prices and expectation of famine in a district, but its circum-

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* It is desirable that the witnesses should have read the recommendations contained in Mr. Higham's Final Note. Questions 84 to 93 are intended only for witnesses who have had experience of piece-work.

stances are such as not to justify the opening of relief works or even of test works, is it good policy to at once arrange for special employment of labour by the Public Works Department on ordinary terms? Would such action enable large numbers of labourers to retain longer their independence and their full working power, and in that way would it stave off the time when large numbers become so pinched that private charity and mutual help cease, and famine relief becomes a necessity?

113B. After a famine has been ended by good crops and a fall of prices, is it sometimes advisable to make provision for special employment of labour by the Public Works Department on ordinary terms in order to assist the very poor who have been left without resources, till a continuance of better times has completely restored them to their normal condition?

113C. Under existing rules of account would expenditure incurred in the cases and under the conditions described in the two preceding questions be met from the budget provision for ordinary public works, or would it be charged to Famine Relief?

113D. Have you any suggestions to make with a view to giving more precision to the summary of "Principles for regulating expenditure upon public works in time of famine," circulated to Local Governments by the Government of India's Famine Circular No. 16—104-1 F., dated 13th February 1897, or have you any criticisms to offer?

IV.—Relations of Civil and Public Works Officers in connection with the management of relief works.

114. Can you define the classes of relief works which may in your opinion be most conveniently carried out by Civil and Public Works officers respectively?

115. What powers of control, if any, do you think should be exercised by the Collector and Commissioner, respectively, in regard to the management of relief works which have been entrusted to the Public Works Department?

116. In the case of such works what are the matters for which, in your opinion, the Collector and the Executive Engineer, respectively, should be held responsible?

117. Do you think it desirable that any powers of control reserved to the Collector in the case of works carried out under the agency of the Public Works Department should be delegated to or exercised by his Assistants?

118. What class or classes of men do you think most suitable as officers in charge of a relief work camp, it being assumed that the services of all available Public Works officers and subordinates are required for setting out and supervising the work, conducting and checking the measurements, etc., and on the general duties of inspection and control?

119. Do you consider that the officers in charge should, in the case of works carried out by the agency of the Public Works Department, be placed under the direct orders of the officers of that Department?

120. Do you think that the officers of the Public Works Department who are responsible for the execution and inspection of relief works, can or should also undertake the control of all other matters within the relief camp, such as the payment of labour, the conservancy arrangements, the management of kitchens, bazar arrangements, etc.?

121. Do you think it necessary or desirable that either the officers in charge of relief camps, or the inspecting or controlling officers should be vested with magisterial powers for the maintenance of order in the camp, and if so, to what extent?

122. Was there any essential difference between the systems of management adopted on works under Public Works and those under Civil agency?

123. Do you consider that any of the works carried out by the Civil officers might, with advantage, have been transferred to the Public Works Department, or, *vice versâ*, that any works were carried out by the Public Works Department that should have been left in the hands of the Civil authorities?

V.—Other details of management.

* 124. At what intervals do you consider that the payments of wages should be made—

(i) to labourers on task-work,

(ii) to those on piece-work?

* 125. In the case of task-work, would you adopt the *pice* unit for payments, or pay to the nearest pie, as worked out by the ready reckoner?

* 126. Do you recommend that payments should be made by independent cashiers or by the gang muharrirs?

127. Has it been the practice in any works to require *chalan* from civil or village officers before admitting newcomers to the works, and if so, do you consider it a desirable practice? What was done in such cases with labourers presenting themselves without a *chalan*?

128. What is your experience in regard to members of aboriginal hill tribes?

(i) Has there been much difficulty in inducing them to attend the works?

(ii) When on the works, have they worked steadily, carried out their tasks and been amenable to discipline?

129. What are the maximum and minimum number of labourers that should form a single charge?

130. Are you in favour of kitchens in all cases in which relief is given to non-working children? If not, under what circumstances would you recommend cash doles?

* 131. What do you consider, as a result of your experience, may be considered a fair ratio to the value of the work done if performed by ordinary labour at the ordinary rates of—

(i) the payments actually made to the labourers employed, including the Sunday or rest day wage;

(ii) the total cost of the work, including relief to dependants and all incidental charges?

And support your opinion by statements showing the general results of all the operations under your charge?

* 132. Have you any suggestions to make on the question of famine accounts and returns?

VIA.—Interference with the supply of labour to private employers.

133. Have you received any complaints from the agents of railway or other public companies, contractors, planters, or other private employers, that the opening of relief works affected the supply of labour which they were desirous of employing? If so, give particulars of the complaints.

(For Government officers only.)

134. Did you think there was any foundation for any of these complaints, and if so, was it possible to do anything to meet them?

135. Were the wages or the rates per unit of work done paid by such employers in excess of the normal wages and rates in ordinary seasons, or did they follow in any way the rise in the price of grain?

136. Do you think the rates paid by the employers were insufficient to enable an ordinary able-bodied family accustomed to labouring on works to earn a bare subsistence at the market rates for grain that obtained?

137. What arrangements, if any, would you propose in future famines to prevent relief works attracting labour that would otherwise go to private employers?

138. Can you say if relief operations were assisted in any way by the employment offered by private employers of all classes to able-bodied workers in their immediate neighbourhood other than professional earth-workers? Are you aware whether any works were undertaken by them with this purpose which but for the existence of distress would have been postponed to more later date, or whether any special efforts were made or facilities afforded with the object of assisting in the relief of distress?

139. Do you think it would be possible in future famines to utilize the agency of private employers in any way for the purpose of providing more extensive employment for the distressed?

VIB.—Interference with the supply of labour to private employers.

140. Do you consider that the supply of labour to the works under your control was injuriously affected by the opening of relief works in the neighbourhood or at a distance?

(For employers of labour only.)

NOTE.—Questions marked(*) may be answered by one officer specially deputed for the purpose, or, if the Local Government prefers, the information may be given in the final famine report of the Province, or in reply to the Government of India's Resolution (Revenue) No. 31, dated 25th October 1897, recorded on Mr. Higham's Report.

141. Did you find it necessary to revise your rates after relief works had been opened? If so, give particulars of the rates before and after the opening of relief works, and compare them with those that you have paid in ordinary seasons for the same class of work.

142. How far from your own works were the relief works which you consider interfered with the supply of labour?

143. Have you made any complaints on the subject to any of the officers connected with relief works, and if so, with what result?

144. Do you consider that the establishment of the relief works complained of was necessary as a means of preserving life, or that without them the people who attended them could have found sufficient employment in your own works and elsewhere to earn at least a bare subsistence for themselves and their dependants?

145. If you consider that Government relief of some kind was necessary, do you think it would have sufficed to give it in some other form than relief works, or to have opened relief works on a different principle from that actually followed? If so, state your views on these points.

146. Do you think that it would have been possible to employ local labour in distressed districts upon works under your control, and to have obviated the necessity for Government relief works in the neighbourhood, if Government could have made arrangements for the sale of grain to all labourers on your works at privileged rates considerably below the market rate?

See paragraph 12 of Mr. Higham's notes on Central Provinces.

147. Have you any other remarks on the subject of relief works that you would like to lay before the Commission?

As to gratuitous relief.

148. What percentage of the population of the affected area was placed on gratuitous relief at the period of maximum pressure?

149. Did the persons so relieved mainly belong to the agricultural classes resident in rural areas?

150. Do you consider that all the persons thus relieved were incapable of work on a relief work, and were without relatives bound, and able to support them, and had no resources of any kind?

151. In ordinary years how are such persons supported, and why should famine or scarcity throw them upon the State for support?

152. Were the persons who received gratuitous relief in their homes chiefly women and children? To what extent did the women belong to the *pardanashin* class?

153. Can any reliable estimate be formed for a given tract of the number of persons requiring gratuitous relief in their homes during an acute famine? Will the numbers vary with the severity and stage of the distress?

154. If the numbers of relief workers attending the relief works open in a district are small, may it be presumed that no great amount of gratuitous relief is required?

155. In some provinces it appears to have been the practice to require the incapable poor who had able-bodied relatives to accompany the latter to the relief works and there to remain as "dependants." Do you approve of this practice as a test of necessity?

156. Would you give gratuitous relief to an incapable person having an able-bodied relative bound to support him, who declines to go on to the relief work?

157. May it be presumed that gratuitous relief at home is very popular with the people, and that it is sought for by many who are not absolutely destitute or who are capable of labour on the relief works?

158. Was the circle and inspection organization at your disposal sufficiently strong, vigilant, and well-informed to restrict gratuitous relief to those who were incapable of work and would otherwise have starved? Describe the precautions taken.

159. Do you think that the successful administration of this form of relief requires a larger staff of supervising officers in the superior grades than any other kind of relief?

160. Does the acceptance of such relief place any social or caste stigma upon the recipient?

161. Does the knowledge that gratuitous relief is given by the State lead to the drying up of private and village charity quicker than would otherwise be the case, and tend to make the people cast their customary obligations for the support of the poor of the locality upon the State?

162. Could some of the persons to whom gratuitous relief was given have been employed on light manual labour on relief works in or near their village?

163. Could such work have been provided by assisting the land-owners of the village to undertake the construction of tanks or roads or other village works?

164. Central kitchens, where cooked food is provided for all comers without any condition as to residence, have by some officers been preferred to gratuitous relief in the homes of the people, at least in the early stages of distress, or when distress is on the wane. What is your opinion on this point?

165. What are the social and caste feelings of the people as to receiving cooked food in State kitchens? Would the substitution of kitchens for gratuitous relief in the form of grain or money doles, practically exclude, on account of these sentiments, certain classes from relief who really need it?

166. Apart from the sentimental difficulty, would it be practicable to maintain a sufficient number of kitchens so as to be within the reach of all persons requiring gratuitous relief?

167. Was gratuitous relief given in the form of grain or of money? Which form do you prefer?

168. Was it given in the actual homes of the people, or were they required to repair periodically to a central place to receive it?

169. Within your observations was there much malversation or extortion on the part of patwaris or other subordinates employed in the distribution of gratuitous relief? Were there any instances in which persons paid money, or surrendered part of the dole, in order to be placed on the gratuitous list?

170. To what extent was the existing revenue or police organization by villages or larger groups utilized in ascertaining the persons requiring home relief and afterwards in distributing such relief, and how far had it to be superseded or supplemented?

171. To what extent was gratuitous relief administered through voluntary unofficial agency?

As to poor-houses.

172. Was the population of the poor-houses in your $\frac{\text{province}}{\text{district}}$ large at any point of time, or continuously so throughout the famine period?

173. From what classes of the community were the inmates chiefly drawn?

174. Did persons of the better castes or of respectable position object to resort to the poor-houses for relief? Would any degree of pressure have induced them to go there?

175. Compared with any experience you may have had in former famines, do you think the people generally showed decreased reluctance in the late famine to accept poor-house relief? If so, to what do you attribute this?

176. Was the mortality of the poor-house population exceptionally high throughout the period, or in any particular months? Can you account for this?

177. To what extent were the inmates of the poor-houses persons who had wandered from other districts within the province, or from other provinces, or from Native States?

178. From the physical condition of the persons entering the poor-houses and the distances they had come, what opinion did you form as to the severity of the famine, and the degree to which it had broken up households and caused wandering?

179. Were any measures taken to keep down the population of the poor-houses by drafting to works or to their homes all who could properly be thus disposed of? Was this systematically or spasmodically done?

180. Is the poor-house ration prescribed by the Famine Code sufficient? Had the dietary to be varied in the case of weak and sickly persons?

181. Are the rules and appendices of the Famine Code as to the management of poor-houses sufficiently explicit and detailed, and in all respects suitable? Can you point out any defects in them and suggest improvements?

182. Are legal powers required to enable relief officers or district authorities to send persons found begging and wanderers without any means of support and persons who, being able, refuse to work at the relief works, to poor-houses, and to detain them there? Was compulsion in this direction in practice used?

183. Were endeavours made to get work out of poor-house inmates, and with what degree of success?

184. Had any compulsion to be used to detain persons in the poor-houses? Were the inmates free to leave when they chose? Were the departures or escapes numerous?

As to relief centres.

185. Was it found necessary to open relief centres where doles of grain or money were distributed, as an alternative to giving similar relief in the homes of the people? Under what circumstances was this necessary?

186. When relief centres were thus established, was work exacted as a condition of relief from able-bodied persons? What kind of work was exacted?

187. Did the attendance at relief centres tend to become unmanageably large? Was the collection of large numbers of persons at such centres found to be productive of epidemic disease?

188. Does the expedient of relief centres as a substitute for village relief and an organized system of relief works in the early stages of distress commend itself to you?

189. In your experience would it have been better to have completed the village relief arrangements and to have opened regular relief works at an earlier date than was actually the case, in localities where relief centres were resorted to?

190. Are there any special tracts of country or any particular conditions of the population which make relief centres preferable to village inspection and village relief and to regular relief works?

191. Approximately what area was a relief centre expected to serve?

192. Was voluntary unofficial agency available and utilised to any large extent in the working of relief centres?

As to relief kitchens.

193. What is your view of the functions of relief kitchens at which cooked food is supplied to destitute persons without the condition of residence?

194. Are they required chiefly in connection with relief works for the non-working children and other dependants of relief workers, or may they advantageously be established elsewhere for the relief generally of the incapable poor?

195. At the beginning or end of a famine to what extent is it expedient to substitute kitchens for gratuitous relief in the houses of the people?

196. Was cooked food given at the relief kitchens to all applicants, or only to those furnished with a kitchen ticket by an officer or village headman?

197. When such kitchens became numerous, was strict supervision over the persons in charge difficult to maintain? Was there waste or misapplication of food? What arrangements to prevent this were made? Were the kitchens ordinarily placed under the direct charge of officials, or of zamindars and other private persons?

198. Is it preferable to relieve the non-working children and other "dependants" of relief workers by means of cooked food, or by money doles to the parents? In your experience could parents to whom money was given for this object be trusted to expend it on their children?

As to loans to cultivators and land-holders.

199. To what extent have State advances been made to land-owners and cultivators for land improvements, for seed-grain and cattle, and for subsistence, in the late famine?

200. In the case of money advanced for land improvements, have the recipients, as a rule, spent it on the object for which it was lent, namely, on the employment of labour? Or have they otherwise utilised it?

201. Have the sums advanced for cattle and seed been of much benefit to the cultivating classes? Could more money have thus been advantageously spent?

202. What periods for recovery have been fixed for the different classes of advances?

203. Have advances been given to land-owners and cultivators for purchase of food, and under what restrictions as to the amount advanced and as to the time of the year in which the advance was made?

204. Do you approve of the principle of such subsistence advances, or do you think that cultivators requiring money for food should be required to submit to the self-acting test of accepting work on a relief work?

205. Is it more economical to aid by such advances cultivators who possess some property in land and cattle than to offer them work and wages?

206. Would not every cultivator want to borrow instead of going to the relief works, and would not this mean a very large outlay by the State on loans, and an increase of indebtedness among the cultivators?

As to suspensions and remissions of land-revenue.

207. To what extent has land-revenue been suspended or remitted in the parts of your $\frac{\text{province}}{\text{district}}$ affected by the late famine?

208. Have measures been taken to secure that the relief thus given reached the cultivating tenant? Does the law provide for this? If not, is legal provision desirable?

209. Has this form of relief been of much advantage to the land-owning and cultivating classes? To what extent has it kept them from the relief works, or tended to prevent them from falling into debt?

210. Do you think that the land-revenue which has been suspended and not remitted will be recovered without pressing severely on the land-holders, should seasons be good?

211. Will such recovery be spread over several seasons by means of instalments? Will the corresponding rent suspended be distributed in similar instalments?

212. Does suspended rent carry interest? If so, ought it to do so?

213. Has the Government power to direct suspension of rent on estates held free of land-revenue, when it directs suspensions of rent and revenue on revenue-paying estates? Is such power necessary?

214. In regard to suspension and remission of land-revenue in temporarily-settled tracts, do you think it might with advantage be made a general rule of practice that in regard to estates held by self-cultivating as distinct from rent-receiving owners, when the crop is reported to be, say, below a 4-anna one, and only sufficient to feed and clothe the owners and their dependants and cattle, the proper treatment is immediate remission, not suspension?

215. Can you form any idea to what extent the private indebtedness of the land-owning and cultivating classes has been increased through the famine? Do the stamp or registration receipts indicate increased borrowing and more transfers of land? Has the borrowing in many cases been on a scale which must involve ultimate ruin to the borrower?

As to the use made of forests.

216. What measures were taken to open State and private forests to the people for grazing, or for collection of grass or leaves, or of edible fruits, roots and grass seeds; and what was the effect of such measures?

217. Do you think that the forests might have been more fully made available for these purposes than was the case?

218. Were any departmental operations undertaken for collection and despatch of compressed grass to the distressed tracts, and with what result?

219. What kind of food do the people get out of the forests?

As to orphans.

220. How should orphans who have been maintained by the State during famine be disposed of at the end of a famine?

221. In the case of orphans who, during the famine, have been temporarily made over by the relief officers to private orphanages and payment made by the State for their support, should the Government continue its aid to the private orphanages after the famine?

As to private charitable relief as auxiliary to state relief.

222. Have you any suggestions to offer regarding the statement of the objects to which private subscriptions for relief of distress caused by famine may legitimately be applied as set forth in the *Gazette of India* of 9th January 1897.

223. Do you think any of these objects trench upon the field of Government relief operations?

224. In view of the fact that during the currency of a famine the Government makes itself responsible as far as may be practicable for the saving of life by all available means in its power, do you consider the statement of the second object satisfactory; if not, how should it be modified?

225. Do you think the second object could properly be restricted (*a*) to the giving of clothing and other extra comforts to the orphans, and (*b*) to meeting the cost of their education in some useful craft befitting their station in life and of their maintenance after the end of the famine?

226. Are any special rules or measures necessary to prevent overlapping of charitable and Government relief under Object III; if so, what would you suggest?

227. Do you consider the opening of grain shops, where wholesome food-grains would be sold at rates below the prevailing market rates, a legitimate method of giving relief to respectable persons with small fixed incomes who, though suffering great privations from abnormal rise in prices, would not accept purely gratuitous relief either from Government or from the Charity Fund?

228. Is the opening of these cheap grain shops likely to interfere with private trade, provided the benefit of them be extended only to a selected number of persons? Were such shops started in your district, and did they interfere with private trade?

229. Are you aware that the opening of these shops from the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund operated to steady the market and to prevent fitful raising of rates?

230. To render the help effective, do you think that the relief to broken-down agriculturists should not be confined to the period when acute distress is subsiding, but that it should be given just before the commencement of the agricultural season, even though distress might then be at its height?

231. What class of agriculturists should generally be helped under Object IV?

232. Do you think the Charity Fund could be properly applied in relieving agriculturists who are in a position to get statutory loans (*takavi*) from the Government?

233. Do you think it could be usefully spent in supplementing *takavi* advances where they are not enough to meet all the agricultural requirements of the recipient, including the subsistence of himself and his family, during the interval between the sowing and the harvest?

234. Do you consider the operations of the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund as supplementary to Government relief have served a useful purpose; if so, in what way?

235. Can you describe briefly the nature and the extent of the relief granted from the Charity Fund in your province?

236. Can you give the number of persons relieved under each object in your province?

237. What form of relief under Object I was the most popular and evoked the greatest gratitude?

238. What form of relief under Object III did the greatest amount of good at the smallest cost to the fund?

239. Do you think it was right to spend the bulk of the fund in helping broken-down agriculturists?

240. Do you think the expenditure of such a large portion of the fund under this head has, besides doing substantial good to the persons helped, resulted in great economic advantage to the country generally?

241. Can you state what is the approximate area sown with aid from the Charity Fund in your province?

As to Emigrants and Wanderers.

242. What arrangements were made for the relief of starving wanderers? Were the numbers of such wanderers so large as to attract attention? If so, to what causes was their presence due?

243. Would there have been so much wandering had more works been opened or village relief or relief centres more largely extended? Is it possible by any relief methods to prevent jungle people, or people with whom it is a custom to migrate at certain seasons of the year, from wandering?

244. Was the death-rate of the $\frac{\text{province}}{\text{district}}$ sensibly affected by deaths among wanderers in poor-houses or on relief-works?

245. Were the wanderers persons ordinarily residing within your $\frac{\text{province}}{\text{district}}$, or were they from others $\frac{\text{provinces}}{\text{districts}}$, or from Native States? If from other $\frac{\text{provinces}}{\text{districts}}$ or from Native States, why were they attracted to your $\frac{\text{province}}{\text{district}}$?

246. Was any difference made in the treatment of wanderers from your own $\frac{\text{province}}{\text{district}}$ and those coming from other $\frac{\text{provinces}}{\text{districts}}$ or from Native States?

247. How do you think wanderers or emigrants from other $\frac{\text{provinces}}{\text{districts}}$ or from Native States should be dealt with?

As to the mortality during the famine period.

248. What was the ratio of deaths per thousand of population in the famine area of your $\frac{\text{province}}{\text{district}}$ for the five-year period 1891-95 preceding the famine? What was this ratio during 1896 and 1897?

249. How far has the higher ratio in the latter two years been due directly to scarcity of food, or to the indirect effects of such scarcity?

250. If, in spite of the privations consequent on scarcity of food, there has been little or no increase in the ratio of mortality, do you attribute this result entirely to the success with which the distress has been met by relief measures?

251. In dry years, unaccompanied by scarcity, the health of the people, it is believed, is ordinarily very good and the mortality abnormally low? The year 1896 was an exceptionally dry year, and as a consequence the mortality would presumably, under ordinary circumstances, have been below the average; would it not seem reasonable to attribute to causes connected with scarcity not only all mortality in excess of the normal death-rate, but also the difference between the abnormally low death-rate of a year of light scanty rainfall and the normal death-rate of years of ordinary rainfall? Would not the compensating influence on the public health resulting from exceptional dryness of season tend to mask the full effects of scarcity of food?

252. On the other hand, an abnormally dry season often results in a short supply of potable water as well as to a concentration of impurities in such supply; do you attribute any part of the excessive mortality during the period of famine to this cause of unhealthiness? Do you think that cholera may have been originated or intensified by this cause?

253. Prevalence of bowel-complaints, dysentery and diarrhœa in communities leads to a suspicion that the food-supply is insufficient, or unwholesome or badly cooked. Did these diseases cause a high mortality in the famine area of your $\frac{\text{province}}{\text{district}}$, and could their prevalence be ascribed to an insufficient or unwholesome dietary?

254. Do you consider the diet supplied to the different classes of relief-workers, to the poor-house inmates and to those fed at the kitchens, to have been sufficient to maintain the recipients in health? Would you, as a result of your own observations, suggest any alteration in the scale of diet laid down in the Famine Code?

255. Can you state the number of deaths which were directly due to starvation in your $\frac{\text{province}}{\text{district}}$ during the famine? Also the number of those who died indirectly from privation? Was the mortality greater amongst women than amongst men, and amongst children and the aged than amongst adults? Did parents frequently, under stress of want, neglect or abandon their children?

256. Of the deaths due to starvation, how many can you enumerate which could have been prevented by the timely

intervention of the State? Explain, if you can, how in these cases the relief measures adopted by the State failed in saving life?

257. Were, in your opinion, the measures of State relief defective either in principle or in their working? Do you think the mortality amongst the people in receipt of State aid was to any extent due to insanitary conditions prevailing in the relief camps, poor-houses, and food kitchens, and can you make any proposals with the object of securing improved sanitary conditions in future famines? Was every practicable precaution taken to provide and protect against contamination pure water-supplies for relief-camps and poor-houses?

258. Was the staff of Medical Officers and Hospital Subordinates sufficient during the famine, and were they provided with an adequate supply of medicines and medical comforts for the use of the sick?

AS TO THE PRESSURE OF POPULATION.

259. Has the population of your $\frac{\text{province}}{\text{district}}$ increased since the taking of the census of 1871? If so, will you state what this increase has been from 1871 up to the end of 1896, this latter being probably the latest year for which the complete figures are available?

260. Is there any evidence of a continuous increase in the birth-rate or decrease in the death-rate?

261. What has the average increase of population been per cent. per annum for each year included in the period mentioned?

262. Do you attribute this increase solely to the natural and unrestrained fecundity of the people, or are there other, and if so what, additional causes?

263. What effect on the growth of population in India would you assign to the enduring peace maintained within our borders, to the suppression of infanticide and widow-burning, to sanitary works and improvements, to the extension of vaccination, and to the strenuous endeavour to prevent the loss of a single life in periodically recurring famines?

264. Has the area under food-grains in your $\frac{\text{province}}{\text{district}}$ increased *pari passu* with the increase of population? Or has the food-producing capacity of the $\frac{\text{province}}{\text{district}}$ been increased by irrigation and improved methods of cultivation at a rate sufficient to meet the wants of the increasing population?

265. What importance do you assign to this growth of population in bringing about in ordinary years an increase in the price of food, and so rendering existence more difficult and precarious?

266. Have the wages of the labouring classes increased as rapidly as the prices of their food-stuffs?

267. Are increase of population and higher prices, unaccompanied by a corresponding rise in the wages of the working classes, indications of diminished stocks of food in the country? Would scarcity be likely to intensify more rapidly into actual famine under conditions of dearer food and a greater number of people earning low wages?

268. The immediate effects of irrigation works and improved methods of cultivation being assumed to increase the production of food for man and beast, what, in your opinion, would their more remote effects be? Would they, in a population of great fecundity and exercising no restraint on such fecundity, tend to cause the people again to multiply up to the limit beyond which the soil could not further support them?

269. How would you propose to obviate this tendency of the growth of population to press close upon the amount of food available for its support?

270. In England we know that the same problem has been solved by emigration to lands in need of population. Could the same solution be applied to India?

271. In England, unrestrained fecundity is confined mainly to the lower and more ignorant classes. The educated classes, with certain exceptions, exercise control and foresight with regard to the number of children they bring into the world. Is education, within a measurable period of time, likely to pervade the millions of India to such an extent as to lead them to practise similar control and prevision?

272. Irrigation, we assume, increases the productiveness of the soil; it is also acknowledged to be concerned in the generation of malaria in many extensive tracts of the country. Malaria, we have proof, lessens the fecundity of the people. Do these facts suggest to you the involuntary establishment of an equilibrium between the population and the food production of irrigated tracts? Would such equilibrium, brought about in the way which these facts suggest, be a result to be desired?

AS TO THE ORDINARY FOOD OF THE PEOPLE.

273. In the tracts liable to famine in your $\frac{\text{province}}{\text{district}}$, which are the food-grains ordinarily used in their homes by well-to-do labourers and artizans? Please answer separately, if necessary, for town and country and for winter and summer.

274. How many meals do they eat in the day, and of what eatables and drinkables does each meal ordinarily consist?

275. If any of the ordinary food-grains happen to be unprocurable, what other grains do they sometimes substitute.

276. Of these occasional substitutes, which do the people consider most and which least palatable and digestible?

277. What do they say in objection to other grains which might probably be substituted, but which they practically never use?

278. What food-grains were used in poor-houses and kitchens, and at relief works under your observation during the recent famine?

279. How many meals a day did the people get in poor-houses and kitchens, and of what eatables and drinkables did each meal consist?

280. What sort of complaints were made as to the kind of food or plan of meals?

281. How does the diet given at famine relief poor-houses and kitchens compare with the authorized scale of prison diet?

AS TO FOOD-STOCK AND PRICES.

282. Was the great rise in prices of the common food-grains, which occurred in September to November 1896, and was more or less maintained for the next twelve months, in your opinion a reasonable rise? That is to say, was it fairly proportionate to the failure of harvests, lowness of local stocks, and cost of replenishing them? If you think the rise was more than reasonable, to what do you attribute it?

282A. In market towns which came under your observation, was it possible to identify the persons who fixed the bazaar or current rates of food-grains declared from time to time? How far were these current rates strictly followed by the local retail traders?

283. Do you think that the depreciation of the rupee in relation to gold which has been going on has any effect in the direction of making prices of food-grains jump up quicker and higher than formerly when crop failures occur? Has there been a permanent rise in the average price of food-grains in India within the last twenty years? Has the rise been greater in respect of some kinds of grain than of others?

283A. What was the difference in prices prevailing in the distressed area under your observation, and in prices in neighbouring districts where the crops had not failed to such extent as to make relief necessary? Did the difference appear natural and reasonable in degree?

284. What material fluctuations of prices of grain occurred in the 12 months after 1st November 1896 in the distressed area under your observation? To what did they seem due, and was the trade sensitive? That is, did grain flow in quickly and freely in response to each rise of price from accessible markets where prices were lower? If not, state what in your opinion were the reasons or obstacles which impeded the activity of trade?

285. In the distressed districts under your observation, could the towns-people and villagers, who had money but no private stocks of their own, at all times buy their customary food-grains and condiments at the rates quoted in the nearest grain marts, or had they sometimes to pay much higher?

286. Were the people in receipt of relief in the shape of cash at works or in the village, always able to buy grain at the rates supposed to be current?

287. Were food-grains of the common kinds exported from distressed tracts under your observation while the high prices prevailed? If so, was this due to still higher prices elsewhere, or to want of capital for large purchases in distressed tracts or some other reason?

288. Were fortunes made in the grain trade during the high prices? If so, by what classes and by what sort of trade or speculation? Was it genuine buying to put on the market, or of the nature of time bargain or speculation for a rise?

289. Were the grain pits or godowns of the grain dealers for the most part opened and largely depleted at the close of the distress, or were many unopened and most but little depleted?

290. In distressed tracts under your observation had any of the cultivators and land-owners what may be considered surplus private stocks of food-grain? If so, did they generally sell such surplus or hold up all they had from panic or other reasons?

291. While the high prices prevailed, did those cultivators, who had grain to sell to dealers, get prices as proportionately higher than usual as those the grain-dealers were selling at?

292. Were the wholesale dealings between grain-dealers at prices as near to retail prices as they usually are?

293. To what extent has the habit of storing food-grains in pits or other receptacles diminished among the grain dealers, landholders and cultivators of the tracts producing large crops of the common grains? What are the reasons for such diminution?

294. In such tracts have the railways and roads extended into them had the effect of stimulating the export of the annual surplus production to sea-ports, and to rich districts where more valuable crops are produced? When crops fail and prices go up in such tracts, is private trade ready to import freely into them?

295. To what extent were proprietors of land, State raiyats and under-tenants among the classes which asked for and got relief?

296. To what classes did the mass of persons relieved belong?

297. To what was the inability of the distressed people to buy grain at the high prices principally due? Did non-agricultural employment of labour fall off as much as agricultural employment?

298. Did wages of any class of labourers, artizans, or servants go up in any degree in consequence of the rise of prices? If not, why not?

299. Has competition of foreign goods or of goods produced by Indian Mills seriously reduced the purchasing power of any class of artizans or labourers in the tracts under your observation?

300. Can you compare recent with former famines, and say whether the different classes of people seemed this time to have more or less power of resisting destitution?

301. Do you observe any change in their attitude of reluctance to go to poor-houses or to relief-works?

302. Did they sell jewelry, brass pots, and cattle, as much as formerly? Did fall in value of silver jewelry make them reluctant to sell it?

303. What action, if any, was taken by officers of Government in the affected area under your observation to encourage importation of food-grains, or otherwise stimulate the activity of private trade? What was the result for good or bad of such action?

303A. What action was taken, if any, in any locality under your observation to supplement or stimulate activity of local grain-dealers in importing food-grain? What was the result?

304. Suppose that instead of relying entirely upon the action of private trade and the Indian market, the Government had resolved to import grain from abroad to a notified amount and for a strictly limited purpose, that is, for use at a large number of its poor-houses, kitchens, and relief works: suppose also that Government so imported either directly or through contractors, and adopted all possible precautions against obstructing the movements of private trade: what effect in your opinion would such action have had (1) on the cost of relief to the State; (2) on the prices of food-grains in the bazars or open markets; (3) on the activity of private trade?

305. In the districts under your observation had you ever good reason to believe in the existence of local rings of grain-dealers formed to keep up prices of food-grains above the rates naturally resulting from the law of supply and demand? If so, how far did such rings succeed in their purpose, and for how long?

If you think such rings can be successfully formed at the present day in India, can you suggest any legitimate method of breaking them, which would in your opinion have the desired effect, and be on the whole distinctly advantageous?

REGARDING THE GRAIN TRADE.*

306. How far and in what ways was the export by sea of the various food-grains affected by the famine and scarcity?

307. How far and in what ways was the export by sea of other commodities affected?

308. How far and in what ways was the import by sea—(1) of food-grains, (2) of other commodities affected?

309. Is there any evidence that a permanent rise in the price of food-grains in India has taken place of late years?

310. If such a rise has occurred, do you think that it is in any way connected with the fall in the Indian exchange?

311. Is the export of food-grains from India in a series of years on such a scale as to materially affect the ability of the country to feed the population, or to materially reduce the reserve stocks held at a particular point of time in the country?

312. In ordinary years is the import of food-grains by sea, for consumption in the port-town and for distribution into the interior, large?

313. Is this trade in the hands of European or native firms?

314. What grains are chiefly imported and from what foreign ports?

315. When prices of food-grains rose rapidly at the end of 1896, were the stocks of rice and other food-grains large in the port?

316. So far as the information went, were food stocks large in the interior of the country, or in any particular province? What was the general impression as to the extent to which these stocks would prove sufficient for the food-requirements of the country without importation from abroad, and would be placed on the market, or held up?

317. Did the high prices reached at the end of 1896 lead to much speculative dealings in grain?

318. Were these high prices maintained? Were they followed by an active import of grain from foreign ports?

319. Did the price of rice in Burma and of wheat and maize in Europe and America rise in consequence of apprehension of diminished food exports from, or of an anticipated demand on account of, India?

320. Were shipments of grain made from American or European ports to India? If they were only on small scale, what was the cause?

321. Was there a sufficient margin at the end of 1896 between the prices of wheat or maize in India and the prices of these grains in Europe and America to make import into India profitable?

322. If such a margin existed, but grain was not imported, what were the obstacles in the way of the establishment of the trade?

323. In ordinary years what quantity of rice does Burma export to India and other countries? Please give figures showing the distribution.

324. From November 1896 to October 1897 what quantity of Burma rice was imported into this port?

325. Were these imports mainly for despatch to the interior?

326. Were the firms on whose account these Burma imports were made chiefly European or native firms?

327. Were these imports made on the order of up-country grain-dealers for Burma rice, or by Calcutta firms at their

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* NOTE.—These questions are intended for witnesses put forward by the Chambers of Commerce, and for experts specially invited by the Commission to give evidence.

own risk in anticipation of the demand of up-country dealers ?

328. Was any difficulty at first experienced in getting up-country grain-dealers to take Burma rice, and did stocks in consequence tend to accumulate and the price to fall in the port.

329. Was there always a profitable margin between rice prices in Burma and here to admit of continuous import here ?

330. It has been stated that in the event of India requiring large imports of grain from America or Europe, European firms at the ports would find more difficulty in engaging in such import trade than in the case of the grain-export trade ; that is to say, the reversal of the ordinary process of trade would be accompanied by special risks and difficulties. Is this so ?

331. The largest export houses have, it is believed, many up-country agents in the interior who place contracts for purchase of grain for export with native grain-dealers. In the event of India requiring to import grain, could not contracts for sales of grain be placed with up-country dealers by the same agency ?

332. Would the ordinary course of trade be for the European importing house to deal with the native firms in the port, and for those firms to place the grain in the up-country markets ? Would the European houses import at their own risk, or only in fulfilment of contracts with native firms ?

333. Within how many days could 20,000 or 30,000 tons of wheat or maize be landed in India from Europe or America after a contract had been placed in this port ?

334. In that interval prices in India might have so fallen as to prevent the importer from making the profit he had anticipated ?

335. Is this contingency one of the causes which might prevent grain from being imported from distant countries to India, in spite of prices being so high for the time being in India as to hold out expectations of considerable profit ?

336. Might there be a serious panic in the Indian grain markets, resulting in dealers refusing to sell or extremely high prices being asked, without its leading to imports from abroad being arranged for ?

337. Do you think that the offer of a bounty on each ton imported, or the direct purchase by Government of grain for feeding the poor on relief works, would have eased the market ? To what extent would any such measure have discouraged private trade ?

338. What would have been the effect in the grain markets of foreign countries of intelligence that the Indian Government was purchasing, or encouraging the importation of grain ? Was the want of activity in the grain import trade from America or Europe in any way due to the dearness of money in India in the winter of 1896-97, and to difficulty in obtaining accommodation ? If so, could Government with advantage have stimulated import by loans or contracts ?

339. The relief workers were paid a cash wage sufficient to enable them to buy a stated quantity of food, the wage varying week by week with the local grain-prices. If Indian food-prices throughout the famine were lower than the price at which grain could be laid down in India from Europe or America, might not importation by Government of food for some of the relief works have made those particular relief operations costlier than they have actually been ?

340. Would this disadvantage have been compensated by a lowering of prices in India, owing to which other relief works would have been less costly, and the public would have been enabled to buy food at lower rates ?

341. If we may suppose that prices would have fallen in consequence of the Government undertaking to import from abroad to feed the relief workers, would this have caused less rice from Burma to have been imported ?

342. What reductions were made in railway rates on grain from the sea-board to the interior, and had such reductions an effect on trade ?

343. Can you think of any possible combination of circumstances under which it would be advisable for the Indian Government to import foreign grain itself for its relief purposes, or to stimulate such import by the trade by loans, contracts, or bounties ?

344. Was there ever a time during the recent famine when Government might, in your opinion, have tried such measures with advantage ?

345. Can you conceive of any case in which prohibition of exports would in your opinion be of advantage ?

G. I. C. P. O.—No. 1080 R. & A.—12-11-98.—2,308.—E. Rose.

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EVIDENCE OF WITNESSES

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